

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. X.

ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐκτείνουσαι καὶ κατανοήσι, ἢ αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνυπόμνησις ἀνόνως,
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ συντάξαι ἐνυπόμνησις. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D. Pomarède Sc.

D U B L I N:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M,DCC,XLV.

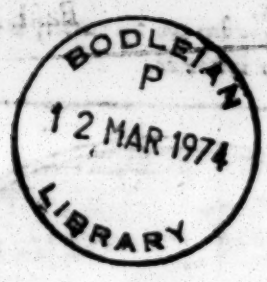
UNIVERSITY HISTORY

THE HISTORY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

EDITED BY

ORIGINAL AUTHORS

THE HISTORY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
EDITED BY
THE VENERABLE FATHER
JOHN WALL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
AND
THE VENERABLE FATHER
JOHN WALL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



CONTENTS

O F

VOLUME X.

CHAP. XI.

The Continuation of the History of the Jews from their return from the Babylonish Captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus Vespasian, with an account of their dispersion and condition to this present time.

SECT. III.

THE sequel of the Jewish history, from Judas Maccabeus, to the conquest of Judæa by the Romans, Page 1

SECT. IV.

From their subjection to the Romans to the reign of Herod the Great, and the taking of Jerusalem by him, 108

SECT. V.

From Herod the Great's reign to the birth of Christ, with an account of the principal sects that then reigned in Judæa,

154

SECT. VI.

From the birth to the death of Christ,

254

SECT. VII.

From Christ's resurrection to the total destruction of the city and temple, and dispersion of the Jewish nation,

391

CHAP. XII.

The history of the Parthians, from Arsaces, to the recovery of the kingdom by the Persians,

495

CHAP. XIII.

SECT. I.

The history of the Persians from their recovering the empire from the Parthians, to their being subdued by the Arabs,

562

A N

Directions to the Book-binder for placing
the Cut.

	Page
<i>A view of Jerusalem, the Temple, &c.</i>	183

A N

Universal History.

C H A P. XI.

The continuation of the History of the JEWS from their return from the Babylonish captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian, with an account of their dispersion and condition to this present time.

S E C T. III.

The sequel of the Jewish history, from Judas Maccabeus, to the conquest of Judæa by the Romans.

JUDAS, surnamed *Maccabeus*, from whom the heroes of this epocha had the name *Maccabees* (P), did not suffer his troops to continue longer idle, than till they had ended the days of his father's mourning. His little army amounted to no more than six thousand men^a; but what they

Judas Maccabeus succeeds his father.

^a 2 MACCAB. viii. 1.

(P) There are various conjectures concerning the etymology of this word, and not one of them to be depended upon; not only because nothing is more uncertain than etymologies, but because, the book of the *Maccabees* being only extant in *Greek*, we have no certainty which were the original letters of the word; so that some have taken the middle letter to have been a π , others a χ , others

they wanted in number, they made up in zeal and bravery, and God gave them such success, that they quickly got into some

the κ , according to which the sense of the verb will vary exceedingly.

It might indeed appear at first sight, that the *Maccabees* were so called from the Hebrew מַחֲבֵה, *Mucchabeh*, or *Mecchubeh*, *hid*, as a term of contempt, because they hid themselves in holes and caverns; and that having afterwards wiped off the reproach of it by their bravery, they retained still that appellative in memory of their former absconion, or from the word *Makkabah*, which signifies a cavern; and so they might be called *caverners*, or *lurkers in caverns*.

Others derive it from the verbs *macab* to wound, from *nakab* to perforate, from *hakab* to supplant; all which they do, by some seeming analogy, apply either to those Jewish heroes who fought, or to those who suffered martyrdom, for their religion, whether in *Judea* or out of it. *Rufinus* above-mentioned tells us indeed, that the eldest of the seven brethren, who suffered under *Antiochus*, was called *Maccabeus*; and that all the rest, who fought or suffered for the same cause with him, were called *Maccabai*; but he gives us no authority for it but his own.

The most general opinion is, that it was taken from the four initial letters מַכַּבִּי of the 11th verse of the 15th of *Exodus*, *Micamoca baelim Jehovah, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods?* which four letters are supposed to have been embroidered upon their standards and shields, in the manner of the Romans S. P. Q. R. That the Jews were afterwards fond of these abbreviations, appears from those of the treble or quadruple names of their learned *Rabbies*; such is that of *RAMBAM* for *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*; *RALBAG* for *Rabbi Levi Ben Gershom*, and many more (1); but whether or no these kind of abbreviations were so antient as the *Maccabees*, it seems plain from the text, that *Judas* had that surname long before he displayed his standards against his enemies (2); not by anticipation, but in the same manner as his other brethren had each his different one, of which it would still be more difficult to find the cause or meaning.

However that be, *Judas* the Jewish chief seems to have bore it by way of eminence; and from him it passed to his brethren and successors, and thence to all who took up arms, or died, for the Jewish cause; and lastly it was given to the books which contain the history of those wars and persecutions, and of which it will be therefore necessary to give our readers a short account, before we close this note.

(1) *De his, vide Wolf. biblioth. Rabbin. & Buxtorf. tract. de abbreviatur.*

(2) *Vide 1 Maccab. ii. 4.*

some of the strongest fortresses of *Judæa*, fell upon their enemies so suddenly, and with such courage, that they drove them

The first book of the *Maccabees* was written originally either in *Hebrew* or in the *Chaldee*, which became the current language of the *Jews* after the captivity. Its style and phrase come nearest that of the sacred historians of any of the *Apoerypha*, and its chronological computation is purely *Hebrew*, and begins always at the month *Nisan*, answering to our *March* and *April*; whereas the *Syrians*, &c. began their year six months later. *St. Jerom* tells us, that he had seen it in the former (3); and *Origen* tells us, that it was intitled *Sbarbit Sar Bene El*, or, *the sceptre of the prince of the sons of God* (4); or, according to others (who read *Sarbene* in one word, and with the *samech* instead of the *shin*) *the sceptre of the rebels against the Lord*, intimating, that the *Maccabees* had maintained the divine sceptre or power, against those who had rebelled against it; but the original has been long since lost, and the *Greek* version is now reckoned the most authentic.

It contains a clear and succinct history of what happened to the *Jews*, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to the death of the high-priest *Simon* (5); that is, of about forty years. It was partly compiled from the memoirs which *Judas Maccabeus* had caused to be collected (6), and partly from those of the high-priest *Hyrchanus* the son of *Simon*, who began his government where the book ends, and who is therefore by some supposed to be the author of it, though he be barely quoted in it as having furnished him the materials out of his chronicle (7), and seems therefore to have lived after him.

Theodotion is generally supposed to have translated this book into *Greek*; but it being quoted by some fathers as ancient as that writer, seems to argue this version to be of older date. It is, however, from this that our *English* version was made.

The second book of the *Maccabees* is, as we have observed in another section, an epitome of a larger history written by one *Jason*, but long since lost. Both the author and the abridger seem to have been *Hellenists*, by their manner of computation and style; or rather it looks like a collection of some valuable pieces relating to the *Jewish* history, from the attempt of *Heliodorus* upon the treasury of the temple, to the signal victory which *Judas Maccabeus* gained over *Nicanor* fifteen years after.

It begins with two letters from the sanhedrin at *Jerusalem*, one to the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, the other to those in *Egypt*, to notify to them the purification of the temple and dedication of the new

(3) *Prolog. galæat.* (4) *Apud Euseb. hist. eccles. l. vi. c. ult.*
 & *Comm. in Psalm Vol. II. edit. Huetian.* (5) *Vide 1 Maccab. cap. ult. ver. 11, & seq.* (6) *2 Maccab. ii. 14.* (7) *1 Maccab. xvi. ver. ult.*

them out of their cities, villages, and advantageous posts; insomuch, that *Judas's* name began to become terrible to the *Syrians*, *Samaritans*, and apostate *Jews*, whilst those who had forsook their country to avoid persecution, were encouraged to resort daily to him from their retreats, whereby his troops increased to such a degree as to make *Apollonius*, the then governor of *Judaea* and *Samaria*, think it high time to suppress their growing power, before it was grown to a greater height. He hastened therefore to raise a considerable army, which chiefly consisted of *Samaritans*, *Jewish* renegadoes, and other neighbouring nations, with whom he marched against the *Maccabean* chief. *Judas*, on the other hand, in no ways terrified with the superiority of the enemy, came out against him with his handful of men, and gave him a total defeat. *Apollonius* was killed on the spot, with a great number of his men. The rest were put to the rout, leaving a rich plunder behind them. Among the rest of the spoil, *Judas* took the slain governor's sword, and used it ever after in those wars which he waged against the enemies of the *Jewish* nation ^b.

Seron de-
feated.

THIS defeat so enraged *Antiochus*, that, upon his hearing the first news of it, he swore again the total extirpation of the *Jews*; and happy was it for them that his treasury was then so exhausted, by his extravagant largesses, that he was forced to suppress his resentment, till he could raise a sufficient supply of money to renew the war against them; but before he could accomplish this, another of his generals, received likewise a signal overthrow. this was *Seron*, deputy-governor of *Cæle-Syria* ^c under *Ptolemy Macron*, who took it into his head to come against *Judas*, in hopes, that if he could defeat that little army of his before the king sent more forces thither, he should gain no small glory by it. He advanced therefore with

^b 1 MACCAB. iii. 10, & seq. JOSEPH. ubi supra. ^c 1 MACCAB. iii. 13, & seq

altar, instead of that which had been polluted with the idol of *Jupiter*, and to exhort them to join in the celebration of the festival of it on the twenty-fifth of the month *Cisleu*. But both these letters are esteemed even more apocryphal than the rest of the history, and therefore neither of them need be longer dwelt upon.

We have already spoken of the third book of the *Maccabees* as previous in time to these two, and in authority to the latter of them. We shall likewise refer the reader to what we subjoined in that note concerning the fourth book of that name.

his

his troops as far as *Bethoron*, where *Judas* met him with a handful of his men. These, seeing the superiority of the enemy, expressed a great reluctance to engage, fatigued as they were with marching and fasting (Q); but *Judas* soon dispelled their fears, by reminding them, that they fought the cause of God, who was not wont to save by strength or number, and whose glory, now concerned in their success, would display itself the more, by the disproportion there was between the two armies. Having thus put new life into them, they fell upon the *Syrians* with such vigour, that *Seron* was overthrown and killed, with eight hundred of his men, on the spot. Some of the rest fled as far as *Bethoron*, and the greatest part saved themselves by running into the land of the *Philistines* ^d. These continued successes of the new Jewish general made *Philip*, governor of *Judæa*, think it high time to acquaint *Antiochus* with the danger that province was in of being lost, if not speedily relieved. *Antiochus* had then left the government to *Lysias*, whilst himself was gone beyond the *Euphrates*, as we have seen elsewhere *. *Lysias*, who had orders to invade *Judæa*, and to destroy all the Jews, dispatched immediately to *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and to *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, two experienced officers, forty thousand foot, with orders to see the king's commands punctually obeyed against the Jewish nation. These came and encamped on the plains of *Ennimsus*, not far from *Jerusalem*, about twenty miles from *Lydda*, where they were reinforced with seven thousand horse. *Nicanor*, who had resolved to raise, if possible, the sum of two thousand talents, which the king his master did owe to the *Romans*, caused proclamation to be made in all the cities and sea-ports round about, that he would sell his Jewish captives

Nicanor
and Geor-
gias sent a-
gainst Ju-
das.

^d Ibid. ver. 14, & seq.
575, & seq.

* See before, Vol. VIII. p.

(Q) It was, it seems, this Hebrew general's method to keep a fast before they engaged the enemy (9); and here, their march, fast, and onset so closely followed, that his men began to despond of the victory, when they saw the superiority of *Seron's* army to theirs.

As for *Bethoron*, it was, according to *St Jerom* and *Eusebius*, about twelve thousand paces from *Jerusalem* (10); but, according to *Josephus*, one hundred stades (11). It was situate northwards of *Jerusalem*, and between that metropolis and *Shechem* (12).

(9) 1 *Maccab.* iii. 17, & seq. (10) *Loc. Hebr.* (11) *Conf. antiq.* l. 20. c. 4. & *bell. Judaic.* c. 11. (12) *Hieron. ubi supra.*

at the rate of ninety for a talent; and this brought a great concourse of merchants, who came with large sums of money to purchase those captives. Our author reckons no less than a thousand of them, besides a great number of servants, who brought chains and other materials to convey them away^c.

Judas's
speech to
his troops.

Judas, being thoroughly apprised of this bloody apparatus against his nation, gathered his little army together, consisting only of six thousand men, and reminded them not only of his late signal victories, but of those which had been formerly gained in a more miraculous manner against *Senacherib*, and other powerful enemies of the *Jews*; and particularly of a recent one, which six thousand of their nation had gained over an army of one hundred and twenty thousand *Gauls* and *Macedonians*^f. However, concluded he, remember that, let the success be what it will, it is still more glorious to die sword in hand, in defence of our religion, lives, and liberties, than to fall into the hands of an enemy fully determined on our utter destruction. After this exhortation he was obliged, by the *Mosaic* law, to make proclamation, that all who had married wives, planted vineyards, &c. or whose hearts failed, should depart^g; and this carried off near one half of his men, whilst the rest, who remained intrepid, were scarcely furnished with weapons fit for so bold and unequal an enterprize^h. However, he led his three thousand men to *Mizpa* (R), there to implore the divine assistance by

^c 1 MACCAB. iii. 41. 2 MACCAB. viii. 34. JOSEPH. I. xii. c 11. ^f 2 MACCAB. viii. 19, & seq. ^g Vide Deut. xx. 5. ^h 1 MACCAB. iv. 6.

(R) This place, which is famous in the Old Testament upon many accounts, and where the *Jews* used to assemble themselves to worship before the temple was built (13), was now made choice of upon this occasion, the temple being then polluted, and kept by a *Syrian* garison.

Here they fasted in sackcloth and ashes, whilst *Eleazar*, Judas's brother, read and expounded to them some proper portions out of the scriptures. The *Nazarites* likewise, who should have performed the conclusion of their vows at the temple †, assembled themselves with the priests in their robes; and, at the close of their fast and prayers, the priestly trumpets gave a signal, as a sure omen of their future victory; and the *Maccabean* chief gave for the watch-word, *the help of God* (14).

(13) Vide int al 1 Sam. vii. 5, & seq. † De his, vide Vol. III p 229, & seq. (14) 1 Maccab. iii. 46, & seq. 2 Maccab. viii. 23, & seq.

prayer,

prayer, fasting, and sacrifices, in confidence of which he marched with them against the enemy, and encamped as near them as he safely could, resolved to give them battle early on the next morning, of which he gave his troops notice that very night¹. In the mean time news was brought him by some of his scouts, that *Georgias* was coming, at the head of five thousand of his choicest men, and one thousand horse, to surprise him in his camp; which gave him such an opportunity of countermining him, as gained him a complete and easy victory; for, taking the advantage of *Georgias*'s absence, he and his three thousand men fell on a sudden on the Syrian army, killed three thousand of their men, and put the rest to flight, and into such confusion, that they could not be rallied again by any means, but left their camp, and all their baggage and spoil behind them, and fled. *Georgias*, having in vain sought for his enemy, whom he supposed to have retired again into the mountains, was returning back to his army, when he perceived his camp on fire, which threw his men into such a panic, that, in spite of all he could do to prevent it, they threw down their arms, and ran after the rest. *Judas* did not leave off pursuing them, till he had killed six thousand more of their men, besides a great number of maimed and wounded; after which he led his victorious troop to plunder the enemies camp, where, among other rich spoil, they found that money which the greedy merchants had brought to buy the Jewish captives with. This signal victory was gained on the *Friday*, and the next day, being their sabbath, was celebrated with suitable returns to the divine providence for their miraculous deliverance².

THIS defeat proved doubly advantageous to the conqueror. It furnished him with quantities of arms and ammunition for his men, and his fame drew daily fresh reinforcements from all parts of *Judaea*, whom his success encouraged to repair to him from all the places of their dispersion; so that he found himself soon after in a condition to attempt another action, which proved no less glorious and successful to him. *Timotheus*, governor of the country beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides*, another experienced officer of the Syrian army, had joined their forces, and were coming against him, with a design to retrieve their late defeat; but *Judas* was by this time so well reinforced, that he met and overthrew them in a set battle, killed twenty thousand of their men, enriched himself

¹ Ibid. iii. 57, & seq.² Ibid. cap. iv. pass. JOSEPH. ubi supra. 2 MACCAB. viii. 24, & seq.

*Divides
the spoil.*

*Calisthe-
nes burnt.*

*Nicanor's
shameful
flight.*

with their spoil, got a new supply of provisions for his men, and took presently after several strong fortresses from the disheartened Syrians, which he garisoned with some of his troops, and deposited in them the arms which they had taken from the enemy. In the distribution of all the spoil, *Judas's* generosity outwent what was even prescribed by the *Mosaic* law, which intitled none to share it with the combatants, but those who were left to take care of the baggage †; but he caused a considerable part to be divided among his indigent brethren; so that the old, decrepit, the sick and lame, the widows and the fatherless, were made partakers of the fruits of his victories. In this battle was killed one of *Timotheus's* chief officers, named *Philarchus*, who had been a bitter enemy to the Jews; and whilst they were making their rejoicings for their success, news was brought, that *Calisthenes*, the man who had first set fire to the gates of the temple, had concealed himself in a little house not far from them; upon which *Judas* dispatched a detachment, who went and set it on fire, and burnt him in it, as a just retaliation for his sacrilege¹. As for *Nicanor*, he saved indeed his life, but lost his honour, being forced to retreat to *Antioch* in the disguise of a servant, and there excuse his late disgrace, by owning, that the Jews, when under the protection of their God, were invincible^m.

WHEN *Lysias* heard the news of the total defeat of the army he had sent into *Judæa*, he made all the haste he could to put himself at the head of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all of the choicest troops he could get; and entering *Judæa* with them through the territories of *Idumea*, was met at *Bethzura* (S) by the *Maccabite* general, at the head

† Vide Numb. xxxi. 25, & seq. 1 SAM. xxx. 24. 1 2 MAC-
CAB. viii. 30, & seq. ^m Ibid. ver. 35, & seq. 1 MAC-
CAB. & JOSEPH. ubi supra.

(S) This was a very important fortress about that time. It was in the tribe of *Judab* (15), and had formerly been fortified by king *Rehoboam* (16), it being one of the keys of *Judæa* on the south side of *Idumea* (17). The second book of the *Maccabees* places it at five furlongs distance from *Jerusalem* (18); but this must be a mistake either of the translator or transcriber, it being, according to *Eusebius*, full twenty miles from it, on the road to *Hebron* (19).

(15) Vide *Josh.* xv. 58. (16) 2 *Chron.* ii. 7. (17)
1 *Maccab.* iv. 61. 2 *Maccab.* xiii. 19. (18) *Chap.* xi. 5. (19)
Lec. Hebr. It

head of only ten thousand men. The two armies engaged, *Lyfias* defeated in and *Judas*, tho' so much inferior to the *Syrians*, fell upon them with such courage, that he immediately killed five thousand of them on the spot, and routed the rest; and *Lyfias*, observing that the *Jews* fought like men determined either to conquer or die, dared not venture a second engagement with the remainder of his scared army; but returned to *Antioch*, with a design to bring a much greater force against them by the return of the year ^a (T).

feated in
Judæa.
Year of
the Flood,
2834.
Before
Christ,
165.

BUT

^a 1 MACCAB. IV. 30, & seq.

It is likely that this was one of the fortresses which *Judas* had retaken from the *Syrians*, and which *Lyfias* came now to besiege; but was defeated in the attempt by the *Jewish* chief, who came immediately from *Bethoron* to its relief.

(T) This is one of the most signal victories that ever *Judas* yet gained against the *Syrians*, and at the same time the most difficult to be accounted for, from the imperfect relation which the *Jewish* authors give us of it. That which he gained against those two experienced generals, *Nicanor* and *Georgias*, was owing to a surprize, the *Syrian* army being attacked in the night, and in the absence of one of their generals, whilst the other, depending on his stratagem, did lie in profound security. In that which he gained over *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, he killed twenty thousand of their men before they gave ground; neither is it said of either of these two actions, whether *Judas* attacked the two commanders jointly or separately; so that if we may guess from his character, it is more likely he fell upon them both, before they had joined their forces.

But in this, *Lyfias* comes at the head of sixty thousand choice foot, and ten thousand horse, sets down before *Bethxura*, is attacked by only ten thousand men, and has scarcely five thousand of his own killed, a small number out of seventy thousand; before he is routed, and so disheartened, as to leave the province, and retire to *Antioch*. Our authors do not tell us in what order either side disposed their troops; but from what we have formerly mentioned of the *Jewish* way of fighting †, and even by what we can gather from that of the *Maccabees*, who seem to have still followed the old way, the method was, (whenever their army was too small to make a front equal to that of the enemy) to divide their troops into four or five bodies of a considerable depth, and so fall on the enemy at proportionable distances.

As for the *Syrians*, we may reasonably suppose, that they did like other nations, spread their phalanges according to the number of their troops, and cover at least their two wings with their

† Vol. III. p. 57:

B

*Comes and
purifies the
city and
temple.*

BUT all these successes seemed still too small to our *Jewish* general, whilst the sanctuary continued polluted with abominable idols, the temple garisoned by idolaters, and the city a ruined heap. As soon therefore as their enemies were gone out of the province, *Judas* marched with his army to the metropolis, fully purposed to recover and purify it, and was as cheerfully followed by them. Upon their coming to mount *Sion*, and seeing the desolation in which it did lie, the houses, palaces, and gates of the temple burnt down, the courts of the sanctuary over-run with shrubs and briars, the priestly apartments demolished, the altar and holy places profaned and stripped of all their antient splendor, they rent their cloaths, covered their heads with dust, and filled the air with cries and other tokens of the liveliest sorrow. As soon as *Judas* observed these first emotions a little assuaged, he posted some of his bravest troops to guard all the avenues of the city from surprize, and then appointed such of the priestly order, as had best signalized themselves for their zeal and sanctity, to enter into the temple, and see it thoroughly rid of all its profane lumber, whilst the rest of the people were busy in clear-

cavalry; and in this last respect *Lysias* had vastly the advantage, as well as in number, since we find not any where that the *Maccabees* made use of any cavalry; for, if they had, it is hardly to be supposed their historians would have omitted mentioning it, as well as that of the enemy.

Let us therefore suppose ever so great a superiority in the *Jewish* army, either in point of courage and experience, knowledge of the ground, advantage of situation, or the like, it will appear next to a miracle, that seventy thousand choice men of horse and foot should be routed and broken, upon the death of five thousand of their men, and by so small a number as ten thousand, (suppose none of these were either killed or wounded) so as not to be rallied again by their old experienced officers; but that they should, one and all, be flung into such consternation, as to quit both the field and the country to so inferior an enemy.

If therefore the *Jewish* authors have not exaggerated the number of their enemies, we may very well suppose they have their character; and, by their defeat, and their general's so suddenly retiring from *Judea*, it may be reasonably concluded, that his army, instead of consisting of such choice horse and foot, was only an undisciplined multitude, gathered up in haste, and easily scared at the sight of so brave and resolute an enemy. What confirms this conjecture is, that *Lysias* had much better success the next year, when he came against *Bethzura* with a fresh army, whilst that of *Judas*, as well as his fame, and consequently the courage of his troops, increased by every one of these victories.

ing

ing the streets and places of all the rubbish. Whatever old materials they found, that had undergone any defilement, they broke in pieces, and carried them out of the city, and buried them in some common place, especially the altar of burnt-offerings, which had been so notoriously profaned, that no part of it was fit for future use ; and which was therefore demolished, and carried off, and another of unhewn stones ° substituted to it (V). There were still many things wanting before the divine service could be resumed ; the altar of perfumes, the table of shew-bread, the seven-branch candlestick, censers, and other sacred utensils, all of the purest gold, had been carried off, as well as the rich veil which covered the holy of holies : all these therefore the *Jewish* chief caused to be made anew out of the spoils of their enemies ; and all being set up in their respective places, and the holy and most holy place repaired, they began the divine worship, with the

° Ibid. ver. 43, & seq. 2 MACCAB. x. 6, 7.

(V) It seems there arose no small difficulty among the *Jewish* doctors, about disposing of the materials of this old altar. On the one hand, it had been dedicated to, and had a long time been used in, the service of God ; so that they thought it unlawful to apply them to any common uses. On the other hand, the heathens had polluted it in so many ways, by sacrificing unclean beasts upon it to their idols and false deities, that the retaining any part of it, would have been deemed to defile all their future offerings. At length a middle expedient was agreed on, that they should be deposited into some convenient cavity of the mountain on which the temple stood, till some prophet arose that could direct them how to dispose better of them (20).

Among the sacred utensils which *Judas* caused to be made, instead of those which *Antiochus* had carried off, we do not read of an ark and mercy-seat to stand in the most holy place ; nor is it said by *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, or even by *Josephus*, that ever they made a new one.

The *Talmudists*, after the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, tell us indeed, that *Jeremiah* caused the old one which *Moses* had made, to be buried in so secret a place a little before the captivity, that it could never be found ; and the former add, that it will never be brought forth, till God is reconciled to the people, and has gathered them all under the king *Messiah*. It is therefore reckoned one of the five things that were wanted in the second temple ; but whether they made any thing like it after their return, is more than we dare affirm. We shall see in the sequel, that when the *Romans* plundered the sanctuary, they found it quite empty of all those utensils.

(20) 1 *Maccab. iv. 44.*

B 2

dedication

dedication of the new altar, and other holy utensils, on the twenty-fifth day of the month *Cisleu*, it being the very same day on which it had ceased by the profanation of the temple three years before, and in the second year of *Judas's* government.

THIS ceremony, which was performed with all imaginable solemnity, was ushered in with the earliest dawn, by the sound of the trumpets, by raising a fresh fire by the striking of two fire-stones; which was no sooner kindled, than they began with offering the lamb for the daily sacrifice, lighting the lamps, burning the usual portion of incense, and all other parts of the divine service, according to the *Mosaic* law; from which time it was never discontinued, till the destruction of the temple by the *Romans*. This festival was kept eight days with great devotion and joy, after which it was ordered to be solemnized every year in the same manner by the whole nation, under the name of *the feast of the dedications* ^p. During this time the front of the temple was adorned with crowns, garlands, escutcheons, and other ornaments of the best gold. Every house was likewise illuminated and adorned; and from thence it was also called *the feast of lights* ^q (W). The author

^p 1 MACCAB. iv. 58, & seq. ^q JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

(W) It was accordingly continued to be celebrated by lighting many candles, some at their doors, and some in their houses. Even to this time they light a certain number of large wax-tapers in their synagogues during this festival; that is, one on the first day, two on the second, and so on to eight on the last day of the feast; the occasion of which, the *Jews* tell us, was, that when they came to light the lamps on the great candlestick, they could find no holy oil to feed them with, till, after much looking, they found a little vessel sealed, which contained just as much as would serve one day; but to their surprise, burnt eight whole days. On this day they likewise celebrated the death of *Holopernes* by *Judith*, tho' they are not all agreed that it happened about this time (21).

It was lawful, however, to work during the festival, it being only observed by mirth and going to the synagogue. The *Jews* call it *hanuca*, which signifies *restoration*, or *renewing*. One of the Evangelists calls it *encænia* (22), which implies the same thing, and adds, that it fell in the winter, about the time of that solstice.

This circumstance is so much the more material, because Christ, vouchsafing to assist at it, tho' appointed only by human authority, sufficiently proves the lawfulness of instituting festivals in memory of public blessings (23).

(41) Vid. Leo, de Moden. cerem. Jud. par. 2, c. 9.
22. (23) Vid. Grot. in John x.

(22) John

thor of the second book of the *Maccabees* adds ^r, that in memory of their having kept the feast of the tabernacles whilst they lurked in their dens and on the mountains, they repaired to the temple on this new festival with palms and other curious branches in their hands, and celebrated this wonderful deliverance with psalms and suitable hymns to the occasion.

AND now there remained but one obstacle more to be removed, namely, the garison which *Apollonius* had placed in the fortress of *Acra*, on the eminence over-against the temple (X), to annoy those that went to and from it; for whilst that was still kept by heathens and apostate *Jews*, it could not but obstruct their concourse to that place of worship. A siege would have taken up too much time, had *Judas* been furnished with men and warlike instruments for it; because the place was very strong both by art and nature: and to have blockaded it would have taken up a greater number of men than he could spare. There was therefore but one way left, namely, to fortify the mountain of the temple with a high wall and strong towers round about, and to leave a stout garison to defend it, and hinder that of *Acra* from disturbing those who resorted to *Jerusalem*. At the same time *Judas* caused some additional fortifications to be made to *Bethzura*, it being, as was lately observed, an advantageous fortress, to obstruct the entrance from *Idumea* (Y); for which reason it had been lately attempted by *Lyfias* ^r.

By

^c 2 MACCAB. x. 6, & seq.

^r 1 MACCAB. iv. 60, & seq.

The *Jews* did indeed celebrate two other dedications, viz. that of *Solomon* and that of *Zerubbabel*, which were properly founded on divine authority, because instituted by persons divinely inspired; but that this, which our Saviour is observed to have been present at, could be neither of these, is plain, because that of *Solomon* was kept in the month *Tisbri*, which is about our autumn (24); and that of *Zerubbabel* in the month *Adar*, or the last month, which falls in the spring (25); whereas that of *Judas Maccabeus* was in the winter, which agrees with what the Evangelist says of it in the place above-quoted.

(X) The word, *Akra acra*, properly signifies an eminence, or fortress built on some eminent ground, which has the command of the country round about; and as this of *Acra* stood higher than that of *Sion*, it gave that garison the advantage of annoying all that passed to and from the temple, as was observed above.

(Y) It will not be improper here to remind our readers, that

(24) 1 Kings viii. 2. 2 Chron. v. 3. (25) Ezra vi. 15, & seq.

this

Antioch-
us's death.

By this time all the neighbouring nations, having heard what had been done at *Jerusalem*, were so exasperated against the *Jews*, that they resolved to join their forces to extirpate the whole nation. They began with murdering all those that chanced to live among them, and waited only the coming of *Antiochus* into *Judæa* to assist them in the utter destruction of the *Jews*; but, happily for these, *Antiochus's* death, which happened soon after, broke all their measures, and freed them from the bloody designs which that exasperated tyrant had sworn against them, when he heard of their success against his three generals^t. We have already given an account, both of his preparations and extraordinary death in a former chapter*, and to which nothing needs to be added here.

THE minority of the young *Antiochus* caused some alterations in *Palestine*, and gave the *Jews* a kind of respite, which proved, however, but short-lived. *Ptolemy Macron*, governor of *Cœle-Syria*, who had been an inveterate enemy to the *Jews*, and had made them suffer great hardships during the last reign, was now by some means become their friend; but he was soon after accused for it to the king, and deprived

^t I MACCAB. v. 1, & seq. 2 MACCAB. ix. 1, & seq. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14. EUSEB. Chron. * Vol. VIII. p. 546. & seq.

this *Idumea* is not the *Idumea* antiently so called in the sacred books of the Old Testament, otherwise the land of *Edom*, situate between the *Dead* and the *Red* sea, and known since by the name of *Arabia Petræa*; concerning which the reader may see what has been said in a former volume*

But this we are now speaking of, was a portion of the inheritance of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judab*, taken in possession by some *Idumeans*, during the time of the *Babylonish* captivity; who, being driven out of their land by the *Nabatheans*, came at settled here, and enlarged their territory from the south part of the lot of *Judab*, as far as *Hebron*, which they made their metropolis, as it had been that of the tribe of *Judab*. These, therefore, and not the antient *Edomites*, are the *Idumeans* we shall have often occasion to mention in the sequel of this history.

Now *Bethzura*, lying on the road between *Hebron* and *Jerusalem*, at about twenty miles from the latter, as we have hinted in a former note, was an important barrier against the incursions of the *Syrian* troops that were in *Idumea*, and did well deserve all the care that *Judas* bestowed in the fortifying of it.

* See Vol. II. p. 146, & seq. & Vol. III. p. 93, & note (E).

of

of his government by *Lyfias*, who succeeded him in it, and came presently after with a powerful army into *Judæa*. In the interim, *Gorgias*, who commanded the Syrian forces there, having gathered a fresh body of strangers, was making continual incursions against the *Jews*, whilst the *Idumæans*, who had joined with him, held the most advantageous posts, and received in them all the renegado *Jews*, in hopes to tire the rest by prolonging the war. But *Judas*, having gathered his army together, went and attacked them in that part of their territories, which was called *Acrabotene*, and killed no less than twenty thousand of them ^u. From thence he marched against the children of *Bean* (*Z*), who had proved a great thorn in his sides, and drove them into two of their strongest towers; and when he understood they were furnished with every necessary thing to hold out a siege, he left his three brethren, *Simon*, *Joseph*, and *Zaccheus*, with a sufficient force to reduce them, whilst he led the rest upon a more important expedition. During the siege, some of *Simon's* head officers suffered themselves to be bribed with a sum of seventy thousand drachms, to let some of the besiegers escape. *Judas* being informed of it, ordered those traitors to be tried by the heads of the army, and to be put to death; after which he took the two fortresses by assault, put both garisons, which consisted of about twenty thousand, to death, burnt the towers to the ground, and past over *Jordan* into the land of the *Ammonites* ^w. These he found likewise in a good posture of defence, having *Timotheus* the Syrian general at their head, who had gathered a great number of forces out of *Asia*, and was coming to invade *Judæa*; he had several skirmishes with the *Ammonites*, before he could come at the Syrian commander, defeated and killed great numbers of them; after which he took the city of *Jazar*, put a garison in it, and marched back into *Judæa* ^x.

*Judas falls
on the Idu-
mæans.*

^u 2 MACCAB. x. 14, & seq. ^w 1 MACCAB. v. 1, & seq. ^x *Ib.* ver. 8.

(*Z*) Whether *Bean* was the name of a man, city, or tribe, is not certain; but most probably they were a tribe of *Idumeans*, of whom the text says, that they were a snare and decoy to the *Israelites*, and did lie in wait against them on the high ways (26), as they passed to and from *Jerusalem*.

(26) 1 Maccab. v. 4, & seq. Conf. cum Gen. xxxvi. 27. & Numb. xxxii. 3. & xxxiii. 31, & seq.

IN

Defeats
Timo-
theus.

Gileadites
and Gali-
leans dis-
trasted.

IN the mean time *Timotheus* had not been idle, but had gathered together an army from among all the heathen nations, who were now more than ever exasperated against the *Jews*, resolved, if possible, to wipe of the disgrace of his former defeat, with the extirpation of that people. To this end, he entered *Judaea* with his new forces. *Judas* did not let him penetrate far, before he met and totally defeated him, killed twenty thousand five hundred of his foot and six hundred horse, and forced him to retreat into the city of *Gazara* (A), which was commanded by his brother *Chereas*. Hither *Judas* pursued and invested him, and, having carried the place in five days, slew him with his brother and another Syrian general named *Apollophanes* ¹. This defeat, though very advantageous to the *Jews*, proved the cause of great numbers of their nation being murdered by the heathens, who could not brook the continual success of the *Maccabite* general. A thousand of them were sacrificed to their fury in the land of *Tob*, and their wives and children carried into captivity; the rest of their brethren must have undergone the same fate, had they not timely prevented it, by flying into *Dathema*, a fortress in the land of *Gilead*, and there timely provided for their own defence ². From thence they sent letters to *Judas*, informing him of their condition, and that *Timotheus*, perhaps the son of him that was lately killed at *Gazara*, at the head of the *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, *Ptolemaidans*, and others, was besieging them in it. *Judas* had scarcely done reading these letters, when he received others from other brethren in *Galilee*, who were also in the same distress. The general immediately convened a sanhedrin, in which it was resolved, that *Judas* and his brother *Jonathan* should go to help the *Gileadites*, with part of his troops, making in all about eight thousand: that *Simon*, another of his brothers, should go with another part to succour those of *Galilee*; and that *Joseph* and *Azarias* his other brothers, should stay to defend *Jerusalem* with the residue of their troops. To these latter *Judas* gave strict charge in no case to act of-

¹ 2 MACCAB. X. 31, & ad fin.
& seq.

² 1 MACCAB. V. 1,

(A) Probably the same with *Gadara* and *Gaderoth*, situate in the neighbourhood of *Diospolis* and *Nicopolis* (27). *Eusebius* places it about five miles northward of the latter (28).

(27) Vide *Steph. Byzant. sub Gadara, Reland. Palest. l. iii.*

(28) *Loc. Hebr.*

sensively,

sensively, but to stand in their own defence, till his or his brother *Simon's* return^a.

UPON *Judas's* passing the *Jordan*, he was informed by the *Nabatheans*, with whom he was then at peace, that not only the *Jews* of *Dathema*, but likewise those of *Bossora*, *Casphon*, *Maked*, *Alema*, *Carnaim*, and other considerable cities of the land of *Gilead*, were likewise closely shut up by their enemies, and, if not timely relieved, were designed to be all destroyed in one day. As there was no time then to be lost, *Judas* immediately fell on *Bossora*, took it, and destroyed all the males; and, having freed his brethren, set fire to the city, and marched directly to *Dathema*. Upon his arrival thither early on the next morning, he found *Timotheus* ready to storm the place; and fell upon him so unexpectedly, and with such force, that he put all to the rout; for they no sooner heard the sound of their trumpets, and understood that *Judas* was at the head of their enemy, than they threw down their arms in the utmost confusion, and betook themselves to flight. *Judas* pursued them some time, and killed about eight thousand of them; but remembering the condition of his other brethren in the *Gileaditish* cities, he marched against and took them one after another, made them undergo the same fate as he had that of *Bossora*, loaded himself with the richest plunder, and returned, with his victorious army and delivered brethren, to *Jerusalem* ^b.

ON the other hand, *Simon*, his brother, though inferior in strength, having but three thousand men, was no less successful in *Galilee*; he defeated his enemies in several rencounters, killed about three thousand of them, and pursued them as far as *Ptolemais*, enriched himself with their plunder, and delivered his brethren from their cruel thraldom; but finding it impossible with his handful of men to secure their longer abode there, by the total reduction of their oppressors, he chose rather to bring them with their families and valuable things to *Jerusalem*; whence *Judas* soon after sent them to new people the desolate cities of *Judæa*, where they might dwell in more safety. Whilst things went on thus successfully in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, the two brothers, that were left at *Jerusalem*, unluckily took it into their heads to signalize themselves also by some brave exploit on their heathen neighbours, though contrary to *Judas's* express commands. *Jamnia* appeared to them a fair sea-port town (B) and worth Joseph's their unlucky attempt on Jamnia.

^a Ibid. ver. 19.

^b Ibid. v. 22, & seq.

(B) It was situate on the *Mediterranean*, between *Joppa* and *Azotus*, or *Ashdod*, about two hundred and forty furlongs distant
VOL. X. C from

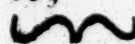
Judas's
success a-
gainst the
Idumeans.

their conquering, before the return of their victorious brethren. Thither therefore they led their little army, but were unhappily defeated by *Gorgias*, who commanded the place, and who sallied out against them, killed about two thousand of their men, and forced the rest to return with shame and loss to *Jerusalem* ^c. This disgrace, however, did not hinder the fame of their worthy brother's increasing daily, and his valour being more and more dreaded by their enemies. This gave the *Jewish* chief a fresh opportunity of falling upon the *Idumeans*, who, as we have seen, had joined with the *Syrians* and had been in some measure humbled by them. But as he found them still stirring against him, he led his forces into the south parts of *Idumea*, laid siege to *Hebron* their famous metropolis, took and demolished it, with all the neighbouring towns, and carried off a considerable plunder ^d. From thence he entered the territories of the *Philistines* and *Samaritans*, injecting terror where-ever he past, and discouraging those nations at least from acting offensively against him. In this expedition, some indiscreet priests, that were in his army, endeavouring to signalize their valour by some exploit against the enemy, fell a sacrifice to their untimely ambition, being all slain in the attempt, and by their deaths convinced both him and his army, how dangerous it was to go one step beyond the orders of such an experienced general. *Judas* did not return into *Judæa* till he had taken a tour thro' the land of the *Philistines*, and destroyed, with their fortresses, all their altars, groves, and other instruments of idolatry ^e.

Lyfias in-
vades Ju-
dæa.

Year of
the Flood,
2836.

Before
Christ,
163



ALL these repeated successes raised such a jealousy and shame in the lately defeated *Syrian* governor, that he assembled an army of eighty thousand foot together with all the horse and elephants he could get, and marched with them into *Judæa*, not doubting but speedily to reduce that unhappy kingdom into as miserable a condition as *Antiochus* had for-

^c Ibid. v. 55. & seq.
v. 67, 68.

^d Ver. 65, & seq.

^e I MACCAB.

from *Jerusalem* (29). Its name is not to be found in the *Hebrew*, but the septuagint places it after the city of *Ekron*, mentioned in *Joshua* (30). It is supposed to be the same with *Jabneh*, which *Uzziab* king of *Judab* is said (31) to have taken from the *Philistines*.

(29) 2 Maccab. xii. 9.
xxvi. 6.

(30) Cap. xv. 45.

(31) 2 Chron.

merly

merly done. After which his design was to extirpate the whole *Jewish* nation, and to repeople their land with heathens, and to enrich his master and himself, both with the richest plunder of the land, and with the sale of the high-priest-hood and other dignities. Flushed with these great hopes, he marched through the southern territories of *Judah*, probably because the other was too mountainous and craggy for his elephants and cavalry, and laid siege to the fortress of *Bethzura*. *Judas*, who was then at *Jerusalem*, having first *Isdefeated.* implored the divine blessing on his arms, set out with his little army to its relief. On the road there appeared to them a man on horseback in rich shining armour, and seemingly brandishing his spear against their enemies. This sight, whatever it was, gave his men such flush of courage, that they fell like lions on the *Syrian* camp, killed eleven thousand foot, and put the rest to flight.

Lyfias, now more than ever convinced how impossible it *Sues for* would be to carry on the war against such an enemy, with *peace.* either honour or advantage, sent *Judas* some overtures of peace ^t, with a promise that it should be ratified by the king his master, and that the young prince should make him all the concessions he should with justice demand, and conclude an alliance with him. *Judas* accepted the proposal, and sent soon after *John* and *Absalom*, two of his captains, with the conditions upon which he would agree to a peace, to *Lyfias*, who caused them to be forthwith conveyed to *Antiochus*. They contained upon the whole a general amnesty for whatever had been done before; a total revocation of the late edict, which obliged the *Jews* to renounce their religion and to conform to that of the *Greeks*; a free exercise of their religion and customs; and safe passports for commissioners to pass from *Jerusalem* to *Lyfias*, or, if need required, to *Antioch*. These conditions, advantageous as they were to the hated *Jews*, were readily granted by the king, and two letters were sent, the one to the governor, and the other to the *Jewish* senate. *Lyfias* likewise wrote to them, as did also *Q. Memmius* and *T. Manlius*, two *Roman* ambassadors to the *Syrian* court. All these four letters the reader may find in the chapter last quoted ^g; by which it appears, how ready both the governor and his master were to agree to a peace with the victorious *Jews*, and how friendly those two *Romans*

^f 2 MACCAB. cap. II. 1, ad 13.

^g Vers. 17, to the end.

had interposed their good offices on their behalf (C). It appears also by the king's letter, that *Menelaus*, the apostate high-priest, who in all likelihood was then at the Syrian court, had also laboured to promote this peace, and was desirous to be included in it, since he was sent back to *Jerusalem* by *Antiochus*, as his letter terms it, to comfort or confirm the *Jews* ^h.

THIS peace, however, which seems to have been obtained from the young king by the sole interest of *Lysias*, unless we join with him the high-priest above-mentioned, could not be brooked by the other Syrian generals; so that, as soon

as

^h Ibid. ver. 32.

(C) *Lysias*'s letter, being dated from the month *Dioscorinthius*, or, as the *Latin* version abridges it, *Dioscorus*, has very much puzzled the chronologists, because there is no such month to be found in the *Syro-Macedonian* calendar, or indeed in any other of those times. Those who suppose it to have been an intercalary one, placed between those of *Dysurus* and *Xanthicus* (32), answering in part to our *March* and *April*, have not given us any proof, that either *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, or even *Chaldeans*, had any such intercalary month; and the main reason on which they build their supposition, viz. that the ratification of the peace is dated from the month *Xanthicus*, immediately following, doth make rather manifestly against it.

For *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* being at least four hundred miles asunder, it is hardly credible, that these articles of peace could have been sent for, transmitted, and ratified in so short a space as a month. We must therefore either suppose some mistake in the text, occasioned by the inadvertency of the transcribers, or suppose, that the king was not then at *Antioch*, but either in *Phœnicia*, or some other place nearer *Jerusalem*; and this latter seems indeed the most probable, if we consider, that, according to the king's letter (33), those *Jews*, who were to transact this peace and to go from *Jerusalem* to *Lysias*'s camp, or, as was observed above, to the Syrian court, had but fifteen days allowed them, viz. from the fifteenth to the thirtieth day of *Xanthicus*, which would have been too short a space to have gone to and from the king, and makes it reasonable to suppose he was nearer *Judæa*.

In this case *Dioscorinthius* and *Dioscorus* may be probably enough either a corruption, or more likely, other names for *Dysurus*, im-

(32) Scalig. de emend. temp. l. ii. Usser. sub A. M. 3841.
(33) 2 Macc. xi. 30.

mediately

as *Lyfias* was retired to *Antioch*, *Timotheus*, *Apollonius* (D), *Hieronimus*, *Demophon*, and *Nicanor* governor of *Cyprus*, began to renew their hostilities against the *Jews*. The neighbouring nations, whether out of innate hatred against them, or by the suggestion of the *Syrian* officers, were equally forward to infect them. Some instances of which the author gives us in those of *Joppa*, who treacherously invited, upon some pretence, a number of *Jews*, with their wives and children, who lived in the place, on board some barges by the sea shore, rowed them further into the deep, and flung them over-board, to the number of about two hundred. This barbarous action was soon after heard of at *Jerusalem*, and *Judas*, justly provoked at it, marched against those murderers, came upon them in the dead of night, set fire to their boats and port, and killed all those that had saved themselves from the flames. He would have done the same to the city itself, but they had timely shut their gates upon him; and when he was resolving its utter destruction, he heard that those of *Jamnia* had hatched the same cruel mischief against those *Jews* that lived with them; he turned his arms thitherward, and came suddenly upon them, burnt their ships, port, and magazines, insomuch, that the flames were seen from *Jerusalem*, though, as we hinted before, at near two hundred and forty furlongs, or about thirty miles distance¹.

Judas staid not to take a further revenge of those two perfidious towns, because he heard, that *Timotheus*, who had by this time got a fresh army, was entered the land of *Gilead*; but marched directly to their assistance; he had

¹ 2 Macc. c. xii. 1, & seq. ad 9.

mediately preceding *Xanthicus*, or, if the former be derived from Διὸς κορινθίου, as who should say the month *Dius* of the *Corinthians*, because *Dius* among the *Bitynians* answered the *Dystrus* of the *Syro-Macedonians*, which is not improbable, then the *Dioscorus* of the *Latin* version will be only an abbreviation or corruption of the *Dioscorinthus* (34).

These letters bear moreover the date of the hundred and forty-eighth year, viz. of the *Seleucida*, which the learned author last quoted has proved to answer to the year before Christ 163, and the rest in proportion accordingly; to which we refer the reader.

(D) Not the general that has been spoken of in the former section, who was the son of *Thyrseus*, and was killed by *Judas*, but another, who is here called the son of *Genneus* †.

(34) *Vid. Prid. sub an. 163.*

† See Vol. VIII. p. 604, (I).
scarce

Judas de-
feats the
Arabians.

scarce gone nine furlongs, before he was attacked by a band of *Arabian Nomades* (E), in number about five thousand foot and five hundred horse. A fierce engagement immediately ensued, in which *Judas* having got the better, forced those free-booters to sue for peace, and granted it to them the more readily, that his march into *Gilead* might not be stopt^k. However, he obliged them to furnish him with a certain number of cattle and provisions, and extorted a promise, that they should assist him in any thing he should require of them, after which he marched in all haste to the other side *Jordan* to attack the *Syrian* general. However, he met with several other obstacles, and was forced to take some places in his way. The first of them was *Caspis*, a city well fenced with high walls, and so well provided within, that the inhabitants, trusting to their own strength, threw many scornful and blasphemous sarcasms at the *Jewish* army; but *Judas* assaulted it with such an unexpected bravery, that he made himself master of it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, insomuch, that a neighbouring lake, about two furlongs broad, was seen running with blood^l.

FROM thence he marched into the land of *Tob*, where the *Jews*, called from thence *Tubieni*, had shut themselves up in the fortress of *Characa* (F); and whence *Timotheus* having in

^k Ibid. ad ver. 12.

^l Ibid. ad ver. 16.

(E) These were a kind of wandering people, living in tents, and staying in a place no longer than it afforded them provision for themselves and cattle. They were the descendants of *Ismael*, and, according to the angel's prediction of them (35), their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them; for they lived chiefly upon plunder, especially of the caravans, who did therefore go well armed, and whenever they met, they seldom gave quarter to one another; and as those plunderers were stout, warlike, and well acquainted with the course of all those countries, it was no ill policy in the *Jewish* chief to secure their friendship and future services.

(F) Probably the same with *Charac Moab*, as *Carnion* may be reasonably supposed the same which, in the *Hebrew* and the first book of the *Maccabees*, is called *Carnaim*, al. *Ashtaroth Carnaim*, or *Ashtar with two horns* (36), which city was the residence of *Og*

(35) *Gen. xvi. 12.* See also, *Vol. II. p. 365, note M.* (36) *De his vid. Byzant. Reland Palest. tom. 1. p. 212, & seq. & alib. Bochart. & al.*

king

in vain tried to dislodge them, was gone, after having left a good garison in a place strongly situate within its neighbourhood to keep them in awe. As soon therefore as Judas found him gone, he sent two of his generals with a detachment to take that garison, whilst he with the rest of his army, marched in search of the Syrian chief. *Dositheus* and *Sosipater*, the two Hebrew generals, soon after forced the garison, and put it to the sword, to the number of ten thousand. By this time *Timotheus* had got an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; and when he heard that Judas was in full march against him, he sent all the women, children, and other luggage, into *Carnion*, a strong city of *Gilead* and very difficult of access, whilst himself incamped his army in the neighbourhood of *Raphon*, upon the borders of the river *Jabboc*. As soon as Judas was come near enough for his van-guard to be seen by the enemy, they seem to have been seized with a panic fear, for they made such haste to fly from him, that they wounded one another with their own weapons in the flight. In this running fight *Timotheus* lost thirty thousand of his men, and, unable to rally the rest, betook himself to his heels. Those who escaped the slaughter, finding themselves closely pursued, fled into *Carnion*, and a great number of them went and took refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (G). Judas, who came close after them, burnt the temple and them in it; then setting fire to the rest of the city, they all perished likewise, either by the flames or by his sword, to the num-

And Ti-
motheus.

Takes and
burns Car-
nion.

king of *Basban* †. We find a city mentioned by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* by the name of *Carno* in *Arabia*. *Eusebius* mentions one near *Jerusalem* (37); and there might be many more of the same name, if *Astarte* was either the moon, worshipped under that name, or the Egyptian *Isis*, represented by a bullock's head with two horns (38).

(G) Supposed to be the same with the *Astarte* mentioned in the last note. *Diodorus* says (39), she was worshipped at *Ascalon*, under the figure of a woman from the navel upward, and fish downward, like the *dragon* of, if not the same with that of, the *Philistines*; for she was worshipped under several names, though under the same form, being called *Derceto* at *Joppa*, *Ashtaroth*, *Atargatis*, and *Atergata* in other places (40).

† See Vol. II. p. 174, 200. • (37) Vid. infra, in seq. (38) Vid. *Sanhoniast.* ap. *Euseb. Præp. lib. i. c. ult.* & Vol. II. p. 308, G. & 310. (39) *Bibl l. ii.* (40) Vid. *Strab Geogr. l. Plin. l. v. c. 23. Selden. de diis Syr. & Vol. II. p. 308, & seq.*

ber of twenty five thousand. As for *Timotheus*, he fell in his flight into the hands of *Dositheus* and *Sosipater*, who were hasting from the land of *Tob* to join their commander. These two captains, however, were persuaded by him to give him his liberty, upon promise that he would do the same to a great number of *Jews*, whom he held prisoners, many of whom were very nearly related, either to some of those officers, or to some of their troops there present^m. This victory quite compleated the reduction of the land of *Gilead*, and put it out of his enemies power to undertake any thing against him there. However, as the cities of *Judæa* were still in great measure unpeopled, he chose rather to follow his brother *Simon's* example, and bring the *Jewish Gileadites* to inhabit and fortify themⁿ.

And Eph-
ron.

IN his way to *Judæa* he was of necessity to pass through *Ephron*, that city being so advantageously situate, that he could neither turn to the right nor the left hand of it. It was moreover well fortified and peopled by strangers of all nations. He therefore sent in a peaceable manner to demand a passage through it; but they, instead of opening their gates to him, did shut, and even wall them up, and prepared themselves for a siege. *Judas* therefore caused it to be proclaimed through his camp, that every man should scale the walls in the place that chanced to be over-against him. On the other hand, the city which had been well garisoned by *Lysias*, had placed their choicest men on the battlements of it. The assault was fierce, and lasted the whole day; at length *Judas* carried it and took the city, put all the males, about twenty five thousand, to the sword, took their wives and daughters captive, seized all the richest plunder, and burnt and quite crazed the place. From *Ephron*, crossing the *Jordan*, he spread his army along the plains of *Bethshan*, then called *Scythopolis*, a considerable city, about a hundred furlongs from *Jerusalem*†. Here he enquired of the *Jews* how they had been treated by the *Scythians*, and they answering much to the commendation of that people, *Judas* returned them thanks for their kindness to his brethren, exhorted them to live in friendship with them, and assured them of his own^o, and then continued his journey towards *Jerusalem*. During their march, *Judas* kept still in the rear of his army, encouraging those that lagged behind, and brought them at length to that metropolis about the time of pentecost. Here they went to the temple to return thanks to God for

^m Ibid. ad ver. 24. ⁿ Ibid. v. 24, 25. † De hac. vid. v. p. 365. ^o 2 Macc. ubi supra v. 30, & 31.

their quick and wonderful success (H), and particularly that they were all returned safe and victorious without the loss of one man ^P.

Judas had still a powerful enemy left: *Georgias*, governor of *Idumea*, was at the head of that nation, and had harassed the *Jews* for some time. He therefore made no longer stay at *Jerusalem* than the ending of that festival, immediately after which he marched at the head of only three thousand foot and four hundred horse. The two armies met, and the onset was so fierce on both sides, that *Judas*, till then so victorious, had the mortification to see some of his men killed on the spot. *Dositheus* likewise, a brave captain of his, whom we have lately mentioned upon another occasion, having seized the *Idumean* general alive, had his arm cut off close to the shoulder by a *Thracian* horseman, and was forced to quit his prisoner, who took that opportunity to fly into *Maresa*, a fortress near *Eleutheropolis*. Another part of his troops, commanded by *Esdrin*, had sustained the shock so long, that they were quite exhausted. At length, *Judas* having again revived his men by fresh prayers and warlike canticles, the enemy took flight and fled, which gave him an opportunity of rallying his scattered forces to *Odollam*, a town near the field of battle, where they purified themselves for the sabbath then ensuing. On the day following, when he and his men came to view the slain, in order to bury them, they found upon every one of them some gold and silver idols, which had been consecrated by the *Jamnites*, and which, though taken in plunder, were forbidden to be worn by the law of *Moses* ^Q. It was then easy for them to discover the true cause of their late defeat, and the just punishment of those wretches, who had ventured to transgress in that clan-

^P 1 MACC. v. 46, & seq. 2 MACCAB. xii. 30, & seq. ^Q DEUT. vii. 25, & seq.

(H) Quick and wonderful indeed! if we consider, that the peace could not be broken as soon as made, and that it was concluded on the fifteenth of *Xanthicus*, answering to the beginning of our *April*; and that the feast of pentecost fell either on the latter end of *May* or beginning of *June*; so that in less than two months time they burnt the two havens of *Joppa* and *Jamnia*, beat the *Arabian Nomades*, took the city of *Caspis*, defeated *Timotheus* and his numerous army, burnt and destroyed *Carnion* and *Ephron*, besides several other strong fortresses, released a vast number of their brethren, and were returned to *Jerusalem* laden with spoils and a vast multitude of female captives, and all this without any loss on their side

Offers sa-
crifices for
the slain.

destine manner. *Judas* did not lose so fair an opportunity of inspiring the survivors with an abhorrence against all such heathenish superstitions; and with a sure confidence in God, as long as they kept themselves free from them. He then ordered a voluntary collection to be made among them which amounted to two thousand drachms of silver, which he sent to *Jerusalem*, and caused an expiatory sacrifice to be offered up for those that had thus died in their sin, and to avert any further punishment being inflicted on them for it in the other life (I). From thence *Judas* fell upon the southern parts of *Idumea*, took *Hebron* and other fortresses; after which he went and took *Azotus* from the *Philistines*, and pulled down all their images and altars wherever he passed, and so returned to *Jerusalem* loaden with fresh laurels and plunder.

Besieges
Acra.

ALL this while the fortress of *Acra* was in the hand of the enemy, and not only hindered many of the *Jews* from resorting to the temple, but annoyed those that did, especially in *Judas's* absence. Upon his coming therefore from *Odolam*, he resolved to form the siege of it, and to that end gathered together his whole army, furnished himself with engines for throwing large stones, and with other instruments

† 2 Macc. ubi supra, vers. 38, ad fin.

(I) This is certainly the meaning of the historian (whatever might be that of the *Jewish* chief in causing this sin offering or reconciliatory sacrifices and prayers to be made for those dead sinners); for he adds (41), that *Judas* gave thereby a signal proof of his belief of a resurrection; for, says he, if he had not hoped that those slain men would have risen again from the dead, it had been vain and superfluous to have caused prayers to be made for them.

Judas might, in all likelihood, have in his eye the defeat which the *Israelites* had formerly had upon such another occasion, in the case of *Achan's* sacrilege (42); but it may as well be likewise, that the notion of praying and offering of sacrifices for the dead might be then in use, if not of longer standing. However that be, it must have been so in the time in which the historian wrote it, unless we will suppose with some interpreters, that the passage above quoted was a gloss of the translator (43).

We may further observe that the *Arundelian* copy and *Syriac* version mention three thousand drachms, and the *Latin* one twelve thousand (44).

(41) 2 Maccab. xii 44. (42) Josh. vii 16, & seq. Vid. & Vol. III. p. 71, & F. (43) Vid. int. al. Tremel. in loc. (44) Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M. 3841.

for the siege. The place being very strong, and the garison numerous and well furnished with arms and provision, made it likely to hold out a considerable time. But the renegado *Jews*, a great number of whom were then in the place and knew the valour and stoutness of *Judas* and his troops, finding that they should be forced at length to surrender, and knowing how little mercy they had to hope for from the conqueror, advised the commanders to make a vigorous sally, in order to give an opportunity to some of their brethren to go to *Antioch*, and inform the young king of their distress. Their advice was taken, and the sally so well managed, that a number of those renegadoes, with some officers, found an opportunity to divide from the rest, and to take the way to the court unperceived. Upon their arrival they went and informed the king of all that *Judas* had done. They added, that he persecuted with the most merciless hatred all that dared shew any fidelity to the *Syrians*, that he plundered, sacked, and put to fire and sword all that came in his way; and lastly, that to shake wholly off the *Syrian* yoke, he had besieged the garison of *Acra*, which had been placed there to keep their metropolis in awe, and that it must undergo the fate of *Beth-zura* and other of his cities and fortresses, if not speedily relieved. This news failed not to alarm the *Syrian* monarch, who ordered immediately all his generals to assemble his troops, and if they were not thought sufficient, to hire a number of auxiliaries, and to march with the utmost dispatch into *Judaea*. His orders were punctually obeyed, and a vast army was drawn together, consisting of a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, thirty two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots. These, having the young king and his uncle *Lysias* at their head, marched to the borders of *Idumea*, where they laid siege to the fortress of *Beth-zura* ^c. We have already given an account of this war in a former volume [†], and of the miraculous deliverance of the *Jews*, which ended in an advantageous peace to them, though dishonourable to *Antiochus*, who, contrary to the articles of it, caused the fortifications of their metropolis to be demolished.

Menelaus, the apostate high-priest, who had accompanied the king in this expedition, in hopes of being restored to his ill-gotten dignity, and perhaps of obtaining the government of *Judaea*, left no stone unturned to ingratiate himself to the

^c 1 Macc. vi. 18, & seq. 2 Macc. xiii. 1, & seq. [†] See Vol. VIII. p. 584, & seq.

young monarch, though at the expence of his nation and religion; but his wicked policy failed him, and *Lyfias*, tired with so dear and dishonourable a war, and fearful, lest, if that wretch was left at *Jerusalem* and invested with any power, he should stir up a new revolt, either to ingratiate himself to the *Jews*, or to maintain his own authority against a people who he foresaw would never brook it; thought it more adviseable to find out some expedient to rid himself of so dangerous a wretch. He easily compassed his end, and his great credit with the young monarch, to whom he accused him as the author and cause of all the late mischiefs, soon prevailed upon him to condemn him to such a death as his treason, if not to *Antiochus*, yet to his God and nation, had deserved. He was accordingly sent under a strong guard to *Berea*, and there made to undergo the cruel punishment of the ashes^t, a death we have already described in a former volume*.

Menelaus
put to
death.

THE *Jews*, though glad at the death of that monster, did not, however, gain much by the change, *Lyfias* found means to persuade the young monarch, that there was a necessity of bestowing the high-priesthood on one that was not of the pontifical family; so that that dignity, which of right belonged to *Onias*, the son of that worthy high-priest, who had been murdered at *Antioch*, was bestowed on *Alcimus*, or *Jacimus* as he is called by *Josephus*, who was of another family, tho' of the *Aaronic* race, and a person no less wicked than his predecessor. As for *Onias*, when he found his right given to one who had neither title nor merit, he resented the wrong to such a degree, that he retired into *Egypt*, in hopes by some other way to recompence himself for his loss. Accordingly, upon his coming to that court, he found means to ingratiate himself so well to *Ptolemy Philometor* and to his queen *Cleopatra*, that they granted him, some time after, the liberty of building a temple at *Alexandria*, like unto that of *Jerusalem*, of which he secured the priesthood to himself and descendants, as shall be seen in the sequel^u.

Onias de-
prived of
the high-
priesthood.

Demetrius We have elsewhere seen how *Demetrius*, the lawful heir of the Syrian crown, had found means to escape from *Rome*, where he had been long kept as an hostage; and, being arrived at *Antioch*, had put to death both *Antiochus Eupator* and *Lyfias*, and had made himself master of that capital, and

Demetrius
recovers
Syria.

^t 2 MACC. xiii. 3, & seq.

* See Vol. V. p. 19. & note.

^u 2 MACC. xiv. 9, &c. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. 15. xx. 8.

soon after of the whole kingdom *. In the mean time *Alcimus*, whom the *Jews* had refused to admit to the high-priesthood, because he had obtained and sullied that dignity by open apostacy and conforming to the religion and customs of the *Greeks*, came to complain of it to the new monarch; he brought with him a number of other *Jewish* renegadoes, whom *Judas* had caused to be banished *Judaea* for the same crime. At the head of these miscreants he applied himself to the king, accused *Judas* and the rest of the *Maccabean* or *Asmonean* race, of having destroyed those that stood firm to their allegiance to him; of banishing others for not joining with his revolted party and of other such crimes as they thought would render them odious to the court. They added, that their present distress was owing to their readiness in obeying the edicts of the late king, his uncle; and in the end, *Alcimus* forgot not to beg to have the high-priesthood confirmed to him by *Demetrius*. This accusation, carried on with such seeming zeal for the king, did so exasperate him against the *Jews*, that he sent back the apostate, and with him *Bacchides*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, at the head of a considerable army, and with orders both to reinstate *Alcimus* to his dignity, and to carry on the war against the *Maccabees*. These two were joined in the same commission, and *Alcimus*, impatient to see himself restored to his dignity, hastened the *Syrian* general, who was wholly devoted to him, to march forthwith into *Judaea* w.

Judas accused by Alcimus.

UPON their arrival, the two colleagues, who knew what an enemy they had to deal with, endeavoured at first to decoy him by some treacherous stratagem; and to this end sent deputies to the *Jewish* chief to invite him to a conference, in order to end their dispute in an amicable way. They spared no promises nor vows, that he should come and go with utmost safety. *Judas* easily suspected their design, and rightly judged, that such a powerful army was intended rather to surprise him, than to decide the title of an intruding priest, hated and rejected by the whole nation. Instead, therefore, of accepting of their invitation, he set himself about preparing for a vigorous defence. His behaviour, however, was disapproved by several doctors and scribes, and particularly by some of the *Assideans*, whose sect we have spoken of in a former section. These, pretending to a greater degree of sanctity than the rest, insisted, that an amicable way was preferable to an hostile one, and that *Alcimus*, being of the race of

* See Vol. VIII. p. 591, & seq.

w 1 MACCAB. vii. 8, & seq.

Aaron,

Aaron, ought not to be lightly suspected of treachery against them. But finding *Judas* unmoveable, they took it into their heads to try how far their mediation would work towards the desired peace; and having obtained an oath of safety from the treacherous high-priest, they came to him accompanied with some of their doctors and scribes. *Alcimus* gave them at first a friendly reception, but as soon as he had got them into his power, he caused sixty of them to be seized and put to death*. This action proved of singular service to *Judas* and his council, and sufficiently justified his refusal; and his whole army, being now fully convinced that nothing but the blackest perfidy was to be expected, from that base pontiff and his colleague, resolved to stand up for their general, their religion and liberty. Some few indeed, being terrified, either at the news of *Alcimus*'s perfidy, or at the sight of so great an army, left *Jerusalem* and retired into the country; but there stayed with him a sufficient number to suppress the power of the treacherous pontiff, in spite of his daily reinforcements from the renegado *Jews*, who resorted to him, especially after *Bacchides*'s departure. For that general, whether stung with the reproaches, which his late perfidious action brought upon him, or with shame for not having been able to subdue an enemy by treachery, whom he dared not attack openly, left *Judæa* and returned to *Antioch*, leaving *Alcimus* what he thought a sufficient number of troops, to maintain himself in his new dignity. However, whilst he was in his way to the *Syrian* court, he could not forbear committing some cruelties against those *Jews* that came in his way. Particularly at *Beseth*, or *Bethsetha*, he caused a considerable number of them to be seized and killed, and their bodies to be flung into a well†.

Alcimus, on the other hand, spared neither pains nor cost, flatteries nor cruelties, to strengthen himself. Those that were of greatest service to him were the *Jewish* renegados and malecontents, whom his caresses and generosity drew daily to his side. For with these, supported by the *Syrian* troops, he was making continual excursions into some part or other of the country, plundering, burning, and destroying all that refused to acknowledge him. *Judas* on his side was no less watchful of all opportunities to oppose and suppress him; he defeated him in several rencounters, and took such a severe vengeance on as many of the revolted *Jews* as fell into his hands, that the rest dared no longer act against him. *Alcimus*, being by this

* Ibid. ver. 12, & seq.

† Ibid. v. 19.

time convinced of the impossibility of mastering his enemy, and of ever being admitted to approach the sacred altars, unless he procured a much greater army to force the *Jews* into a compliance, returned to the *Syrian* court, renewed his former accusations and complaints, which failed not to be backed by all the enemies of the *Jews* that were then at *Antioch*; and having presented *Demetrius* with a rich crown of gold and other valuable presents, obtained of that incensed monarch a fresh army, the command of which was given to *Nicanor*, one of the bitterest enemies the *Jewish* nation had, with express orders to cut off *Judas* and his party, disperse his army, and to settle *Alcimus* in his power and dignity, beyond the possibility of any future opposition². But *Nicanor*, who had lately been so feelingly convinced of the strength and bravery of the *Jewish* chief, and justly reckoned that one defeat more would complete his disgrace, entered *Judæa* with a numerous army indeed, but with a full resolution if possible, to bring *Judas* to accept of a peace, rather than hazard any more battles with him.

*Nicanor
sent against
the Jews.*

HOWEVER, upon his first coming into that province, all the apostate *Jews* and the heathen, whom *Judas* had driven out of *Judæa*, came in shoals to list under him, in hopes to be soon resettled in their former habitations, so that his army was increased exceedingly, before he reached the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*. On the other hand, the *Jews*, being informed of his approach, went to the temple to implore the divine assistance by fasting and prayers, and then prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. *Nicanor* advanced as far as the fortress of *Dessau*, where *Simon*, *Judas*'s brother, having attempted to come out against him, was so terrified at the sight of his numerous army, that he was glad to retire to *Jerusalem*². All this, however, could not induce the *Syrian* general to begin any hostilities against the valiant *Judas*; on the contrary, he sent three of his head officers, *Posidonius*, *Theodosius*, and *Matthias*, to make overtures of peace to him. *Judas*, who had so lately observed the propensity of his men to a peace, acquainted them with the proposals made to him by *Nicanor*, which was so well approved by them, that a day and a place for an interview was agreed on by those two generals to give it the finishing stroke. *Judas*, however, *Makes* justly suspecting the sincerity of the *Syrians*, caused a certain number of his stoutest men to be so advantageously posted, *peace with them.* that they might come to his relief, in case any violence were

² *Ibid.* 21, & seq.

² 2 MACCAB. xiv. 12, & seq.

offered

offered to him. But his precaution at this time was needless, and *Nicanor* was so bent upon clapping up a peace with him, that their conference was carried on to the satisfaction of both parties; the articles were agreed on, after which *Nicanor* went and staid some time in *Jerusalem*, without giving the *Jews* the least cause of complaint; so far from it, that, to avoid giving them any umbrage, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, and lived in perfect friendship with the *Jewish* nation ^b (K).

^b Ibid. ver. 16, & seq.

(K) In this year some chronologers (45) place the introduction of the cycle, or rather period, of eighty four years, in order to settle the return of their new moons and festivals depending on them, we have shewn in a former volume †, what a wretched method they had used before the captivity, for discovering those new appearances without the help of astronomical tables. The inconveniency they found in it after their dispersion, obliged them to fall upon some surer method, that the whole nation might, in every place, observe them and the other festivals on the same day.

This method was the period of eighty four years, which in all probability was only the period of *Calippus*, which that learned astronomer had published about a hundred and seventy years before, and consisted of seventy six *Julian* years, and to which they added the *Olympiads*, either thinking it answered their purpose better, or, which is more likely, as dean *Prideaux* conjectures (46), to make it look like a discovery of their own. For the *Jews*, who were always very jealous of being suspected to borrow any thing of the heathen nations, may be supposed to have been more so at this time, when they had just gone through so great and general a reformation in their church.

But whether *Judas* and his *sanhedrin*, harassed as they were on all sides by their enemies, could have leisure enough to find out and settle this new method, or whether they had not brought already something like it, either from *Babylon*, or from some of the *Greeks*; one thing is certain, and worth observing, that this period of eighty four years was peculiar to the *Jews*, and has been used from thence downward to the time of the famous *Helliel*, who corrected their calendar in the year of Christ 360. It was afterwards followed by the primitive fathers in the christian church in the settling of their *Easter*, till new disputes arose, and new corrections were introduced, which are foreign to our present subject,

(45) Vid *Bocher. de antiq. Pascal Cyclo ap. Frid. connect. sub an. 162.* † *Vol. III. p. 186, (H).* (46) *Ubi supra.*

THIS harmony was, however, interrupted soon after by Year of the perfidious high-priest, who, thinking the peace not suffi- the Flood, ciently advantageous to him, went a third time to *Antioch* 2838. to complain against *Nicanor*, as a betrayer of his master's Before Christ, interest, and a friend to his mortal enemies; in testimony of which he urged the peace lately concluded between them. 161. *Demetrius*, though justly surprised that his general should venture to take such a step, not only without his leave, but without informing him of it, would not, however, recall him: he contented himself with refusing to ratify the articles, and sending him fresh orders to renew the war against the *Jewish* chief, and not to sheath his sword till he had killed him, and wholly suppressed his party. Upon receiving this unexpected order, *Nicanor* was extremely displeased; Ordered to renew the war. on the one hand, he was loth to violate the peace, which had been so strictly kept by the *Jews*; on the other, he feared the resentment of the king, if he disobeyed such an express command. The last motive having at length determined him, his main study was now to find out some plausible pretence for laying hold on the *Jewish* chief. To this end he began to alter his behaviour towards him, and, instead of their former intimacy, to treat him with coldness, and an air of superiority. This soon gave *Judas* to understand, that it was high time to look to himself, which he accordingly did, with such speed and secrecy, that he was quite disappeared before they had the least suspicion of it. *Nicanor*, surprised to find him gone out of his reach, endeavoured, as well as he could, to conceal his resentment: he found himself now obliged to raise a new army, and to act against him as an open enemy, and yet was both afraid and unwilling to do it. At length, having gathered a sufficient number of forces, and come towards *Jerusalem*, he resolved once more to try to surprise him by some foul stratagem, before he ventured upon an open rupture. To this end he sent some deputies to Acquaint him, that he was not come to make war against Attempts to surpris him, but to treat of peace with him, and to invite him to a Judas. new interview. *Judas* came accordingly to the place agreed on, where their first greeting was in all appearance very friendly and peaceable; but having discovered his treacherous intent, he withdrew, and from that time refused to meet him any more. *Nicanor* then ordered his troops to advance towards *Capharsalama*, not far from *Jerusalem*, where, being met by the *Jewish* army, a battle was fought, in which he lost five thousand men. But the *Jews*, finding themselves unable to make head against the enemy's superior forces, retired, some to the city of *David*, and some into the temple.

Threatens
Jerusalem.

ple c. *Nicanor* then led his army strait to *Jerusalem*, and, getting upon the eminence of mount *Sion*, was addressed by some of the priests and heads of the people, who came in a submissive manner to him, and shewed him from that place the sacrifices which were then offered up in the temple for the prosperity of king *Demetrius*. But the exasperated general, having cast many insolent and blasphemous reflections on what he called their base superstition, swore the utter destruction of them and their temple, unless *Judas* was immediately delivered up to him. But *Judas* had happily put it out of their power, having betimes withdrawn himself into the land of *Samaria* with some of his faithful troops. However, it was in vain for the priests to urge this or any thing else in their own defence, to a man who was now determined to make them feel the effects of his resentment, for having missed his blow. The poor priests, seeing an exasperated enemy at the head of a powerful army, at the very gates of the temple, and their valiant protector forced to abandon them to his mercy, had no other recourse but to their prayers and tears; whilst *Nicanor*, still bent rather upon stratagem than open war, bethought himself of a hellish expedient to oblige the *Jews* to apostatize, both from their God and their brave deliverer^d.

THEY had at that time an aged member of their sanhedrin, named *Razis*, a man highly esteemed by the nation for his strict piety and virtue, and whose inviolable fidelity to his religion and nation had gained him the title of *father of the Jews*. *Nicanor*, having heard so good a character of him, and that his example had preserved numbers of his people from apostatizing, conceived a design either to force him to it by fair or foul means, or else to do a despite to the nation, by putting him to some cruel death. To this end he dispatched five hundred of his soldiers to take and bring him to him. These, finding his castle strongly guarded, were endeavouring to break open the doors, or to force him out by setting it on fire, when the old man, after a long and stout defence, finding himself on the brink of being either taken or burnt, rushed on the point of his sword, and pierced himself through. However, the wound not proving mortal, and he seeing the soldiers rushing into the house, he ran to the top of one of the turrets, and flung himself headlong down. This fall not having put an end to his life, he raised himself up, ran through the midst of them to a neighbouring steep rock, leaving a rivulet of blood behind, which issued

c 1 MACCAB. vii. 27, & seq.

d Ibid. ver. 32, & seq.

out of his wounds, and having gained the top of it, he opened his wound with his hands, tore out his bowels, and flung them at his agashed enemies^c. Thus died the brave old man, *Kills him-* with an intrepidity rather to be admired than imitated. The *self.* *Jews*, however, have made no scruple to canonise him a martyr, though his death was rather that of a madman, or a desperado.

WHILE this was doing at *Jerusalem*, *Nicanor*, having heard that *Judas* was in the land of *Samaria*, marched against him with an army of thirty five thousand men; and as he still trusted more to his political stratagems, than to his strength, he resolved to attack him on the sabbath, not doubting but they would, as they had formerly done, chuse to be all murdered, rather than fight on that day. He was, however, assured of the contrary by some of that nation who were in his army, and who begged that he would pay a regard to that sacred day, which the God of heaven had consecrated to his service. *Nicanor* asked them, with a scornful taunt, Whether there was indeed a mighty God in heaven, who had ordered the sanctification of the sabbath? And being answered in the affirmative, he replied, And I, who am powerful upon earth, do command you to fight for the king your master, and to obey his orders. This blasphemous arrogance, as well as his former threatnings against the temple, did not go long unpunished; for whilst he was incamped in the neighbourhood of *Bethoron*, *Judas* marched immediately against him with his three thousand men, and incamped near *Adasa*, a place about thirty furlongs distant from the enemy. The first thing he did was to encourage his little army with proper texts out of the sacred books, and, to assure them further of the divine assistance, he acquainted them with a comfortable vision which he had lately had, in which he saw *Onias*, the late worthy high-priest, and after him the prophet *Jeremiah*, interceding for the *Jewish* people, and that the latter had presented him with a splendid sword, and given him at the same time an assurance of a complete victory. This speech had the desired effect, and his men were on a sudden fired with such courage, that they routed the enemy on the very first onset; for *Nicanor* being killed one of the first, his men *Is defeated* were seized with a panic, threw their arms down, and fought *and slain.* in vain for a shelter; for *Judas* pursuing them, and the *Jews* of the neighbouring cities hearing of this victory, stopping their flight, killed them all to a man, insomuch, that there was not a single person left to carry the news to *Antioch*.

^c 2 MACC. xiv. 37, & seq.

This battle was won on the thirteenth day of the month *Adar*, answering to our *February*; and on the next day, the body of *Nicanor* being found among the slain, *Judas* ordered his head and right hand, which he had so lately lifted up with threatening oaths against the temple, to be cut off, and carried in triumph to *Jerusalem*; where, being arrived with his army, he caused them to be exposed to the view of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, reminding them at the same time, that those were the head and hand of the profane *Nicanor*, who had sworn the total destruction of their sacred temple. His tongue he likewise ordered to be cut out, and minced, and to be thrown to the birds, and his head and hand to be hung up on some of the highest towers of that city. After the usual rejoicings for their late success, a public anniversary was instituted by the sanhedrin, to be kept by future generations on the thirteenth day of *Adar*, by the name of *the day of Nicanor* ^f, which has been kept ever since.

The Jews
make al-
liance
with
Rome.

THIS victory gave the *Jewish* nation some peaceful intermission, and their enemies being justly terrified at the continual successes of their leader, suffered him to return and take quiet possession of the city, which his successor was, however, forced to quit soon after to the then superior power of the *Syrian* general and apostate *Alcimus*, who held it but a short while, and for the last time, as the sequel will presently shew. During this peaceful interval, *Judas*, always intent on the interest of his religion and nation, observing how powerful the *Romans* were now grown, and how faithfully they protected and assisted their friends, resolved to procure an alliance with them, which might prove a bulwark against the oppressive power of the *Syrians*. *Eupolemus* the son of *John* and *Jason* the son of *Eleazar*, who had been already sent with success to *Seleucus Philopator*, were likewise chosen for this embassy. Their proposals were readily accepted by the *Roman* senate, and a decree was accordingly made and ingraven on copper, in order to be sent to *Jerusalem*; importing, that the *Jews* were thenceforth acknowledged as friends and allies of the *Romans*; that both nations should be ready to succour each other and the allies of either with all their power, and in no case should assist their enemies: and for as much as *Demetrius Soter* had been complained against to the senate, as an oppressor of the *Jewish* nation, they sent a letter to him, injoining him for the future to forbear all hostilities against them, and threatening him with an invasion of his country by

^f 1 MACC. vii. ad ver. 50. 2 MACCAB. XV. 1, & seq. Vid. & JOSEPH, antiq. l. xii. c. 17.

sea and land, in case he did not comply with the purport of their decree ^z. This alliance was made in a lucky time ; for whilst it was transacting at *Rome*, *Demetrius*, having received the news of *Nicanor's* defeat and death, was sending the right wing, that is to say, the flower (L) of his army, into *Judæa*,
with

^z Idem, *ibid.*

(L) It was usual in those days for the king to command the right wing of their army, so that the best of their troops were generally placed there

With relation to the alliance above-mentioned, *Josephus* observes (47), that it was the very first that ever the *Jews* made with *Rome*, which is very probable also, from the manner in which the author of the first book of *Maccabees* prefaces his account of it (48) ; for it appears from it, that the *Jews* till then knew but little of the *Roman* state.

And here it will not be amiss to inquire, how far the account which *Josephus* gives of this alliance (49) is liable to the reproof which our learned *Usher* gives it (50 ; that historian tells us, that *the decree of the senate was written by Eupolemus and Jason, when Judas was high priest, and his brother Simon general of the Jews. That Judas died before Alcimus, and so could not be chosen by the people to succeed him in that dignity, as he there affirms a little before, is plain, not only from the first book of Maccabees, but even from Josephus himself, who tells us in another place, that Alcimus had no successor till seven years after his death (1), but that the superscription abovementioned was therefore forged by him, doth not so clearly follow. It is probable, on the contrary, that his finding it in those very terms, in the Roman records which he was then consulting, might lead him for the present into that mistake, that Judas had been chosen to the high priesthood after Alcimus's death*

If it be asked, how it came to be so worded, we answer, that the *Jewish* nation being known to have had a high-priest at the head of all their affairs, both religious and civil, such an alliance could not be well contracted without one. On the other hand, *Alcimus* having been constantly rejected by reason of his apostacy, it is not likely, that they would make use so much as of his name in so public a transaction. What other expedient could then be found, but that *Judas*, who was then at the head of all affairs, should take that title upon him, at least in the transacting of this alliance ?

(47) *Antiq. l. xii. c. 17.*
tiq. l. xii. sub fin. cap. 17.
tiq. l. xx. c. 8.

(48) *Cap. viii. 1, & seq.*
(50) *Sub. A. M. 3843.*

(49) *Antiq. l. xii. c. 17.*
(1) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.*

Judas's
death.

with *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* at their head. It consisted of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, and with these *Bacchides* entered *Galilee*, and took the city of *Maseloth* or *Massadoth* in the territories of *Arbela*, where he killed a great number of *Jews*. From thence they marched towards *Jerusalem*, but being told that *Judas* was retired into the neighbourhood of *Eleasa*, they went to attack him there. *Judas* had then but three thousand men, and when these beheld the superiority of the enemy's army, their hearts failed them so far, that only eight hundred of them stayed with him, and the rest conveyed themselves away, to the great regret of their valiant chief, who was now so sorely pressed, that he had no time to get a new reinforcement, but must either fight or be cut in pieces. However, trusting in that superior assistance which had accompanied him hitherto, he encouraged his men the best he could; a dreadful fight ensued, which lasted from morning till evening; and *Judas* observing that the enemy's right wing, commanded by *Bacchides*, was the strongest, made a stout push at it, broke and pursued it as far as mount *Azotus*; but in the mean time, the left having quite surrounded him and his men, he was at length over-born by their numbers, and slain, after a long and vigorous defence; so that he fell down on a heap of his enemies, which he had killed round about him. As soon as the news of his death had reached *Jerusalem*, the whole city was filled with the most lively for-

We might add, that it is not easy to guess, how the nation could be so long without a high priest; for setting aside those religious functions which were peculiar to that dignity, and which might, for ought we know, have been suspended during this interval; it is plain, the sanhedrin, or grand *Jewish* senate, could neither assemble nor make any authentic decrees without him; so that we must suppose, either that every thing went irregular, or that they chose some person to that dignity; in which case, why might not the choice of the nation, or at least of the heads of it, be deemed as valid at least, as that of a heathenish king, or rather tyrant and usurper? for such the *Jews* deemed even the best foreign princes that ruled over them.

How the generalship came to be given in this inscription, rather to *Simon* the third brother, than either to *Judas*, or to *Jonathan* the next in birth, can only be guessed at. *Judas* treating then with the *Romans* as high priest, might think the quality of general incompatible with it, and *Simon* might, for some signal exploit or other, have been at that time more famed than his brother.

One thing may be added, that this supposed inscription might imply no more in the *Jewish* historian, than that *Eupolemus* and *Jason* wrote, or sent the written decree to *Judas* the high-priest, and to *Simon* the general.

row. An universal mourning was made for him for some time, and in imitation of that which *David* made for *Saul* and *Jonathan*, they sung these lines of his, *How is the mighty fallen? How is the preserver of Israel slain?* However, his body did not fall into the hands of the enemy; for whether the *Syrians*, after this victory, which redounded less to their honour than a defeat, left the field of battle, or whether a truce was made for the burying of the dead, the author tells us, that it was taken and carried off by his two brothers, *Jonathan* and *Simon*, and buried in the sepulchre of his father at *Modin*^b. Thus died the brave *Jewish* general, six years after his father *Matthias*, and was succeeded by his brother *Jonathan*. The *Maccabite* historian adds, that the rest of his victorious wars were omitted, because they were too numerous; and *Josephus*, that he never departed from the precepts of his father, who enjoined him never to shun any labours or hazards for the service of his country, and that he died on the third year of his executing the office of high-priestⁱ, which confirms what was observed in the last note; so that, for ought appears, his only mistake was in making him die so long after *Alcimus*.

THE news of his death was no sooner spread through *Judaea*, than it gave a new life to all the enemies of the *Jews*, so that the greatest part of those found themselves obliged, partly for want of a chief of known valour and conduct, and partly through a grievous famine, which then raged in the land, to acknowledge *Bacchides* their governor, and to submit themselves to him. Whilst therefore this general was taking all proper measures to secure his own government, some of the chief officers, that served under him, were ordered to make a diligent search after the principal friends and adherents of the *Maccabees*, and to put them to the most torturing deaths; insomuch, that this persecution did seem to exceed all that they had suffered since their return from *Babylon*, and caused as general a defection. Under these dismal circumstances, those few who retained still a love for their religion and country had recourse to *Jonathan*, surnamed *Jonathan Apphus*, and desired him to take upon him the command of ^{succeeds} the *Jewish* forces, and to endeavour to stop the cruel progress^{him} of the *Syrian* general. *Jonathan* was easily prevailed upon, and was gathering what forces he could get. But *Bacchides*, being informed of it, and coming against him with a design to surprize and put him to death, forced him and his few

^b 1 MACCAB. ix. 1, & seq. ad 22. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. ult. ⁱ Id. ad fin.

followers to retire into the deserts of *Teckoa*, where they encamped near the lake *Asphar*, being fenced by a large morass on the one side, by woods on the other, and the *Jordan* before him ^k. This situation, which he thought very advantageous to his handful of men, because there was but one narrow way to come at them, proved the very reverse, when they came to engage the enemy, as we shall soon see.

John killed by the Jambrians.

IN the mean time, as soon as he heard that *Bacchides* was in full march against him, his first care was to secure their goods and equipage, which were very numerous, till better times. The *Nabathæans*, as we observed before, were then at peace with them. *John* therefore, the brother of *Jonathan*, was sent at the head of a convoy to go and deposit them with them. But in the way he was surprized by the *Jambrians* (M), who issuing out of their city, fell upon him, slew him and his men, and carried away all their baggage. This injury did not long go unrequited. *Jonathan* being informed soon after that a great wedding was to be celebrated at *Medaba*, between one of the *Jambrian* chiefs and a daughter of a *Canaanitish* prince, or perhaps rather a prince of the *Arabians* now settled there, and having got notice of the day on which the bride was to be conducted to her new home, he and his men lay in ambush behind a hill; and as soon as the company, which was very numerous and of both sexes, was come nigh enough, they fell upon them, killed them to the number of four hundred, and carried away their plunder to their camp.

Bacchides comes against the Jews.

As soon as *Bacchides* heard of this retaliation upon the *Jambrians*, he hastened his army, with a resolution to attack the *Jewish* general on the sabbath, at which *Jonathan* found himself in no small distress. On the one hand, he was hemmed in on all sides, and on the other his men were with difficulty prevailed upon to stand in their own defence, partly at the sight of their superior enemy, and partly out of respect to the day; whether they had forgot the resolution and example of their late chiefs to the contrary, or whether they scrupled the validity of it. At length *Jonathan*, finding

^k 1 MACCAB. ix. 23, ad 45. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiii. c. 1.

(M) These were a tribe of the plundering *Arabs*, who lived then at *Medaba*, formerly one of the cities which the *Moabites* took from the tribe of *Reuben* (2), and afterwards the *Arabs* from them.

(2) Conf. *Josh.* xiii. 16. *Isaiab* xv. 2. & *Joseph. ant.* l. xiii. c. 1.

himself pressed by the enemy on one side, and on the other by the reluctance of his men to engage them, addressed himself to the latter in the following short, but pathetic speech ;
 “ Come on, and let us fight for our lives ; for it is not now
 “ with us, as it was in time past ; for you see plainly, that
 “ the battle is both before and behind us, and the *Jordan* on
 “ this, and the morasses and the wood on that side. Neither
 “ is there a place left for us to turn aside to. Wherefore
 “ cry ye now unto heaven that ye may be delivered out of
 “ the hand of your enemies”. As soon as he had done speaking, his men, what through his encouragement, and what through despair, made a bold push at the enemy, and killed a good number of them on the first onset. *Bacchides* all the while seemed to aim solely at *Jonathan*, which being perceived by him, he attempted to make a full and effectual blow at him, but was prevented by his address. The *Jews*, finding themselves at last unable to cope with such an army, cast themselves one and all into the river (MM), and swam to the other side, after having killed about a thousand, or, according to *Josephus*, two thousand of the enemy ^{put to flight.} 1.

1 *Ibid. ibid.*

(MM) Whoever compares the situation of these places with the abstruse and imperfect account which the author of it gives of this action, must confess, with the judicious *Calmet* *, that *Jonathan* must have crossed the *Jordan* twice, instead of once, else he could never have had that river before, and *Bacchides* behind. For when he retired to *Teckoa*, the river must then have parted them, and he must have crossed it again to come to *Medeba* to punish the *Jambrians* ; for *Medeba* was on the east side, and *Teckoa*, where they had encamped at first, was on the west side of that river.

Had he then crossed it again, after this bloody expedition, which would have been the third time, he could not have had it before, and *Bacchides* behind him, unless we supposed that he also crossed it either higher or lower, and so fetched a long compass about to inclose him ; in which case there would be three crossings omitted, viz. two of *Jonathan*'s and this of *Bacchides*'s. But it is more probable, considering what haste the latter was in to fall upon him, that he overtook him as they returned from *Medeba*, and before he could cross again to return to *Teckoa* ; and this may be the reason when they found themselves overpowered, of their flinging themselves into that river, and swimming across it, in order to recover their camp, which might be so well situate and fortified, that it discouraged the *Syrians* from pursuing them further.

* *Sub voce Jonathan IX.*

Year of
the Flood,
2139.
Before
Christ,
160.

Bacchides, now convinced that they would fight on the sabbath, as well as on other days, did not think fit to pursue them further, but returned with his army to *Jerusalem*, and there gave orders for the fortifying and garisoning of such places as were most likely to keep the *Jews* in awe, and oblige the *Maccabite* party, either to submit, or at least to forbear all future attempts against him. Among these were *Bethoron*, *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Bethel*, *Thimnatha*, *Bethzura*, and some others, especially the fortress of *Acra*, into which, besides a new supply of men, arms and provisions, he sent the children of some of the principal *Jews* to be kept as hostages there, to prevent their parents and relations going over to *Jonathan* and his party. At the same time the apostate *Alcimus*, finding himself master of *Jerusalem*, gave orders for demolishing the wall of the temple, which inclosed the court of the priests from that of the people (N), and which had been formerly built by the direction of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zachary*. But he had scarce began the work, before he was struck with a dead palsy, which took his speech from him, so that he died without being able to speak a word, or to take any care of his house. After his death *Bacchides*, having by that time brought all *Judæa* into subjection, thought he had no further business there, but returned to *Antioch*, and left the *Jews* and heathens to live in peace there, which they did for about two years^m (O).

^m *Ibid. ibid.*

(N) Or more probably that which divided the court of the circumcised from that of the uncircumcised. For as his apostacy had made him incur the hatred of all the sincere *Jews*, it is not unlikely, that he caused this partition wall to be pulled down to mortify them, and to ingratiate himself with the heathen and the renegadoes of his nation. However, the book of *Maccabees* calls it the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary (3), and *Josephus* (4) the wall of the old sanctuary, and adds to it the works of the prophets.

(O) It may be also likely enough, that he was privately recalled by *Demetrius*; for that prince at this time stood in great need of the friendship of the *Romans* (5), and had probably received their letter, which ordered him to cease all hostilities against the *Jewish* nation; so that he was forced to recal him, yet so privately, that the *Jews* should not be too elated by it; and this may be the reason why neither *Josephus* nor the book of *Maccabees* mention it.

(3) 1 *Maccab.* ix. 54.
Polyb. legat. 120.

(4) *Antiq.* l. xii, c. 17.

(5) *Vide Jonathan*

Jonathan and his party made the best of this short interval to secure themselves, so that they lived quietly and without any mistrust. This gave his enemies an opportunity to make afresh attempt upon him, by inviting *Bacchides* to surprise and destroy the whole party, which they sent him word might be done in one night. *Demetrius*, who had been by this time acknowledged king of *Syria* by the *Romans*, and had made a new alliance with them, having now nothing to fear from that side, was easily persuaded to send *Bacchides* with a powerful army into *Judæa*. As soon therefore as this general was got there, he sent letters to those of his party, with orders to seize *Jonathan* and his men, and to bring them to him, as had been agreed before. This plot, however, had not been carried on with such secrecy, but that vigilant chief had notice of it time enough, both to disappoint it, and to punish those traitors that had hatched it; for he came suddenly upon them, took fifty of the chief conspirators and put them all to death; after which the rest were soon dispersed, and the whole design discomfited.ⁿ

A plot against Jonathan.

Defeated.

AFTER this signal escape, *Jonathan*, being informed of *Bacchides*'s coming against him, and finding himself by far too weak to withstand so great a force retired to *Bethbasi*, or, as *Josephus* calls it, *Bethlagan*, a place strongly situate in the desert of *Jericho*, which he and his brother *Simon* fortified, and filled with all necessary provisions for a siege. *Bacchides* came, according to his expectation, and laid close siege to the place with his numerous army, which he had increased with all his adherents in *Judæa*, whom he summoned to repair to him thither. As the siege was like to last long, *Jonathan*, after a vigorous defence, left the place under the care of his brother, and with a small brigade went out to reinforce his army; and crossing the country, defeated *Odonarches* and his brethren, and the sons of *Phasiron*, in their tents. These we suppose were part of the besieging host. From thence he went on, attacked, and annoyed other parts of their camp, and forced *Bacchides* to come to their assistance; which being perceived by *Simon* from within, he made a vigorous sally, burnt their engines, then falling upon his army, discomfited it on one side, whilst his brother did the same on the other. *Bacchides* vexed at the heart to meet with such a defeat, where he expected an easy victory, vented his rage on those who had invited him out of *Syria*, and put many of them to death, resolved to raise the siege and to return to *Antioch*. The only difficulty was how to do it, if not with

Jonathan besieged by Bacchides.

Defeats him.

ⁿ 1 MACCAB. ubi supra. v. 57. ad 61. JOSEPH. ubi supra.

Makes
peace with
him.

Judges the
Jews.

Year of
the Flood
2846.
Before
Christ
153.
Demetri-
us's letter
to Jona-
than.

honour, at least with as little disgrace as might be; which as soon as *Jonathan* understood, he sent him some messengers with proposals for a peace; which were gladly accepted, and soon after ratified by both parties. By these articles all prisoners were to be released on both sides, which was accordingly done; and *Bacchides*, having sworn never more to act hostily against *Jonathan*, departed into *Syria*, and punctually kept his oath to him as long as he lived^o. It seems likewise, that by these articles *Jonathan* was left, if not governor, at least deputy governor, of *Judæa*; for as soon as *Bacchides* was gone, he went and settled in *Michmash* (P), where he judged *Israel*, pretty near like the antient *Judges*. He began with making a severe example of all the apostate *Jews*, who were the cause of all the wars and persecutions that fell upon their nation, from the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes* downwards to that time. After this he set about reforming the *Jewish* church and state. So that from this time *Judæa* began to enjoy a perfect peace and free exercise of their religion, the happy effects of their general's valour and piety^p.

SOON after this, the troubles that happened in *Syria*, and of which we have already spoken in a former volume[†], gave the *Jews* a fair opportunity of wholly recovering their liberty, and not only of raising themselves into a state of independency, either from that kingdom, or that of *Egypt*; but of being highly courted by both. But, above all, *Demetrius*, who so feelingly knew their strength and bravery, had most cause to use all possible means to prevent their declaring for his competitor *Alexander Balas*. To effect which, he wrote a letter to *Jonathan* full of expressions of the sincerest friendship and confidence, and in which he gave him full power to levy what forces he should think fit, and to cause new arms to be fabricated, and declared him his new friend and ally. In the end, he added an order for setting at liberty all the hostages which had been sent by *Bacchides* into the fortress of *Acra*, and had been detained there ever since, notwithstanding the late peace concluded with him. As soon as *Jonathan* had re-

^o Id. ibid. & seq.
I. xiii. c. 2.

^p MACCAB ubi sup. vers 62. ad fin. antiq.
† Vol. VIII. p. 598, & seq.

(P) This town was in the tribe of *Benjamin* east of *Bethaven* (6), about nine miles from *Jerusalem* (7), and between it and *Gibeon*. *Eusebius* tells us in the place last quoted, that it was still very considerable in his time.

(6) 1 Sam. xiii. 5.

(7) Loc. Hebr. sub voce.

ceived the letter, he brought it to *Jerusalem*, caused it to be read before that garison, and demanded the hostages to be delivered unto him according to the tenor of it. The people, seeing how great a power he was now invested with, dared not to hesitate about the matter, but immediately complied with his demand; after which *Jonathan* found his army increase exceedingly, there being now no check nor danger in joining him. On the other hand, those garisons which *Bacchides* had left in several strong places of *Judæa* above mentioned, not finding themselves strong enough to withstand him, forsook them and fled. Those only of *Bethzura* and *Acra*, which were mostly filled with apostate *Jews*, not daring to follow their example, lest they should be pursued and meet with their just deserts, resolved to stand it out to the last, and either surrender upon safe terms, or to die sword in hand, *Jonathan*, however, did not think fit to besiege them immediately, but went to *Jerusalem*, where his presence was more required, and there caused the repairs both of the city and temple to be forthwith set about, fixing his abode in that city to see the work more effectually finished ⁴.

WHEN *Alexander* understood what a powerful friend *Jonathan* was like to prove to the side he should declare himself for, and the favours which *Demetrius* had lately bribed him with, he resolved to outbid him and to draw him to his interest. He sent him a most obliging letter (Q), in which he bestowed the high-priesthood on him, and accompanied it with rich presents, and among them a purple robe and a golden crown ⁵. *Jonathan* readily accepted of them, put on the

Alexander's letter to him.
Jonathan made high-priest.

⁴ 1 MACCAB. x. 10, & seq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3, & 4.
MACCAB. ibid. ver. 17, & seq. Ant. ubi supra, c. 5.

(Q) The purport of it was to this effect : King *Alexander* to his brother *Jonathan*, &c. Being informed of your power and valour, and that you are worthy of our friendship, we constitute you high priest of your nation, and it is our pleasure that you be enrolled in the number of the king's friends. To this end we have sent you a purple robe and a golden crown, not doubting a suitable return from you for our affection and friendship (8).

We have often observed in the course of this history, that the purple was a mark of the greatest dignity next to the royal one; it was esteemed such among the *Jews*, *Persians*, *Macedonians*, &c. and those that wore it were called the king's friends, and implied the same as the king's cousins here with us.

(8) *Joseph. antiq. l. xiii. c. 5.*

priestly

Demetri-
us's se-
cond let-
ter to him.

priestly vestments, on the feasts of tabernacles ^r, in the ninth year of his government (R), and in the seventh month of that year. However, as he would not seem wholly to receive that dignity from a prince, whose right to the Syrian crown was so justly suspected, he got himself chosen to it by the suffrages of the Jewish nation; and indeed not without a specious right to it; for being, as we hinted in the last note, of the family of Joarib, and consequently of the first class of the Aaronic race, that was sufficient to intitle him to it upon the failure of that of Jozadac, which had enjoyed it ever since their return from Babylon; and we don't read of any survivor of it except Onias, who was then in Egypt, and had there, if not apostatised, at least made a considerable schism, by setting up a new temple, altar, and priesthood there. As soon therefore as Jonathan was invested with his new dignity, his first care was to raise new forces, and to cause a great number of arms to be made, resolved to side with Alexander. When Demetrius found that his competitor was likely to deprive him of so important an ally, he spared neither favour nor promises to prevent it: he sent him a long letter, couched in the most obliging terms, and wherein he artfully disguised his resentment for his defection, under the

^r Ibid. ibid.

(R) Josephus (9) lays in the fourth year after the decease of his brother Judas; but we have already shewn in a late note his mistake in making this last outlive and succeed Alcimus, the contrary of which appears from the book of the Maccabees (10), which expressly mentions the installation of Jonathan to have been on the hundred and sixtieth year of the Grecian kingdom, which answers to the three thousand eight hundred and fifty-second year of the world, and one hundred and fifty three before Christ (11).

We have likewise shewed at the close of the last section †. that Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, was descended from the priestly family of Joarib, though not from that of Jaddua or Jaddus, the high-priest, whose lineal heir and successor was the Onias whom we lately mentioned to have retired into Alexandria, and there built a temple for the use of the Egyptian Jews.

Jonathan, if not his brother Judas, was therefore the first of the family who enjoyed the pontifical dignity, which continued in it through a number of successors till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, made it venal and arbitrary, as we shall shew in the sequel.

(9) Ibid. (10) Conf. 1. Macc. x. 21. & ix. 3. 28, & 54.

(11) Vid. Uff. ann. & the Marg. of the Macc. in loc. † Vol. ix. p. 6. 12. (K).

greatest professions of confidence in his friendship and loyalty. In acknowledgment of which, and to bind him still faster to his interest, he promised him a general relaxation of all arrears, an exemption from future tribute, imposts, or taxes, a free exercise of their religion, with many other concessions and privileges, vastly exceeding those which *Alexander* had made to him, and too great indeed to be really designed by that monarch: at least the memory of the many mischiefs and persecutions, which they had so lately suffered under him, made them suspect the sincerity of them; and indeed such was the character of that prince, and the present situation of his affairs, that they might well exort such exorbitant promises from him, without any real intention to perform them. *Suspected of insincerity.* However, whether through resentment or diffidence, *Jonathan* chose rather to enter into an alliance with his competitor, and disclaimed all future friendship with a man who had given them so many feeling proofs of his hatred to their nation. So that from this time they stuck close to *Alexander's* interest, and it was lucky for them that they did so, since *Demetrius* was soon after defeated and killed by him, as we have seen in a former volume *.

The new monarch, however, having by that decisive battle made himself master of the *Syrian* crown, forgot not to express his gratitude to the *Jewish* chief; he invited him soon after to his nuptials, to which *Jonathan* went with a numerous retinue, and was received with great marks of friendship and esteem. During his stay at *Ptolemais*, where they were celebrated, some disaffected *Jews* came to exhibit some accusations against him: but the king, resolved not to hear any thing against his friend, caused a proclamation to be made through the city, expressly forbidding any such complaint to be brought before him. To mortify his enemies the more, he caused him to sit by him cloathed in purple, confirmed all his former grants to him, and made him generalissimo of *Judea*, and gave him some other titles and government in his kingdom (S); all which did cast such a damp upon his accusers, *Year of the Flood, 2849. Before Christ, 150.* *Jonathan's reception at Ptolemais*

† *Ibid.*

* Vol. VIII. p. 602.

(S) The book of *Maccabees* says, that he made him one of the *Malabarchas*, which our version after the vulgate renders a duke, some critics lord high steward, others lord chief sewer; which offices, and some others of the like nature, are still held by the electors of *Germany*. But it is more likely, as *Grotius* in another place seems

Jews in
Egypt
highly ef-
fected.

A Jewish
temple
built in
Egypt.

sers, that they sneaked away for fear of further mischief. *Jonathan*, on the other hand, having made some considerable presents to the king and queen, and to their court, returned into *Judæa* ^u, highly satisfied with his reception, and much more with his choice of such an ally. From this time the Jewish nation became more and more considerable, not only in *Judæa*, where they enjoyed every branch of liberty, whether religious or civil; but in other countries also, and particularly in *Egypt*; where *Ptolemy Philometor* and his sister and wife *Cleopatra* raised many of them to considerable posts both at court and in the army, intrusted them with the keeping of their principal fortresses, and had given the command of their army to *Onias* and *Dositheus*. These two, if we may believe *Josephus* ^w, seem to have wholly ingrossed the king's favour during his whole reign. But *Onias* could not be satisfied with it, whilst he saw himself deprived of the dignity of the Jewish high-priesthood, and of the pleasure of performing the functions of that supreme dignity, which his birth intitled him to. Since therefore there were no hopes that *Jonathan* would ever yield to him that of *Jerusalem*, he had no other way to make himself amends for it, but by setting up a new one in *Egypt*; and his great credit with the king and queen did easily procure him the liberty of doing it. But as this transaction did no further concern the Jews of *Judæa*, to which we confine ourselves, than as it made a great schism with them, we shall relate it in the margin (T).

By

^u I MACCAB. *ibid.* ver. 59. ad 66. *Antiq. ubi supra.* ^w
Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. *Cont. Apion.* l. ii. See also, Vol. IX.
p. 106.

seems to have proved it (12), that it meant some higher place than an office in the king's house, *viz* the government of some tribe or province in the kingdom.

(T) This edifice which was built after the model of that of *Jerusalem*, but neither so large nor so sumptuous, the reader may see described in *Josephus* (1). It was surrounded with a very strong stone wall, and had the altar of incense and burnt offerings, &c. like that in *Judæa*; only, instead of the seven-branch candlestick, *Onias* contented himself with a stately golden lamp, which hung from the roof by a chain of the same metal.

The place he pitched upon was the ruins of an antient *Egyptian* temple, within the nome of *Heliopolis*; which being therefore pol-

(12) *Comment. in Matth.* xix. 28. (1) *Antiq. l.* xiii. c.
6. l. xiv. c. 14. l. xviii. c. 20. *Bell. Jud.* l. vii. c. 30.

By this time *Alexander* having, partly by his negligence and debaucheries, and partly by the tyranny and cruelties of his favourite *Ammonius*, as it were, invited young *Demetrius* out of his retirement in *Cnidos*, to come and recover the crown from him †, *Apollonius*, then governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, revolted to him, whilst *Jonathan*, rememebing his late alliance and obligations, stuck close to *Alexander's* interest. *Apollonius*, therefore, having got a considerable army together, marched against him as far as *Jamnia*; but not daring to advance farther into the mountainous parts of *Judæa*, for fear of losing the benefit of his cavalry, he sent him a daring message to come and fight him in the plain

Year of the Flood,
2851.Before
Christ,
148.

† See Vol. VIII. p. 603, & seq.

luted, gave no small scandal to the *Jews* there, who were moreover very strenuous against the setting up any temple against that of *Jerusalem*, as being expressly contrary to the *Mosaic* law. To remove these two scruples, *Onias* trumped up a prophecy out of *Isaiab* (2), importing, that an altar should be set up unto the Lord in the midst of the land of *Egypt*, and alluding to the times of the gospel; which he applied to this new edifice he was about to build; and whereas one of the *Egyptinn* cities there mentioned is called *החרסעיר*, *hair hacberes* in the text, which signifies the city of the sun, though the *keri* or margin reads it *עירחרם*, *hair beres*, the city of destruction (3); *Onias* took it in the former sense, and so is supposed to have made choice of the territory of *Heliopolis*, as if it had been alluded to by the prophet (4). Though the last quoted author adds another reason, viz. his being governor of that district, and having built a city in it, which he had peopled with *Jews*, and called by his name *Onion*.

When he had once removed these two difficulties, he did not want for priests and levites to officiate under him, so that the divine service was afterwards performed in this new temple in the same manner as it was at *Jerusalem*, till both were destroyed by the same *Roman* emperor (5).

However, those priests, who had once officiated in the *Egyptian*, were never suffered to do so in the *Jewish*, but were, if we may believe the talmudists (6), looked upon as guilty of the same schism with those who had sacrificed on the high places, and as such were only admitted to the very lowest services. They received their elemosynary stipends out of the revenue of the temple, but were excluded from eating any of its holy things.

(2) *Isaiab* xix 18, 19. (3) *Vid. Munster. in loc.* (4) *Scaliger. in Chronol. Euseb. Præd. Connect. sub an 149.* (5) *Vid. Joseph. Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 30.* (6) *Vid. Mispn. tract. Minchoth, c. 15.*

Jonathan
challenged
by Apol-
lonius.

Defeats
him.

Alexan-
der's gra-
titude to
him.

country. *Jonathan* readily accepted the challenge, and march-
ed from *Jerusalem* to *Joppa* at the head of ten thousand men,
and in his way was met by his brother *Simon* with a rein-
forcement. The town being garisoned by the troops of
Apollonius shut their gates against the *Jewish* general,
and obliged him to take it by siege, which he quickly did,
and almost in full sight of the enemies army. As soon as *A-*
pollonius perceived it, he came against him with eight
thousand foot and three thousand horse, leaving a thousand
more of these behind to surprize the *Jews* on the rear,
whilst he atacked them in front, and so made a feint, as if he
was marching with the former southward towards *Azotus*.
Jonathan came out as he expected, and he, facing about, fell
upon him, not doubting but his stratagem would gain him a
complete victory. But he soon found his project discomfited
by the experienced *Jewish* general; for having drawn up his
army in the figure of an oblong square, not unlike the *Ma-*
cedonian phalanx, his brave troops bore the brunt of the battle
on both sides with unusual firmness till the evening, when *Jo-*
nathan, observing the enemies horse to be quite spent, rushed
on the sudden upon the foot which was now destitute of their
cavalry, and totally routed them. The greatest part of them
fled to *Azotus*, and sheltered themselves in the temple of *Da-*
gon, whither the *Jewish* army pursued them; and having
made themselves masters of the town, set it on fire temple and
all. The number of the slain, whether by the sword, or
the flames, amounted to eight thousand. From *Azotus* *Jo-*
nathan went and plundered some other neighbouring towns;
only that of *Ascalon*, which met him with presents and com-
pliments of submission, was spared, after which they returned
to *Jerusalem* laden with rich plunder. *Alexander*, soon af-
ter hearing of *Jonathan*'s faithfulness and victory, sent him a
present of a rich buckle or clasp, such as those only of the
royal family used to wear, and which fastened their purple
mantle to the shoulder: he gave him moreover the city and
territory of *Ecron*, and some other marks of his esteem*.

ON *Philometor*'s coming with his army into *Palestine*, on
pretence to succour his son-in-law, but in reality to dispossess him
of his kingdom, whether to seize it for himself, as the author of
the *Maccabees* pretends†, or, which is more likely from the
sequel, in favour of young *Demetrius*; some of the enemies
of the *Maccabees* tried to render them odious to him, by
shewing him the devastations they had lately made, particu-

* MACCAB. *ibid.* ver. 74. ad fin.

† *Ibid.* c. xi. 1. & seq.
larly

larly the the ruins of *Azotus* and of the temple of *Dagon*, and the carcases of those they had slain, and which were still stinking above ground. But that prince, whatever his reasons were, could not be induced to shew any resentment against them for it. On the contrary, he laid all the blame of it upon *Apollonius*; and when *Jonathan* came to pay him a visit at *Joppa* with a numerous retinue, he met with a kind reception from him, accompanied him to the river *Eleutherus*, and returned to *Jerusalem*².

THE reader may remember, how this prince, having given the kingdom of *Syria* and his daughter *Cleopatra* from *Alexander* to young *Demetrius*, surnamed *Nicanor*, died of the wounds he received in the last battle, before he could well settle him on his throne. *Jonathan* therefore took this opportunity, E- *Jonathan*
gypt being then imbroiled in a civil war about the succession, *besieges A.*
and neither able nor inclined to assist the new *Syrian* king, *cra.*
to begin the siege of *Acra*, which was still garisoned by *Syrian* troops, and was a great check to, and always ready to annoy, the *Jews*, going to and from *Jerusalem*. He wanted neither forces nor engines to form it in the best manner; but in the height of the siege, complaint having been made of it to the young king, he was forced to leave it to appear before him at *Ptolemais*. However, he gave orders that it should be carried on with the same vigour, as if no such summons had been sent to him; and taking with him some of the most considerable priests and elders of his nation, came to the court, where he pleaded his cause so well before that prince, and backed it with such rich presents, that he was received into his favour and friendship, and quite discomfited his accusers, who were sent away with disgrace. After this, *Nicanor* confirmed him in his pontifical dignity, inrolled him in the highest place among his friends, and, for the annual tribute of three hundred talents, released, not only *Judæa*, but also the three toparchies of *Lydda*, *Apharema*, and *Ramatha* (U), from all future taxes whatsoever².

Jonathan

² I MACCAB. xi. 4, & seq. See Vol. VIII. p. 606, & seq.

² I MACC. Ibid. ver. 20, & seq. JOSEPH. Ant. lib. xiii. c. 8.

(U) These three with their territories had been dismembered from *Samaria*, some time before, and joined to *Judæa*; and the late *Demetrius*, in his courting letter to *Jonathan*, confirmed to him the possession and immunities of them (13); and now the present king renews the same grant, and allots the revenues of it towards

(13) *Vid.* I Macc x. 30.

Demetrius's treachery to the Jews punished.

Antiochus mounts the Syrian throne. Year of the Flood, 2857. Before Christ, 144.

Jonathan upon his return to *Jerusalem* doubled his strength and vigour against the fortress; but finding that it was like to hold out long and to cost him dear, he bethought himself of procuring an order from the king for the evacuation both of that and some other places, from which he complained to him the garisons were still annoying the *Jews*. He chose a lucky juncture for sending this request: for *Demetrius* having a little before disbanded his troops, had given occasion to that revolt which *Tryphon* raised at *Antioch*, and spoken of in a former volume *. He was therefore glad to grant it to him, upon condition he should assist him with some of his forces to quell the rebels; and we have seen there, how effectually the three thousand men, which he sent him, did it, and at the same time retaliated to the *Antiochians* the many cruelties which those of their own nation had formerly suffered from the *Syrians*, both in *Judæa* and out of it ^b. *Demetrius*, however, instead of performing his promise to *Jonathan*, broke even those which he had made to him at *Ptolemais*, and began to insist on his paying all the taxes and customs which he had remitted to him at that interview. But it was not long before a new insurrection, in which he was driven out of his kingdom by *Antiochus*, the son of *Alexander*, made him repent of his perfidy to the *Jews*, and of his tyranny to his own subjects.

THE new king did not forget to secure the *Jewish* general to his interest; he confirmed to him all the former grants, and added some others to them; and among them he made his brother *Simon* general of all his forces, and governor of all the sea-coasts, from the ladder of *Tyre* to the frontiers of *Egypt*, upon condition, that those two brothers should declare for him. *Jonathan* was easily prevailed upon to forsake his old treacherous ally, and to accept of the offers of the new one: he sent him immediately an embassy to thank him for his fa-

* See Vol. IX. p 8, & seq. & seq.

^b 1 Macc. xi. ver. 41,

the maintainance of the service of the temple, and of the priests in duty (14).

The reader may see the letter which he sent to *Lasthenes* in favour of the *Jews* in the place last quoted. He there styles that *Cretan* general his father, because he had assisted him in the recovery and preserving of his crown; and commands him to send a copy of his letter to the *Jewish* general, to be set up on some eminent place of the temple, to be perused by all comers.

(14) *Ibid.* xi. 22. ad 30. *Ant.* l. xiii. c. 8. ad fin.

vours,

vours, and to assure him of his best services. In pursuance of which, having obtained a commission for raising a good army, the two *Jewish* generals put themselves at the head of it, crossed the *Jordan*, and defeated *Demetrius's* troops that were sent to make a diversion in *Galilee*. In this expedition, *Jonathan* was in imminent danger of being cut in pieces by the enemy: he had incamped his army near the lake of *Genezareth*, and was advancing early one morning towards *Azor*. In his march he fell unexpectedly into an ambush, which had been placed among the defiles of the mountains to surprize him. As soon as he perceived his danger, he disposed his men the best he could for a brave defence; but the greatest part of them, being seized with a panic, forsook him and fled; so that he was left with only fifty resolute fellows, and two of his commanding officers, *Mattathias* and *Judas*.

Jonathan falls into an ambush.

With these he faced about, and fought so desperately, that the enemy began to give way; which being perceived at a distance by his runaways, they rallied again to him, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that they gained a complete victory, and pursued the *Demetrians* to their very camp at *Cadesb*. They killed of them about three thousand men; after this *Jonathan* sent his brother to go and besiege *Bethzura*, which had till then been garisoned by heathens and renegade *Jews*, whilst himself went and secured some of the principal cities of that province; particularly that of *Ascalon*, which opened its gates to him; that of *Gaza*, which he forced to surrender, and, in a word, all the towns from thence to *Damascus*. *Simon* on his side, having made himself master of *Bethzura*, freed that neighbourhood from the continual insults of that garison, and returned to *Jerusalem*, whither his brother came also presently after.

Fights desperately and beats the enemy.

THESE successes of the two brothers abroad, had cast such a damp on their enemies at home, that they found all things in quietness at their return. However *Jonathan* did not think fit to trust to the gratitude of the new king, to whom he had done such signal services; but set about means of preserving the peace and liberty of his nation, on the foot he had so happily established it. To this end he sent a new embassy to

Rome to renew his alliance with the senate, which was done with great readiness on their part. In their return, his ambassadors were ordered to do the same with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Grecian* states, with whom they were in friendship, which they did with the same ease and success. In their letter to the *Lacedæmonians*, the substance of which the re-

Alliance with Rome renewed.

And with Sparta.

* Ibid. ver. 67, & seq. JOSEPH. ubi supra, c. 9.

er will find in the margin (W), they reminded them of their letter formerly sent to their high-priest (*Onias* III.) by *Arius* their king †, and inclosed a copy of it with their own. But whilst these alliances were transacting, news was brought to him, that the *Demetrian* generals, whom he had lately defeated, were advancing towards him with a more numerous army. To prevent therefore their entering into *Judæa*, he marched out with utmost expedition at the head of his forces, resolved, if possible, to attack them in their own territories. He made such good speed, that he reached *Amathis*, a place on the frontiers of *Syria*, and incamped over-against them. Their design it seems was to surprize his camp on the following night, but *Jonathan* having timely notice of it, kept his men under arms all that night, ready to receive them; which being perceived by the enemy, they retired immediately into their camp; where having lighted a good number of fires, to

† See Vol. VI. p. 403, & note.

(W) *Jonathan*, high-priest, with the elders and priests of the *Jewish* nation, unto the ephori, senate, and people of *Lacedæmon*, their brethren, greeting :

“Whereas we have found, among our records, a letter long since written by *Arius*, one of your kings, to *Onias*, formerly high-priest of the *Jews*, wherein he expressed your friendship and affinity to our nation, which affinity we acknowledged with greater honour, because we find it confirmed by our sacred books : We have sent these our deputies unto you to renew the said alliance and brotherly union with you, lest we should be thought unmindful of it, by reason of the long interval which has elapsed since the receipt of it.

“Be it therefore known unto you, that we have had you always in our minds, both in our solemn festivals and in our prayers and sacrifices, as our brethren and allies, rejoicing at your successes, and beholding with pleasure the prosperity and splendor of your republic. As for us, though we thought ourselves honoured by your friendship and alliance, yet have hitherto forbore to be chargeable or troublesome to you during all the grievous wars and persecutions which we have been exposed to from our tyrannous neighbours ; but now, since heaven has blest us with better times, we have thought fit to send to you *Numenius* and *Antipater*, our late deputies to the *Roman* senate, with fresh offers of our best services to you, not doubting but they will be as heartily accepted of by you, as they are tendered by us (15) ”.

(15) *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.*

conceal

conceal their flight, they forsook it, and marched off unperceived. When the rising morning gave the *Jews* notice of their flight, *Jonathan* strove in vain to pursue them; they were already got far enough beyond the *Eleutherus*, before he could reach that river. To make himself therefore some amends for his disappointment, he fell upon some *Demetrian Arabs*, whom he defeated, and carried off a considerable plunder, and from thence passing through *Damascus*, making still some excursions all the way, he arrived at *Jerusalem* ^d.

WHILST these things were doing, *Simon*, who had been left to take care of *Judæa* and *Galilee*, kept a watchful eye over those places he had lately secured to *Antiochus* in the last of those provinces. He went and took a review of the garisons of *Ascalon*, and other fortresses in that neighbourhood; and being told that the citizens of *Joppa* were inclined to receive a *Demetrian* governor and some *Syrian* forces, he went and took it, and put a strong garison of his own in it, and returned to join his brother at *Jerusalem*. Here they called a council, wherein it was resolved, that all the forts and sconces of *Judæa* should be forthwith repaired; that new ones should be erected where they were wanted; that the wall of the city should be rebuilt; and a new one be raised between mount *Sion* and the rest of the city, of such a height, as might effectually cut off all communication between them; to the end that the garison of *Acra*, being thereby deprived from all future supply, might be the sooner either forced to surrender, or be starved in it. All these wholesome resolutions were immediately put in execution; *Jonathan* undertook to oversee the work within the city, and *Simon* that without. A strong and high wall was accordingly built by the former, which reached quite close to the old one that was then repairing, and made up that place which was called *Chapphenatha*, towards the east of the city, near the brook *Cedron*. This did so effectually inclose that mount, that the garison was not long after forced to surrender. *Simon* on his part went and repaired all the old forts, and added to them that of *Adiba*, or *Adiaba*, in the region of *Sephala*, westward of *Eleutheropolis*. By all which *Judæa* was now in a better condition for defence, than it had ever been since their return from captivity ^e.

Jerusalem
new fortified.

By this time *Jonathan* had governed the *Jewish* state near *Jonathan* seventeen years, with great wisdom and success, when he

treacher-
ously mur-
dered by
Tryphon.

^d 1 Macc. xi. 62, ad fin. Antiq. l. xiii, c. 9.
xii. Antiq. ibid.

^e 1 Macc. Tryphon.

was unwarily decoyed into the perfidious *Tryphon's* power, and soon after murdered by him. That traitor knew but too well how vain it would be to attempt to wrench the crown from the young monarch, whilst he had so faithful and powerful an ally ; and therefore spared neither promises, oaths, nor any other treacherous means to persuade him to disband his numerous army, now become, as he pretended, useless and burdensome. *Jonathan*, too easily prevailed upon to take that destructive step, was soon after as unhappily decoyed into the city of *Ptolemais*, attended only by one thousand of his men, who were all treacherously murdered by his orders, and their chief only spared till the villain had obtained a large sum from *Judæa* under the name of a ransom, and caused him to be massacred as soon as he had got it into his hands *. So that *Jonathan* died as much a sacrifice to his too generous credulity, as to his unshaken fidelity to *Antiochus*. As soon as the news of his being seized, and kept prisoner, and of the murder of his men, reached *Jerusalem*, the whole city was in the utmost consternation. They doubted not, but the perfidious murderer would soon be at their gates, and be joined by all the heathens and apostate *Jews*, whom the bravery of their late leader had suppressed hitherto ; and indeed their fears were but too well grounded ; for *Tryphon* was making great preparations to march into *Judæa*, with a full resolution to extirpate, if possible, the whole nation ; and all their enemies who had been till now kept in awe, but had received a kind of new life at the news of *Jonathan's* being in his hands, had begun to express an impatient desire to see the land once more invaded, and threatened the *Jews* with a severe retaliation. *Simon* was now the only one of the sons of *Mattathias* that was left, and the courage and conduct which he had shewed hitherto made him looked upon as the only fit person to succeed his brother. An assembly was therefore called at the outer court of the temple, in which he was by their unanimous consent desired to take the command upon him ; which he readily did, not only as he was the next in succession, but that he might find some means, either of releasing, or, at the worst, of revenging his worthy brother. To dissipate, therefore, as much as possible, that fear which he observed in their countenances, he addressed himself to them in words to this effect : You are not ignorant how bravely my father, brothers, and I, have fought in the defence of our laws and religion, our temple and our nation. They have

Simon
succeeds his
brother.

* See Vol. IX. p. 7, & seq.

already sacrificed their lives for that glorious cause, and I am now the only surviving one to maintain it. God forbid I should value my own more than they did theirs, as long as I see you groaning under any oppression. Behold me then as ready and willing as they to undertake the defence of our nation and temple, of our wives and of our children. This speech was received with universal applause, and the people, having in great measure recovered their drooping spirits, proclaimed him their commander and high-priest (X), promising at the same time to follow him through all difficulties and dangers in defence of their religion and country ⁸.

As soon as he was installed in his new dignity, his first care was to finish the fortifications of the city with all speed, and to get together an army sufficient to make head against that of *Tryphon*, who was in full march against him. But when that traitor came to find the *Jews* in such a brave condition of defence, he contented himself with sending him word that he had seized his brother for a debt of a hundred talents, which he owed him; and that, if he would send them to him, and his two sons as hostages, their father should be immediately released. *Simon* easily saw through this treacherous pretence, *Tryphon's* but dared not refuse his demand, for fear of bringing some *treachery*. unjust suspicion on himself, as if he was the cause of his brother's detention. In the mean time the *Syrian* garison, being sorely pressed for want of provision, found means to send *Tryphon* word, and to beg his assistance; and he, having increased the number of his forces, was coming to their relief, but was prevented with a deep snow, and forced to withdraw into winter quarters; soon after which, he caused both *Antiochus* and *Jonathan*, with his two sons, to be murdered (Y),
as

⁸ 1 Macc. xii. 39, & seq. Antiq. xiii. 10. ⁸ 1 Macc. xiii. pass. JOSEPH. ubi supra. c. 11.

(X) It seems as if the assembly, however, had some scruple about the regularity of this election to the pontifical dignity; and therefore we find a kind of an apology made for it in the ensuing chapter (16); where, having recapitulated all his glorious deeds and his lineal descent from *Joarib*, they add, that they had chosen him their governor and high-priest, and intailed those dignities on his posterity, *until there should arise a faithful prophet* (17), who might set them to rights about it.

(Y) The text says, that it was at *Boscama* that he caused the three last to be put to death and buried; but it is not easy to find the si-

(16) 1 Macc. xiv. 26, & seq. (17) Ver. 41.

VOL. X.

11

tuation

Jonathan as we have elsewhere related, and returned to Syria. As soon as he was gone, *Simon* ordered their bones to be fetched from that place, and to be deposited in the sepulchre of his fathers at *Modin*, with the solemnity suitable to his rank, and then caused a stately monument to be reared over it ^h (Z).

Jonathan
buried at
Modin.
Year of
the Flood,
2856
Before
Christ,
143.

Alliance
with
Rome and
Sparta re-
new'd.

His next care was to send an embassy to the *Roman* senate to notify to them the treacherous murder of his brother, his succession to his office, and to renew his alliance with them. They were to do the same with the *Lacedæmonians*, and in both places they were received with great honour. Both nations shewed an uncommon resentment at *Tryphon's* treachery, and cheerfully renewed their friendship with *Simon*, to whom they sent back letters of congratulation on his accession to the *Jewish* high-priesthood and government, together with the ratification of their alliance engraved on copper. All which being received, *Simon* caused them to be read before their great assembly; and then set about fortifying afresh both *Jerusalem* and other places of *Judæa*, and to raise new forces against any future invasion. Having thus far strengthened himself by alliances, and the land with men, arms, and other necessary stores, he sent an embassy to *Demetrius*, whom *Tryphon* had by this time stripped of almost his whole kingdom; and in his letter to him, offered to ac-

^h 1 Macc. xiii. 20, & seq. Ant. ubi supra.

ⁱ Id. ibid.

tuation of that place; only one may conjecture, that it was in the land of *Gilead*, where he is said to have taken his winter quarters. *Josephus* calls the place *Basca* 18.

(Z) This noble piece of architecture stood on an eminence, which commanded the whole country round about; and, being in itself raised to a great height, was seen at a great distance at sea, and served for a land-mark. It was made of white marble, curiously carved and polished. *Simon* caused also seven pyramids to be built round it. viz. two for his father and mother, and four for his four brethren, and the last for himself. The whole was surrounded with a stately portico, whose arches were supported by marble pillars, each of a whole piece. The top of it was adorned with shields, armour, ships, and other such embellishments curiously carved. All which were still to be seen, not only in *Josephus*, but in *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom's* time (19)

(18) Ant. l. xiii. c. 11.
ἐν οὐρανῷ. Hier. Loc. Hebr.

(19) Ibid. Euseb. περὶ τῶν τοιῶντων

knowledge

knowledge him king of *Syria*, and to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom from the usurper, upon condition that he confirmed him in all his dignities, and his country in all their privileges and immunities. He backed his offers with a rich crown of gold and some other presents; and *Demetrius*, glad at heart to accept the conditions, sent him a letter under the royal signature, by which he granted all his demands, together with a general amnesty and oblivion for all past hostilities, and constituted *Simon* sovereign prince of the *Jewish* nation, and freed his land from all foreign yoke. From this time *Simon* took upon him the name and authority of prince and high-priest of the *Jews*, which dignities having been confirmed to him and to his descendants on the next year, by an act of the sanhedrin, all public acts were ordered from thenceforward to be made in his name (A).

Simon's

(A) In pursuance, and by virtue, of this grant the *Jews* from that time ceased to date their contracts and other instruments, as formerly, by the reigns of the *Syrian* kings, and dated them by the years of *Simon* and his successors (20). This change was made by the general assembly of the *Jews*, both priests and elders, wherein the supreme government and high-priesthood were bestowed on *Simon*, upon account of his great exploits and extraordinary merit, which are there enumerated (21); and with this further addition, that those dignities should be intailed on his posterity, as we observed in a late note. Moreover a copy of the grant, which was inscribed, *King Demetrius unto Simon the high-priest, and friend of kings, and to the elders and nation of the Jews* (22), was ordered to be engraven on tables of brass, and to be hung up in the sanctuary, and the original to be deposited among the archives of the nation.

This grant, which continued some generations in his family, was dated on the eighteenth day of the month *Elul*, answering in part to our *August*, in the hundred and seventy second year of the *Seleucide*, and the third of *Simon's* pontificate. It is said to be given at the general assembly held at *Saramael*, which the margin of our *English* version supposes, with *Vatablus* and others, to mean *Jerusalem*, by transposition of the letters. The vulgate reads it *Asaramel*, which, if right, may be properly enough supposed to be put according to the *Greek* way of writing *Hebrew* words and names, for *chazar-mello*, or the court or porch of *Millo*. *Millo* was the deep valley between old *Jerusalem* and the city of *David*, which that monarch, and after him *Solomon*, caused to be filled up at a vast

(20) 1 *Macc.* xiv. 27, & seq.(21) *Ibid.* ver. 4, & seq.(22) *Ibid.* cap. xiii. 36.

Simon
fortifies
Judæa.

Takes Jop-
pa.

Simon's main business now was to strengthen himself in this new dignity, to which end he set about repairing and fortifying all his garisons afresh, especially that of *Bethzura*, which, being on the confines of *Judæa*, had been formerly made the chief magazine of the enemy, and was like to be one of the first places they would attempt. He therefore took care to secure it with good walls, towers, and ammunition, and with a garison of the stoutest *Jews*. About the same time he sent *Jonathan* the son of *Absalom* with a good army to besiege *Joppa*, which being taken, he drove out all its inhabitants, filled it with men of his own nation, repaired its fortifications; and, liking the situation of it, built himself a house, and settled there. The place from this time became the head sea-port to *Jerusalem* and all *Judæa*, being distant about forty miles from *Jerusalem*, and opening a trade to all the *Mediterranean* coasts and islands. *Strabo*¹ tells us, it was a port of the *Jews* in his time, and it has continued so ever since, notwithstanding its being a dangerous one, by reason of the great rocks that lie before it^m; though, in other respects, very pleasant, being situate on a beautiful plain, and having *Jamnia* on the south, *Cæsarea* on the north, and *Ramah* on the eastⁿ. About the same time *Simon* went with another army to reduce the city of *Gaza*, or, as some more probably guess, that of *Gazara* (B), which had revolted

ever

¹ Geogr. l. xvi. ^m JOSEPH. Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 15. ⁿ Vid. int. al. REL. Palæst. illust.

labour and charge, and was therefore called by that name from the *Hebrew* root, which signifies *to fill*; but whether this conjecture be right, or what the meaning of *Saramael* or *Ajaramel* is, is hard to guess.

(B) Dean *Prideaux* justly suspects the former to have slipped in by the inadvertency of the *Greek* transcriber, instead of the latter (23), which is the *Gazer* or *Gexer* often mentioned by the sacred historians (24); and was likewise called *Gader*, *Gedara*, *Gaderoth*, and by *Strabo* *Gadaris* (25), who places it, as the book of *Maccabees* (26) doth *Gazara*, near *Azoth*, or *Azotus*, and *Eusebius* about two miles from *Nicopolis* (27).

For, first, as the learned dean above-mentioned rightly observes, *Gazara*, and not *Gaza*, is mentioned among the towns taken by *Simon* (28). Secondly, *Gazara* is often mentioned, as in the hands

(23) *Connect. sub an.* 143. note (X). (24) *Vid. int. al.*
2 *Sam.* v. ver. ult. (25) *Geogr. ubi supra.* (26) *xiv.* 34.
(27) *Ubi supra.* (28) 1 *Macc.* xiv. 7, 34.

of

ever since Jonathan's death. He battered it some considerable time with his engines, and was just on the point of storming it, when the inhabitants appeared on the walls, men, women, and children, with their cloaths rent, and implored his mercy with such doleful cries, as prevailed upon him to spare their lives, and to send them away to shift for themselves where they could. He entered the town, and purified it of all its idolatrous monuments, put a strong garison of Jews in it, and caused a house to be built for himself, to which he often retired, either for relaxation, or to keep the neighbourhood in order.

On the next year the fortress of *Acra*, which had been invested, as we hinted above, near two years, without any supply from without, being now reduced by famine, began to capitulate; after it had been held by the Syrians about twenty five years, to the great nuisance of the Jewish nation. *Christ*, *Simon*, who wanted to be rid of them at any rate, gave them leave to march out peaceably, whilst he and his troops entered it with palms in their hands at the sound of their trumpets and other instruments, accompanied with songs and other demonstrations of joy. At first he ordered it to be lustrated, and cleansed from all the heathenish idols, and other superstitious trash, intending probably to put a Jewish garison in it. But having thought better on it, he called a grand council, and proposed to them the demolishing of both it and of the hill on which it stood. He reminded them, among the other mischiefs it had caused hitherto, of its having been a constant refuge for all the discontented and renegado Jews, and of the danger of its becoming so again, in case it should be taken from them. This proposal met with a general approbation; the work was immediately set about, and carried on with indefatigable assiduity, during the space of three years, every man taking his turn in it, till the mountain was brought down to the level of that of the temple, that it might

142.

Acra surrendered.

And is demolished.

o 1 Macc. xiii. & xiv. pass. JOSEPH. ubi supra.
ibid. ad fin.

P Id.

of *Simon* in this and the foregoing chapter; but *Gaza* only in this place. Lastly, he is said to have built him a house in that town (29), after he had taken it; and yet we find his son dwelling in *Gazara*, and made governor of it (30); so that upon the whole, it is most likely, *Gaza* was only a slip of the pen.

(29) Ibid. xiii. 48.

(30) Ibid. ver. ult.

never

never more be in a condition to annoy it (C). All this while *Simon* employed another set of hands in repairing and fortifying the outer wall, and other parts of the temple, building of new apartments, particularly a palace for himself, where he dwelt from thenceforth. In memory of the surrender of that fortress, *Simon* ordered a festival to be kept yearly; and that he might the more fully vacate on the religious and civil affairs of the nation, appointed his son *John* general of all his forces, and ordered him to fix his residence at *Gazara*¹, as was observed in a late note. It was in this year that the great sanhedrin, and the whole assembly of the *Jews*, confirmed to him all his dignities, and intailed them on his posterity, in consideration of the eminent services he had done to his country; which are therefore recapitulated in the preamble to their decree (D), which we have had occasion to mention a little higher.

W B

¹ 1 Macc. xiii. 49. ad fin.

(C) This circumstance of demolishing the fortress and the hill, which we have mentioned out of *Josephus*, and those who have followed him, is not only omitted, but seems even contradicted by the first book of *Maccabees*, which affirms (31), that *Simon* fortified and garrisoned it with *Jews*; and, in the very next chapter, that *Antiochus* sent *Simon* a challenge to surrender it to him (32), which was three years after.

However, since that fortress was actually demolished, and the hill itself lowered to the level of the temple, it is likely that *Josephus* has only antedated it by some years.

(D) Among other things that are there mentioned to his great honour, it was not a small one, that *Judea* enjoyed a perfect peace during the whole time of his government, whilst *Syria* and other neighbouring kingdoms were almost destroyed by the wars which were there raised by competitors to their crowns, by traitors, and hostile depredations; so that it is there observed, that the *Jews* lived quietly every man under his vine and fig-tree, enjoying without fear the fruits of their labours, and beholding with pleasure the flourishing state of their country; their trade increased by the reduction of *Joppa*, and other maritime places; their territories enlarged; and their religion and liberties secured; their towns and other fortresses well garrisoned; their army under good discipline; the land free from heathen enemies and *Jewish* apostates; their friendship courted by all the nations about them, and even by the *Romans* and *Greeks*, and themselves free from all foreign yoke, and from danger of invasion (33).

(31) *Cap.* xiv. 36, 37.
xiv. 4. & seq.

(32) *c.* xv. 28.

(33) *Ibid.*

His

WE have seen in a former chapter *, how *Demetrius*, driven from his dominions, had been taken and kept prisoner by the *Parthians*, whilst *Tryphon's* tyranny caused a general defection from him to *Cleopatra*. This princess, despairing ever to recover her captive husband, sent to invite his brother *Antiochus* out of his retirement, to make a push for the *Syrian* crown. Upon his coming therefore to her, he sent a very obliging letter to the *Jewish* high-priest, in which he confirmed to him all his dignities, revenues, and authority, and to his nation all the freedom and immunities which had been formerly granted to them by his brother, or which they were now in actual possession of. To this he added, besides many great promises, a power of coining their own money in *Judæa*, which *John* immediately made use of (E). But when

Year of
the flood,
2859.
Before
Christ,
140.

* Vol. IX. p. 10, & seq.

His panegyrist adds, that he was no less zealous for the service of God, in exterminating apostacy, superstition, idolatry, and every thing else that was contrary to his laws; that he was a great protector of the true *Israelites*, and a friend to the poor; that he restored the service of the temple to its antient splendor, and multiplied its sacred utensils; so that we need not wonder, if the *Jewish* sanhedrin thought no dignity or honour too great for a man of such uncommon merit.

The *Jewish* chronologers tell us moreover, that in his days, and about this time, flourished those two great lights of their synagogue, *Simeon Ben Shetach* and *Jebuda Ben Tabai*, directors of the divinity-schools at *Jerusalem*; and that the former was president, and the latter vice president, of the sanhedrin (34).

(E) Several pieces of this *Jewish* coin are still preserved by the curious; the inscription of some of them is, *The shekel, or half-shekel of Israel*; in others, the first or second, &c. year of the deliverance of *Israel*, of *Sion*, of *Jerusalem*, &c. Others again are inscribed, *Simon prince of Israel*. What is remarkable in these inscriptions is, that they are not in the new *Affyrian* characters, adopted by *Ezra*, but in the old *Samaritan*; for which no other reason can be assigned, if they be authentic †, except that *Simon* was willing to preserve the antient form of those that had been coined before the captivity, as well in the character, as the metal, and figure, and weight.

Accordingly these, like the old ones, have on the one side a cup or pitcher, supposed to have been the pot of manna, and on the other a branch, or the budding rod of *Aaron*, or a palm

(34) *Seph. Tuchasin Shalsbel, &c.*
said, Vol. III. p. 408, & seq. & 411, sub note.

† See what has been

branch

*Alliance
renewed
with
Rome,
&c.*

when that prince had established himself on his throne by the marriage of *Cleopatra*, and the death of *Tryphon* *, *Simon*, whether he suspected the sincerity of his late promises, or was willing to make his friendship to him appear more considerable, sent a fresh embassy to *Rome*, to renew and strengthen his alliance with that nation. Among other valuable presents which he sent, one was a shield of gold, which weighed a thousand *Mina*, amounting, according to the lowest value of the *Attic* mina, to sixty thousand pounds of our money. His deputies were received with the usual honours, and procured letters from the senate to the kings of *Syria*, and *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, *Cappadocia*, and other states, to notify their alliance with the *Jews*, and to threaten them with an immediate war, who should venture to commit any hostilities against them, and ordering them, if any *Jewish* criminals, apostates, or other *Jewish* out-laws, had sheltered themselves in their dominions, to send them bound to the *Jewish* high-priest, if demanded by him.

Antiochus's ingratitude to Simon.

THAT to the king of *Syria* was indeed directed to *Demetrius*, it being written before that prince's falling into the hands of the *Parthians*; but had it been directed to *Antiochus*, it is likely he would have had as little regard to it, as he had to that which he had sent to the *Jewish* chief. For even whilst he was besieging of *Tryphon* in *Dora*, whither *Simon* had sent him two thousand chosen men, with warlike stores, engines, and other ammunition, instead of accepting of them, he sent them all back, together with a threatening message to *Simon*, insisting upon his surrender of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and the citadel of *Jerusalem*, which he said did belong to the crown of *Syria*, or else to pay him five hundred talents for each, and five hundred more for the ravages which the *Jews* had done in his dominions. *Athenobius*, one of that monarch's favourites, was the person who was dispatched upon that errand, and came accordingly to *Jerusalem*, and beheld with wonder the richness and splendor of the high-priest's court, at the same time that he informed him of his master's

Athenobius sent to Jerusalem

* Ibid. p 11, & seq.

branch; some a vine, others a bunch of grapes, or a wheat-sheaf; some have two doves, others two towers, or the front of an edifice, supposed to be that of the temple.

Those we have left of him are all of silver; whether he coined any in gold, is not certain; the king's letter mentions neither metal, but permits him in general to coin his own money.

dema uls

demands (F). *Simon* nothing terrified at this message, answered him coolly, that he was in possession of nothing, but what was the inheritance of his ancestors; except indeed the fortresses of *Joppa* and *Gazara*, which he had been forced to seize, to suppress the continual ravages and devastations they made in *Judæa*: that for these therefore he was willing to pay the king a hundred talents; but as to the fortress of *Acra*, he could by no means think that he had any right to demand it from him. *Athenobius* did not stay to make any reply, but went off abruptly and returned to *Antiochus*, who was still carrying on the siege of *Dora*, and to whom he returned the answer which the *Jewish* pontiff had given him. He likewise related to him the pomp and grandeur of his household, the great quantity of silver and gold vessels used at his table, and other such marks of the *Jewish* wealth, which he knew would not fail to incense that monarch against him; for, as *Josephus* observes, he was very covetous, and consequently ungrateful, and could not fail envying him so much riches and grandeur; and just so it happened. *Antiochus*, forgetting at once his letter and *Simon's* services, ordered *Cendebeus*, one of his nobles, to invade *Judæa* with a powerful army, whilst himself went with another in pursuit of the traitor *Triphon**.

Cendebeus, having received the government of all the coasts of *Judæa* invaded. of *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*, and being at the head of a powerful army of horse and foot, began his expedition with fortifying the town of *Cedron*, or, as the vulgate perhaps more properly calls it, *Gedor*^r, a place advantageously situated, and putting a strong garison in it. In the mean time he himself marched towards *Jamnia* and *Joppa*, from whence he made many inroads into *Judæa*, took a great number of prisoners, and laid waste all that part of the country^c. The news of it

* I MACCAB. xv. 38, & seq. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, & 13. De hac vid. JOSHUA xv. 58. I MACCAB. ibid. 40, & seq. JOSEPH. ubi supra.

(F) Thus says the book of *Maccabees* (35); but *Josephus* who takes no notice of this message by *Athenobius*, relates the story somewhat otherwise, and tells us (36), that *Antiochus* having writ to *Simon* to send him men and provisions for the siege, did alter his mind before they were come, and sent *Cendebeus* presently after to invade *Judæa*.

(35) Ch. xv. 28, & seq.
VOL. X.

(36) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, & 13.
I 1600

soon reached *John*, who, as we hinted above, was made general of the *Jewish* forces, and kept his residence at *Gazara*. He went immediately to *Jerusalem* to acquaint his father with it; and *Simon*, being by this time too old to head his *Jewish* troops, called his two brave sons, viz. this *John* and his brother *Judas*, to whom he committed the command of them, charging them on his blessing, to imitate the valour of their brave uncles, and to venture their lives in defence of their religion and liberties (G). On these two setting out, at the head of twenty thousand choice foot, besides some horse, they encamped on the first night at *Modin*; and on the morrow, as they advanced towards the plain, they came in sight of the enemy, and drew so near each other, that only a brook parted the two armies. That of *John* at first expressed some reluctance to cross it; but he ashamed to see their backwardness, flung himself first into it, and moved forward; which so animated his men, that they immediately followed him. As soon as they were got over, he ranged them in order of battle, with his cavalry in the centre. An obstinate onset immediately ensued, in which the enemy, being seized with a sudden fright at the sound of the sacred trumpets, did immediately give way. Many of them were killed and wounded, and the rest fled, some to the sconces, which they had in the plains of *Azotus*, where about two thousand of them perished in the flames, *John*, now surnamed *Hyrca* (H), having

(G) Here again *Josephus* (37) differs from the book of *Maccabees*, and makes the good o'd priest to forget his age, and to fall out at the head of his troops, with as much vigour and resolution, as if he had been but in his prime; so fond is he to raise the character of his own ancestors.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, of which we have given an account in a former note †, tells us, that *John* received the surname of *Hyrca* on account of his defeating a famous general of that name, and killing him with his own hand, which some think may be the *Cendebeus*, whom he here defeated, who might be also surnamed *Hyrca*, either because he was a native of *Hyrca*, or on some other account (38).

Josephus Bengorion says, it passed from the eldest son of *Simon*, who was called *Hyrca*, to this brother *John* (39). Others think he had it given him on account of his beating the *Hyrca* (40), all without any certainty; since neither the first book of *Maccabees*,

(37) *Ibid* † Vol. IX p. 589 in fn. note (Q) (31) *Calmet. hist. V. T. sub. A. M.* 3869. (39) *l. iv. c. 2.* (40) *Euseb. in Chron. S. Sever. hist. l. ii & al.*

having caused them to be set on fire. The rest with *Cendebeus* fled as far as *Cedron*, the place lately fortified by him, and *John* pursued him all the way thither; after which he faced about, and came and rejoined his brother *Judas*, who, having received some wound in the action, had been forced to stay behind. The two brothers, having by this defeat cleared those parts from the *Syrian* troops, led their victorious army back to *Jerusalem*, without any considerable loss¹. After this *Judæa* continued quiet and free from invasion, till the murder of their worthy high-priest, which happened about three years after, and brought *Antiochus* again with an army against that metropolis. The manner in which this perfidious act was perpetrated, is as follows.

Simon had then a son-in-law named *Ptolemy*, the son of *Abadus*, whom he had made governor of *Jericho* and its territories, and who was grown exceeding rich in that government; but such was his ambition, that nothing less could satisfy him, than his being master of all *Judæa*. This wretch took the opportunity of *Simon*'s taking a progress about the country with his two sons *Judas* and *Mattathias*, to invite them to his castle of *Dog*, where he had prepared a sumptuous entertainment for them. The old pontiff, who suspected nothing less than what was designed against him, was easily persuaded to accept of the invitation; but after they had feasted and drank pretty freely, some ruffians, whom he had privately posted, rushed upon the three guests and murdered them. His design was to have cut off *Hyrca*n also, who was then at *Gazara*; and to this end he dispatched some messengers to invite or bring him to him: but happily for him, one of his father's retinue had escaped the slaughter, and brought notice to him of what had passed; so that *Hyrca*n was beforehand with him, and caused his messenger to be taken and put to death (I). *Hyrca*n, thinking himself now no longer safe there,

*Simon
treacher-
ously mur-
dered.*

¹ MACCAB. xvi. 1. & seq.

nor *Josephus*, give us any reason for it; besides we have seen that all the sons of *Mattathias* had their particular surnames; some of them more uncommon, and as little to be accounted for as this of *Hyrca*n.

(I) Thus far goes the first book of the *Maccabees*, which concludes its epocha of forty years with this escape of *Hyrca*n, and refers us for the remainder of his life and actions to a book of chronicles (41) long since lost; so that we must now fill up the se-

(41) Cap. ult. ver. ult.

there, made the best of his way to *Jerusalem*, whither *Ptolemy* arrived as soon as he. Both offered themselves at different gates and demanded admittance; but *Hyrca*n was received

quel of the *Jewish* history for the most part out of *Josephus*; in the following of whom care shall be taken to discover such errors of his, as are either accidental or otherwise, by comparing him with himself or other historians, till we come to the sacred ones of the New Testament; so that whatever we find in him, either that bears not an authentic face, or clashes, or has been confuted by other authors, will be either thrown into the margin, or if of small moment, quite set aside.

To begin then with some of the improbabilities with which he continues the history of this high priest, he tells us, (42), that as soon as he was installed in his new dignities, he put himself at the head of the *Jewish* army, and went and besieged *Ptolemy* in his castle of *Dog* or *Dagon*, where he still kept alive *Simon's* wife and his two sons, contrary to the book of *Maccabees*, which says, that he assassinated the two latter with their old father, and mentions nothing of the wife.

He goes on, and tells us, that, as *Hyrca*n went on with the siege, *Ptolemy* caused his mother and two brothers to be brought upon the walls of the castle, and there had them severely scourged, threatening at the same time to cast them headlong down, if he did not desist; and that the old lady, observing her son to relent at the sight of her danger and cruel usage, made signs for him to go on with the siege, and to take no thought of her safety or life; and that her son, being unable to see them so cruelly tortured, did as often slacken his hand.

At length, continues he, the *sabbatic*, or seventh, year being come, which was a year of rest as well as the seventh day, and *Hyrca*n upon that account being obliged to raise the siege, gave the murderer an opportunity to escape beyond *Jordan*; so that having put to death his three prisoners, he retired to *Zeno* surnamed *Cotylas*, who had usurped the government of the city of *Philadelphia*.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us much the same story, and only differs in two circumstances from *Josephus*. The first is, that *Gaza*, and not *Jerusalem*, was the place where *Hyrca*n was received and preferred to the assassin; and the second, that the feast of the tabernacles, and not the *sabbatic* year, obliged that pontiff to repair to *Jerusalem* to perform the function of his office; during which solemnity *Ptolemy* found means to escape far enough out of his reach.

This account, did it not contradict the first book of the *Maccabees*, which expressly says, that the father and the two sons were mur-

(42) *Antiq. l. xiii. c. 1. 14, & 15. & bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 2.*

ceived out of respect to his worthy father, whilst his murderer, and the men that came with him, had the mortification to be repulsed. *Hyrca*n was immediately declared prince and high-priest in his father's stead, and put himself at the head of his army, fortified himself in the mountain of the temple, and provided every way for his own safety, and for that of the city and country. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, seeing himself disappointed of his designs on *Hyrca*n and *Jerusalem*, and having in vain endeavoured to bribe some of the heads of the *Jews* over to his interest by sumptuous promises, was at length reduced to the necessity of writing to *Antiochus*, to acquaint him with what he had done, and to beg of him to come to his assistance; promising him at the same time to reduce all *Judæa* under him, provided he made him governor of it. *Antiochus*, whom the late defeat of *Cendebeus* had still more exasperated against the *Jews*, did easily embrace his offer, and was actually coming with a powerful army to his assistance; but whether through fear, or whatever other reason, the rebel did not think fit to stay till his arrival, but fled to *Zeno*, tyrant of the city of *Philadelphia*. What became of the wretch afterwards, we cannot find. The author of the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds to what we observed in the last note, that after he had killed the mother and two brothers of *Hyrca*n, he fled, and retired into some place where he could not be come at, whilst *Hyrca*n was detained at *Jerusalem* to perform the priestly function, it being then the feast of tabernacles. All that we know is, that no further mention is made of him, either by *Josephus* or the first book of the *Maccabees*, since his flight into *Philadelphia*.

Antiochus, allured into *Judæa*, partly at the news of the brave *Simon*'s death, and of the riches of his successor, and partly by the fair offers which the traitor *Ptolemy* had made

dered at the same time (43), would be much more probable than that of *Josephus*, at least with regard to the suspension of the siege; since there is no law that obliged the *Jews* to abstain from war, especially a defensive one, during the sabbatic year; if there had, how could they have continued a nation without a miracle? And yet *Josephus* not only affirms it to have been the cause of *Hyrca*n's raising the siege of *Dagon*, but of *Antiochus*'s taking the advantage of it to invade *Judæa* and besiege its metropolis. This siege of *Dagon* is therefore justly called in question by several learned men (44).

(43) *Cap. ult. ver. 16.* (44) *Vid. int. al. Salien. annal. sub. A. M. 3919, & 3920. Vide & Uffer sub A. M. 3869.*

Jerusalem
besieged.

Antioch-
us's piety.

to him, entered *Judæa* on the ensuing year with a powerful army, and went directly to besiege *Jerusalem*, driving *Hyrca*n all the way before him, till he had shut himself up with his men into that metropolis. To inclose him the more effectually, *Josephus* tells us ^u, that he caused two deep and spacious trenches to be dug round the city, and divided his army into seven camps; so that all possibility of ingress or egress was intirely stopped. He reared likewise one hundred towers; the fourth book of the *Maccabees* says one hundred and thirty, which were three stories high, upon which he placed his men to annoy those that defended the walls, whilst he was battering them from below. *Josephus* adds, that his army suffered some time for want of water, and was at length relieved with a good lasting rain. On the other hand, the besieged made a vigorous defence, and, by their frequent sallies, did greatly annoy the besiegers (K). As therefore no relief could be expected from without, either of men or provisions, *Hyrca*n bethought himself at first of a way of ridding himself of all useless mouths, by putting them out of the city; by which means they, being pent up between the wall and the enemies ditch, must infallibly have been starved in a little time, had they not been taken in again. What raised the compassion of those within the walls was the approaching feast of tabernacles, which was usually solemnized with great joy and feasting, and could not but have been very much disturbed by the cries of their perishing brethren without. *Hyrca*n then sent to *Antiochus* to desire a truce of seven days, that they might quietly celebrate that festival; which was not only readily granted, but that prince, being thereby stirred up to some sense of religion, sent them a considerable number of victims, with their horns gilt, together with several rich vessels of gold and silver ^w, filled with precious perfumes, and some money and other necessaries, which were, by *Hyrca*n's orders, thankfully received by the priests

^u Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

^w Idem ibid. Vide & PLUT. in Apophtheg.

(K) To what we have related of this siege out of *Josephus*, the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that as *Antiochus* was ordering the sapping of the walls, he observed, that the foundations were of timber, upon which he caused them to be set on fire, which soon brought down a great part of the wall; but that the besieged coming instantly to defend the breach, not only hindered the besiegers from entering the town, but drove them back, and made a stout sally after them, in which, besides a great number of the *Syrians*, which they killed, they destroyed most of the enemies towers.

at

at one of the gates of the city, and thence conveyed into the temple (L). This unexpected instance of the king's piety and liberality gave him some hopes, that a peace might probably be obtained from him with the same ease. He was not mistaken, and *Antiochus*, whether tired with the brave and constant defence of the besieged, which is not unlikely, if the account we have just now given in a note out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees* is not exaggerated, or moved by some other reason, granted it to him, upon the conditions following :

THAT the *Jews* should deliver up their arms ; that the city wall should be demolished ; and that *John* should pay him a certain tribute for *Joppa* and other towns he held out of *Judæa*. The king insisted hard upon two other conditions, namely, that they should receive a *Syrian* garison into their metropolis ; and secondly, that the fortress of *Acra* should be rebuilt. The first of these they bought off at the price of five hundred talents, three hundred of which were to be paid instantly, and the rest at some distance of time. They likewise engaged to put into the king's hands a sufficient number of hostages to secure him of their future allegiance, that they might be wholly free from any commerce with strangers. As for the second, *Hyrcau*, who remembered what a grievous thorn in their side the late fortress had been to them, would by no means agree to the building of a new one ; and the king, according to his usual clemency, remitted this also. And yet *Josephus* tells us, that when this peace was transacting, the city was reduced to the last extremity, having quite exhausted all their provisions ; and, which is still more surprising, that the besiegers were so well informed of it, that they earnestly pressed the king to make use of so favourable an opportunity to destroy and extirpate the whole *Jewish* nation, which they traduced to him in the bitterest terms, as the pest of mankind, and sworn enemies of all other nations ; so that, all things considered, it seems as if providence had interposed in their behalf, and had mollified that monarch's heart towards them, and a *modern* author owns * with *Josephus*, that it was owing to the surprising goodness and gene-

*Grants
peace to the
Jews.*

* DIODOR. SICUL. Bibl. l. xxxiv. & apud Phot. cod. 244.

(L) In this, and the following particulars relating to the peace, *Josephus* and the fourth book of *Maccabees* agree, tho' they seem to differ in those which relate to the siege and the defence made by the besieged.

rosity, that the whole nation had not then been intirely destroyed, and that they obtained a peace upon such easy terms.

HOWEVER that was, the peace was signed on both sides, and the proper hostages sent to *Antiochus*, among whom was *Hyrca*n's brother; the city was dismantled; the money paid; and the siege raised: but *Hyrca*n was forced to make use of a strange expedient to procure the three hundred talents stipulated. It seems their treasury was then at so low an ebb, that it could not furnish him with that sum; so that *John* was forced to open a hidden treasure, which had been laid up by some of the kings of *Judah* [†]; *Josephus* says the tomb of *David* [‡], from which he took out three thousand talents; a thing which had never been attempted before by any of his predecessors, nor was after him by any, except by *Herod* (M). With this fresh supply he paid *Antiochus*, and undertook

[†] Lib. 4. MACCAB. iv. c 2, & alib.

[‡] Ubi supra ad fin. & bell. Judaic. I.

(M) The story of a hidden treasure, whether laid up by *David*, or by any of his successors, is justly suspected by the judicious, as a fable invented by those two authors, without any foundation; only that of the *Maccabees* delivers it as a common report; whereas *Josephus* affirms it both of *Hyrca*n and *Herod* without hesitation.

That both *David* and *Solomon* heaped immense riches, we have formerly seen; but that they caused any part of them to be hidden under ground, much less in their own tombs, is no-where said, either by the sacred or apocryphal writers; but the contrary may be fairly deduced from them. For, if they had left any such hidden treasure, is it likely, that their wicked successors, who made no scruple to rifle the temple of its sacred utensils and ornaments (45), would have left it untouched? Is it likely, that good king *Hezekiah* would have chosen to take all the silver and the gold vessels of the temple, and even tear off the gold with which the gates, pillars, and other parts of that sacred building were covered (46; rather than to break into this immense but useless treasure?

Again, is it probable, had there been any such depository, that so many *Affyrian* and *Chaldean* monarchs, as had formerly rifled both city and temple, would not have got some knowledge of it, and gutted it of all its riches? And if they had till then been preserved by some kind of miracle (for nothing less could do it) how should *Hyrca*n dare to break in upon them, and not rather, like the good king above-mentioned, have rifled the temple of some of its valuable ornaments, which, by what we have seen hitherto, were

(45) Vide int. al. 2 Kings xvi. 8, & seq. 71, 18. xviii. 15,

(46) Ibid.

took, what had never been done before, to take a number of foreign troops into his service. This peace was followed with an alliance with *Antiochus*, after which that monarch was invited into *Jerusalem* with his chief officers, where he was received and feasted in a sumptuous manner, and, after mutual assurances of friendship and assistance, the king set out for *Syria*, and *Hyrca*n about repairing the breaches and damages which had been made during the siege. This peace was made on the ninth month after *Simon's* death (N). *Hyrca*n was punctual in his promises to that prince for some years after, and did him several signal services in his war against *Phraartes*, spoken of a little higher *, and bore a great share in the

Year of
the Flood,
2868.
Before
Christ,
131.

* Vol. IX, p. 16.

by this time grown very numerous and costly, by the generosity not only of his predecessors, but of foreign princes ?

We have lately seen, that there was a treasury or bank in the temple, part of which consisted of donatives for the support of the poor, partly of the portions and dowries of the fatherless and widows, and partly of the substance of the richer sort, who deposited their wealth there for security *, besides that which was allotted for the maintenance of the divine service (47). Now, if we consider, that they were so continually harrassed with wars, invasions, and oppressions, it is not improbable, that they kept these riches in some proper subterranean places, known but to a few trusty men at the head of affairs, and kept the whole as much a secret as possible ; if therefore *Hyrca*n was now hard put to, to raise money, is it not more probable that he borrowed it out of this bank, till better times enabled him to repay it ?

But when *Herod* did totally rifle it for his own use, if ever he really did it, might he not trump up this plausible story, that it had been deposited there by *David*, or his successors, against times of need ? And might not that cunning monarch colour this wicked deed with the specious pretence, that *Hyrca*n, a person of unexceptionable character, had done the same thing upon the like emergency † ?

(N) *Josephus* (48) tells us, that, in the first year of *Hyrca*n's pontificate, a priest of the family of *Joarib*, named *Matthias Apblias*, was married to a daughter of the late *Jonathan*, by whom he had *Matthias Curtus*, who begot *Josephus*, who was his grandfather.

In the second year of the same *Hyrca*n, came from *Jerusalem* into *Egypt*, *Jesus* the son of *Sirac*, a learned Jew, who there translated the book of *Wisdom*, written by *Jesus* his grandfather, into *Greek*, for the use of the hellenistical Jews (49). We have already spoken of that work and its author in a former note, to which we refer (50).

* Vol. IX. 595. & 2 Maccab. iii. 10. (47) Ibid. ver. 6. † *Vide Salien. Uffer. & Prid* (48) *In vita sua.* (49) *Vide prolog. in eund.* (50) Vol. IX. p. 605, note (F).

VOL. X.

K

victories

Antioch-
us's death.
Year of
the Flood
2869.
Before
Christ
130.

Hyrcan
shakes off
the Syrian
yoke.

His con-
quests.

victories which that prince gained against him. Some authors think ^a, that it was in this war that *John* got the name of *Hyrcan*, on account of some signal victory he gained over the *Hyrcanians*. However that be, *Josephus* tells us ^b, on the authority of *N. Damascen*, that *Antiochus* shewed him so much regard, as to halt two days on account of the feast of pentecost, because it beginning that year on the day immediately following the sabbath, it was not lawful for the *Jews* to march on these two days. *Antiochus* was soon after defeated and killed, as has been elsewhere related [†]; and *Hyrcan*, in his return to *Jerusalem*, took *Aleppo*, and laid it under a tribute ^c. After this, finding that the kingdom of *Syria* was rent with intestine disturbances, and their cities naked and defenceless, he marched thither with a good army, resolved to seize upon such of them as lay most convenient for him. The first he took was that of *Madeba*, which cost him a six month's siege. From thence he went to that of *Samega*, which he subdued, with several others both in *Arabia* and *Phœnicia* ^d. From this time we may date the total deliverance of the *Jews* from the *Syrian* yoke; for neither he nor any of his descendants paid either homage or obedience to those monarchs ever afterwards, but lived free and independent from them ^e. From thence he turned his arms against the *Samaritans*, and took *Shechem* and mount *Garizim*, and the temple formerly built by *Sanballat*, and demolished it, after it had stood two hundred years; together with all the edifices, altars, and monuments which had been built there by *Jezebel*, and put several of the *Samaritan* priests to death (O). The following year *Idumea* was likewise conquered by him ^f, where he caused proclamation to be made throughout that province, obliging all those that would not be circumcised to depart out of the land; but the *Idumeans* chusing rather to

^a EUSEB. in Chron. SULP. SEVER. & al. ^b Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. [†] Vol. IX p. 16. ^c 4 MACCAB. ^d Idem, JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. STRABO, Geogr. l. xvi. ^e JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. xxxvi. c. 1. ^f JOSEPH. ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 11. STRABO, ubi supra. See also Vol. II. p. 147.

(O) These two last particulars, which we have out of the fourth book of the *Maccabees*, *Josephus* says nothing of; but only mentions the demolishing of their temple, which was from that time never attempted to be rebuilt; however, the *Shechemites* built themselves an altar there, on which they offered their sacrifices, according to the *Mosaic* law, and have continued to do so ever since.

forfake

forsake their old idolatry than their country, submitted to his conditions, and were from that time incorporated into the Jewish commonwealth (P).

IN the year following Hyrcan sent Simon the son of Dositheus and Apollonius the son of Alexander, on an embassy to the Roman senate, to renew the alliance they had lately made with Simon his father, and sent some valuable presents by them (Q). These met with an honourable reception at Rome.

Hyrcan
renews his
alliance
with

Rome,

(P) From that time downward to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, they continued in the Jewish religion; so that the word Idumean signified no more than incorporated Jews, in contradistinction to those that were so by natural descent (1); and from their total dispersion, the former name has been intirely absorbed in the latter.

With respect to these Idumean profelytes, it will be proper to observe here, that Herod, who obtained afterwards the kingdom of Judea, was of that race. From his reign therefore the Jewish writers began to style it מלכות הנרים *malkuth hagerim*, the kingdom or reign of profelytes or strangers; which not being observed by Scaliger and Munster, they have translated it the kingdom of the Hagarens; but our learned Usher has sufficiently confuted that mistake (2); and we shall further shew, when we come to the reign of that prince, that he was really one of these Idumeans, incorporated into, and thereby intitled to all the privileges of a natural Israelite. There was indeed to be this difference in the true Edomites, that they could not intermarry with them till the third generation, according to the law of Moses (3); but as we have shewn these Idumeans to be of a different race, or rather a mixture of other nations, how that matter was regulated by the sanhedrin, we know not.

We have heretofore observed †, that the word Edomite and Idumean, which often occurs in the rabbinic writings, is not that of any nation, but the name by which they call the Christians, against whom they write, and is indeed one of the civilest; but they oftner use those of *goi*, *beathen*, and *Nozri* or *Nazarite*, and sometimes that of *Samaritan* and *Cuthean*; which caution we here repeat, to prevent those that read them being mistaken by any of those feigned names.

(Q) Among these the fourth book of Maccabees mentions a large dish and a shield, amounting to fifty thousand pieces of gold. That author mentions some other particulars, which are not in Josephus; such as, that the ambassadors were made to sit down

(1) Vide Prid. connect. sub ann. 129. note t. & Bux orf. lexic. Rabbin. sub voce ארם. (2) Sub A M. 3875. (3) See Vol. II. p. 147. & Vol. III. p. 294. Vide & Deut. xxiii. 7, 8. † Vol. II. p. 147, note.

Rome, and a ready compliance with all their demands. The senate, besides the renewing of the alliance, granted the Jews the possession of *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and some other places, which *Antiochus* had taken from them, and ordered the ambassadors a sum out of the public treasury, to defray their charges homewards. They likewise sent letters to all the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass in their return, to see them treated with all the marks of honour due to their character. The senate likewise ordered, that all the complaints they had exhibited against the *Syrians* should be redressed; declared null and void all that *Antiochus* or his successor had done, or should do, contrary to their late league with the late Jewish high-priests; that the *Syrians* should reimburse to them all the losses sustained by them, and appointed commissaries to come and see the purport of their decree fully executed. The ambassadors had likewise desired letters from the senate, directed to all the princes and free states with whom they were in alliance, to recommend the Jewish interest to them; but there being at that time other important matters on the tapis, the affair was deferred for further deliberation; and they returned to *Jerusalem* highly satisfied with what they had.

*A second
embassy
sent to
Rome.*

THIS embassy having so well succeeded, *Hyrca*n, on the next year, sent a new one with fresh presents, to thank the senate for their last favour, and to obtain a ratification of all their former decrees in their behalf; all which was readily granted, and the ambassadors returning, brought this new act, which the reader may see at full length in *Josephus* (R). By these alliances *John* saw himself more and more strengthened

with the *Roman* consul; that they were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and that the letter which they brought from the senate to *Hyrca*n, did give him the name and title of king, which that pontiff took upon him, and bore it from thenceforward. The letter is there related at full length; but as it contains nothing particular except that inscription, we shall refer the reader to that book for it.

(R) Here *Josephus* has again committed a manifest blunder, by inserting this decree in the wrong place (4), and instead of another then granted by the senate upon another occasion, and at the recommendation of *Julius Caesar*, to *Hyrca*nus the second. This has been fully proved by several learned men, whom the reader will

(4) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 16.*

ened in his dominions, whilst the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* were still troubled with continual wars. *Alexander Zebina* having by this time mounted the *Syrian* throne *,
was

* See Vol. IX. p. 22, & seq.

find in the margin (5); and he may further convince himself, by comparing the contrariety between the decree itself and the occasion upon which the *Jewish* historian there quotes it, with respect to the following particulars:

1. He says it was obtained for the rebuilding of the city wall demolished by *Pompey*; but there is not a word in the decree about the wall, but only of renewing and confirming the former alliances.
2. The decree was dated on the ninth year of *Hyrchanus*, who could not be the second of that name; for if it had been obtained to this last by *Julius Cæsar*, it must have fallen in the seventeenth, not of his reign, for that he had been dispossessed of by *Gabinus*, but of his priesthood, which was all the dignity that was left to him, as *Josephus* himself owns in another place (6): and if his reign were to be dated, not from his restoration by *Pompey*, but from the death of his mother, it must have been the twenty third, and not the ninth of his reign.

Again, there is a manifest difference between the dates of the preamble to and the decree itself. The one dates it the ninth of *Hyrchan*, in the month *Panemus*, answering to our *July*, and the other the *ides* (or thirteenth) of *December*. From all which it is evident, that *Josephus* has, by a mistake, inserted here one decree for another; and that this belonged not to any year of *Hyrchanus* the second, but to the ninth year of *Hyrchanus* the first.

Another strong proof of this is; *Numenius* the son of *Antiochus*, who is mentioned in the decree as one of the ambassadors sent by *Hyrchan* to procure it, is the same who had been sent about seventeen years before, on the like errand, to *Rome* by *Jonathan*, as we have lately seen; he might therefore be still young enough to be sent on this new embassy in the ninth year of *Hyrchanus* the first; but must have been long dead and rotten before the decree obtained by *Cæsar* in favour of *Hyrchanus* the second, there being near eighty years distance between them. To all this may be added, that the decree here inserted is that of an alliance made by proper ambassadors between the *Roman* senate and a free state, such as the *Jewish* was in *Hyrchan* the first's time; whereas that obtained by *Cæsar*, for *Hyrchan* the second, was not an alliance by embassy, but a favour conferred on the *Jews*, in consideration of the services they had

(5) *Scalig. animad. in Chron. Euseb. num. 1971. Usser. annual. sub A. M. 3877. Salien. sub A. M. 4007. sect. 36. Prid. connect. sub ann. 127.*

(6) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10.*

was glad to make him his friend ; but being soon after killed, and succeeded by *Antiochus Grypus*, this last did so resent it, that he was preparing himself to invade *Judæa* ; but was happily prevented by his brother, who was then levying an army at *Cyzicum*, and coming against him. *Hyrca*n left them to fight it out between them, without concerning himself on either side, chusing rather to enjoy his sovereign authority peacefully, which gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense treasures, by the tributes which he received both from his own now flourishing land, and from those countries which he had lately subjected to his dominions. At length some hostilities, which the *Samaritans* committed against the *Mareffans* (S), who were then in friendship with him, gave him a fair handle for renewing the war, which he had lately begun against those of the city of *Shechem*. He went therefore with his two sons *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, at the head of a powerful army, and with all the proper engines for the siege of *Samaria*, which had been since rebuilt and fortified (T). These encompassed the city with a wall and a deep ditch, of about eighty furlongs, or four thousand paces circuit ; by which they soon reduced the city to such scarcity of provisions, that they began to eat all manner of unclean beasts, such as cats, dogs, and other carion. In this extremity they found means to send and implore the assistance of

done the *Roman* general in the *Alexandrian* war ; at which time they were no longer a free, but a conquered, nation, as the sequel of this history will soon shew.

(S) The city of *Mareffa*, or *Maresa*, which stood at about two miles distance from *Eleutheropolis*, had been some time before taken by him, and since retaken by the *Syrians*, under whom it now was ; but still in alliance and friendship with the *Jews* (7).

(T) It will be proper here to remind our readers, that these *Samaritans* were not now of the old race and sect so much hated by the *Jews*, for these, we have seen a little higher, had been either destroyed, or driven out of that metropolis, by *Alexander the Great*, for the murder of his favourite *Andronicus* ; immediately after which he repopled the place with *Syro-Macedonians*, or a mixture of *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, and *Greeks*.

These being settled there did compass the town with a double high wall, a deep ditch, and other fortifications ; those therefore are mistaken, who think, that the *Jewish* hatred against the former sort of *Samaritans* was the occasion of this war ; for these were all heathens, and consequently strangers to the disputes and intailed enmity between those two.

(7) *Vide antiq l. xiii. c. 17.*

Antiochus Cyzicenus, who was now on the Syrian throne *, and who came accordingly with a great army to their relief ‡.

IN the mean time, the grand expiation day being at hand, *Samarina* *Hyrcau* was obliged to go to *Jerusalem* to perform the office *besieged*. of it, and left his two sons to carry on the siege. Upon their Year of hearing that *Antiochus* was coming against them, *Arif-* the Flood, *tobulus* was dispatched with part of the army to meet him. 2889. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the *Syrians* were to- Before Christ, tally routed, and pursued as far as *Scythopolis*; and *Antiochus* 110. escaped with great difficulty. After this defeat, the siege was renewed with such vigour, that *Antiochus* was again applied to; but he not caring to hazard a second battle, contented himself with sending six thousand men to make a diversion in *Judea*, in hopes to oblige the *Jews* to raise the siege; neither were these his own troops, but such as he had with some difficulty obtained from the king of *Egypt*. We have already seen the ill success of this expedition in a former volume, as well as the betraying of *Scythopolis* to *Hyrcau* by *Epicrates*, and the surrender and utter demolition of *Samarina* †. From this time *Hyrcau* became more and more powerful, and made himself master not only of all *Palestine*, but added also unto it the provinces of *Samarina* and *Galilee*; all which he enjoyed to the end of his life, without any molestation from without, or discords from within his dominions. His reign was no less remarkable on the account of his great wisdom and piety at home, than his conquests abroad. Never did the *Jewish* religion or commonwealth appear in greater lustre since the return from captivity; but that which raises his glory, above any of his predecessors or successors, was, if we may believe *Josephus* ^h and the fourth book of *Maccabees* ⁱ, his enjoying three dignities, which never all met in any but him; namely, the royal dignity, the high-priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. Of the last of these we shall give two or three instances out of those authors in the margin (V); but the second, or high-priesthood,

* See Vol. IX. p. 29.

‡ Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.

† See

Vol. IX. p. 28.

^h Antiq. ubi supra, & bell. Judaic. l. ii.

c. 3.

ⁱ Cap. vii.

(V) *Josephus* affirms him to have had very extraordinary visions and revelations, more particularly about his own children. He tells us for instance, that on the day in which his forces defeated those of *Antiochus*, himself was then offering up incense in the most holy place, where he heard a voice telling him of the victory gained by his sons.

priesthood, tho' he had exercised it in such a manner as ought to have rendered him doubly venerable, yet in the end proved the source of such persecutions from the proud and hot-headed *Pharisees*, as quite embittered the latter end of his reign, if not shortened his days. It is under his reign that this sect, as well as those of the *Sadducees* and *Essenians*, of which we have already spoken something, are supposed to have started up. This therefore may be thought a proper place of speaking of them more at large, as well as of that of the *Caraites*, which sprung up afterwards; but as each of those four sects had many favourite tenets, quite opposite to the spirit and doctrine of the gospel and its divine author, and proved so many invincible obstacles against its reception, we shall defer speaking of them, till we come to that glorious epocha. By this means the reader will have them so fresh in his mind, and, as it were, in one view, that instead of wondering at the *Jews* rejecting so universally the person and doctrine of the *Messiah*, he will rather look upon it as a kind of miracle, that so many of that blind and prepossessed nation should so readily embrace them.

BUT, to return to our subject, *Hyrcan* had always shewed himself a zealous stickler for the *Pharisees*; they had hitherto monopolized his favours, and enjoyed the most considerable posts under him, whilst the other two were despised and kept under by him. But an untimely piece of condescension towards them, or perhaps rather of vanity, from which the best of men are not always exempt, gave one of the heads of that imperious sect, named *Eleazar*, an opportunity to cast a reflection against him, which touched him in the most sensible part. It was no less than calling in

As he was very fond of those two brave youths, he was no less importunate with heaven to know which of them was to succeed him; but, to his great mortification, he saw in a vision a third son, not yet born, who was pointed at as his successor. This grieved the good old man so much, it seems, that when *Alexander* was soon after born, he sent him to be privately brought up in *Galilee*; but this did not hinder the vision being verified by the sequel; of which he was made, however, so sensible before he died, that he foretold the reigns of his two eldest sons *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus* to be but short, after which *Alexander* would succeed them.

There are some other singularities related of him, which have still more the air of fables, and therefore not worth mentioning; only this one is very remarkable, if true, that the stones of the breast plate and the carbuncle on his shoulder quite lost their lustre after his death, and never recovered it since.

question

question his legitimacy, at least as being less pure and undefiled than the *Mosaic* law requires in a high-priest; and this he did by pretending, that his mother had been formerly a slave, intimating thereby, that either she was not of *Jewish* extraction, or else, that being so, she had been taken captive by the enemy, and forced to prostitute herself for a maintenance. The story being, as *Josephus* assures us, absolutely false, and only trumped up by that proud *Pharisee* to mortify the good old prelate, we shall throw it in the margin (W), and only add, that *Eleazar's* base suggestion, and the partiality

(W) *Hyrca*n's desire to ingratiate himself still farther to this imperious sect, which he observed to grow daily more and more the darling of the people, by reason of their specious pretence to a greater degree of sanctity, made him one day, after he had given some of the heads of them a most sumptuous entertainment, ask them, if they had any thing to object or to find fault with against his government, that he might rectify it; since he had always made it his chief study and delight to act with the utmost regard to God, and according to the rules and maxims of their sect.

Whilst therefore the rest of the company were extolling his piety, zeal, valour, and conduct up to the skies, the surly and turbulent *Eleazar* started up, and, with his wonted ill nature, told him, that if he was really desirous to deserve the praises which his brethren had so lavishly given him, he ought to divest himself of his high-priesthood, and be content with the civil government of the nation. Being asked the reason of so strange a proposal, he answered him, That they were well assured, upon the testimony of ancient persons still living, that his mother had been taken captive in the wars, which rendered him incapable by the law of *Moses* † to succeed to the pontifical dignity.

This malicious suggestion, it seems, was resented by all the company; but much more by the old pontiff, who thereupon resolved to take some signal satisfaction for the calumny cast on his mother and himself. He had then a favourite friend named *Jonathan*, a zealous *Sadducee*, who took occasion from it to intimate to him, that *Eleazar* was but the tool and mouth of the *Pharisaic* sect; but that the slander must have been concerted by the whole party. To convince him of it, he advised him to consult the brotherhood concerning the punishment of the calumniator, and he would soon find, either by their lenity or severity towards him, whether they had any hand in the calumny.

*Hyrca*n took his advice, and asked the heads of that sect, What punishment they thought *Eleazar* deserved for raising such an impi-

† See what has been said of these marriages, Vol. III. p. 235.

partiality of his brotherhood in assigning him a condign punishment, did so exasperate the high-priest against the whole sect, that from that time he gave himself up wholly to that of the *Sadducees*, who were not a little glad to aggravate the affront as hatched against him by the whole *Pharisaic* body, tho' one only of them had had the courage to blab it out. From thenceforth therefore there grew the bitterest enmity between him and that revengeful sect, who ceased not to raise troubles and seditions against him during the short time he lived, and against his sons after him. *Hyrca*n was then in the twenty-eighth year of his pontificate when this quarrel happened, and he died in the very next year, greatly lamented by all but the *Pharisaic* crew, who left no stone unturned to blacken his memory, and to get into the same credit and authority they had formerly enjoyed under him * (X).

*Hyrca*n

* *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 18.

ous and unjust slander on the prince and high-priest of their nation? expecting, no doubt, but they would have condemned him to death; but, to his surprise, they told him, that as calumny was no capital crime, the severest punishment he could inflict on him, was that of scourging and imprisonment.

There wanted no more to convince the pontiff of the truth of what *Jonathan* had suggested to him; so that from that time he became an irreconcilable enemy to the whole sect, forbade, under severe penalties, the observance of their commandments and traditions, and became a zealous patron of the opposite sect of the *Sadducees*. On the other hand, the *Pharisees* became mortal enemies, not only to him and his family, but to the whole *Sadducean* party, and never ceased plotting against them till they had gained the saddle again; which they did in some few years after, as the sequel will shew.

(X) *Josephus* is very inconsistent in the years of this prelate's reign, if there be not some error crept into the copies we have of him, and in the *Latin* version of *Rufinus*; for in one place (8) he gives him thirty three, and in two others (9) thirty one; yet *Eusebius* out of him gives but twenty nine (10), and so doth *St. Jerom* in his *Latin* version of him, and elsewhere (11), and rightly too; for, as the learned *Usser* observes in the place last quoted, *Simon*, *Hyrca*n's father, died in the 177th year of the *Grecian* kingdom, and in the

(8) *Bell. Judaic.* l. i. c. 3.

(9) *Antiq.* l. xiii. c. 18. & l.

xx. c. 8.

(10) *In chronic.* & *demonst. Evang.* l. viii. c. 2.

(11) *Comm. in ix. Dan.* Vide & *Usser. annal. sub A. M.* 3896.

*Hyrca*n is affirmed by *Josephus* to have built the stately tower, or rather castle, of *Baris* (Y), the same which served afterwards for a palace for the *Asmonean* princes, and was some time after rebuilt, enlarged, and fortified by *Herod*, and called by him *Antonia*, in honour of the emperor *Marc Antony*. This castle was built upon a steep rock, fifty cubits high from the valley that ran beneath it to the top on which the building stood, and was inaccessible on all sides, except that towards the temple, with which it was even. It was of a square figure, two furlongs in compass; that is, half a furlong, or three hundred feet, on every side. The rock stood without the outer square of the temple, and upon the same mountain with, and on the north side of it, running parallel with its outer wall, but incompassed with that which *Simon* had built to stop the communication between the temple and the fortrefs of *Acra*. Here *Hyrca*n built an apartment, where he deposited his pontifical robes and ornaments, whenever he divested himself of them to vacate on his other affairs; which method was afterwards observed by his successors. Here he kept his court, and spent most of his time; and so did they after him¹, till *Herod*, observing the strength of its situation, turned it into a fortrefs; in which, however, the

¹ Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 5. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. Vide & Light-foot's view of the temple, c. 7.

11th of month *Sebat* (12) answering to the 4579th of the *Julian* period; and his wife *Alexandra*, who reigned after his sons, died, as the sequel will shew, in *December* 4644 of the same period; so that the distance is 65 years, and about 9 months; from which if we subtract the 37 years which *Josephus* allows to her and her sons, the remainder will be 28 years and 9 months.

(Y) St. *Jerom.* in his comments on those sacred books, which were written after the *Babylonish* captivity, such as those of *Daniel*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, and on some other prophets (13), observes the word *Baris* to be of *Chaldee* extraction, peculiar to *Palestine*, and to signify a house or castle inclosed on every side. In the same sense the *Septuagint* have used it likewise; and as that word in the plural is *Βαρεῖς*, which likewise signifies heavy, their interpreters have sometimes taken it in the latter sense without any reason, and puzzled thereby several places of scripture, which were plain enough in the former signification, particularly the ivory palaces mentioned by the psalmist (14).

(12) Vide 1 Maccab. xvi. 14. (13) Vide & comm in Jerem. xvii. & Hof. ix.

(14) Psal. xlv. 8. Vide Calm. su' voce Ba is.

priestly attire was still kept, even after the *Jews* were subdued by the *Romans*, and under the custody of the commander of that garison, called by St. *Luke the captain of the temple* ^m. This officer kept them in his custody under lock and seal, and delivered them up to the high-priests upon all solemnities in which they were required; immediately after which they were put into his hands again, as we shall see in the next section.

*Hyrca*n left three sons, according to the fourth book of *Maccabees* (Z), or five, according to *Josephus* ⁿ, who gives us, however, the names but of four of them; namely, *Aristobulus*, who was also called *Judas*, and surnamed *Philellen*, by reason of his fondness for the *Greeks*; 2. *Antigon*us; 3. *Alexander*, and *Absalom*, who was the youngest. What *Aristobulus* was the name of the fourth he no-where tells us. *Aristobulus succeeds* he succeeded his father in all his dignities in right of primogeniture, according to the *Mosaic* law; and having a great affection for his brother *Antigon*us, he admitted him to share the government with him for some short space; after which, upon some suspicion or dislike, he caused him to be put to death. The other three he kept close prisoners during his short reign, which lasted but one year, which he yet stained with his own mother's blood; for that princess having claimed a right to the sovereignty, by virtue of *Hyrca*n's will, her unnatural son not only shut her up in a prison, but there barbarously starved her to death. Soon after this he assumed the title of king, and began to wear the royal diadem, which, if we may believe *Josephus*, had never been done by any of his predecessors ^o, who had till then

Aristobulus succeeds
Hyrca.
Year of
the Flood,
2892.
Before
Christ,
107.

*His cruel
reign.*

^m Acts xxi. 31. & seq. & alib.
19. & l. xiv. c. 8. bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 3.
c. 19 & bell. Judaic. ubi supra.

ⁿ Antiq. l. xiii. c.
^o Antiq. l. xiii

(Z) This author adds (15), that *Hyrca*n was so excessively fond of his two eldest sons, that he would name neither to the succession, but left it wholly to providence to direct it. On the other hand he bore as great an aversion to *Alexander* who had been pointed out to him as his successor in a vision, of which we have spoken in a late note, but yet without attempting any thing against him to prevent it.

Josephus, on the contrary, tells us, that he left the government to his wife during her life, tho', by the cruelty with which her eldest son used her, one would rather think, that she had forged some such will against him.

contented themselves with the title of governors, or at ^{most} with that of prince (A). As soon as he had settled his affairs at home, he marched at the head of his army to invade *Iturea*; but being taken ill in the midst of his successes, he was forced to be brought back to *Jerusalem*, and to leave his brother to complete the conquest of that province (B); which he soon after did, causing all the *Itureans* either to be circumcised and incorporated with the *Jews*, or else to depart into some other country ^P.

*Invades
Iturea.*

WHILST he was carrying on this successful war, there wanted not those at court, who, envying his happiness, endeavoured to prepossess the sick king with strange suspicions against him. The queen more particularly seemed to have conceived some irreconcilable hatred against that prince, and to have been the chief engine of his ruin; which happened soon after, when *Antigonus* innocently furnished her with the means of working it more effectually. For as soon as he had finished the conquest of *Iturea*, he marched directly to *Jerusalem*, it being then the feast of tabernacles; and being in haste to repair to the temple, to offer up his thanks for his success, and his vows for his brother's recovery; he went directly thither in his armour, without staying to shift his cloaths, and accompanied with a number of his men. This was immediately interpreted to the timorous king as a

*Antigonus
murdered.*

^P Id. *ibid.* c. 20.

(A) We have seen, however, in a late note *, that *Hyrca*n took the royal name and dignity upon him long before *Strabo* says (16), that it was *Alexander*, *Aristobulus*'s successor, who first took that title upon him.

(B) This province was so called from *Itur* the son of *Ismael*, whom our *English* and some other versions wrongly call *Jetur*. It was situate on the other side of *Jordan*, on the north side of the half tribe of *Manasseh*, between that and the territories of *Damascus*; so that it made one part of *Cæle-Syria*, and did lie on the one side of *Judæa*, as *Idumæa*, formerly conquered in the same manner, did lie on the other. It had the province of *Battanea* on the east, and the *Trachonitis* mentioned by *St. Luke* (17) on the south (18). The *Reubenites*, *Simeonites*, and *Manassites*, are said in the chronicles to have invaded these territories (19), and to have subdued the *Itureans*.

* *Supra*, p. 76. *in fin* not. (Q). (16) *Lib.* xvi. (17) c. iii. 1.
(18) *Vide Reland. Palest. l. i. c. 22.* (19) 1 *Chron.* v.
19.

manifest

manifest attempt upon his life, to which he gave but too easy credit. However, to satisfy himself more fully about it, he sent him orders to put off his armour, and to come immediately to him, which, if he complied with, would sufficiently justify him; but if not, would fully prove his treasonable intent. The king was then at his castle of *Baris*, mentioned a little higher, where he ordered some of his guards to be privately posted in the subterranean gallery, through which *Antigonus* was to pass, and who were charged to murder him, if he presumed to come armed to him. But the mischievous queen corrupted the messenger, and made him go and tell the young prince, that his brother having heard his armour highly commended, desired to see him in it immediately; so that when *Antigonus* came to pass through the gallery, the guards fell immediately upon him and killed him (C). The king, however, was soon undeceived, and could not think upon his brother's murder without reflecting on the more cruel one, which he had lately committed on his own mother; the remorse of which increasing his disease, he fell into a violent vomiting of blood. A servant happening soon after to spill some of that blood, which he was carrying away in a basin, upon the very spot where that of his brother *Antigonus* was still to be seen; some of the by-standers, thinking he had done it wilfully, gave a great cry, which was heard by the king. He sent

(C) The gallery here spoken of was, it seems, under one of the towers of the castle, called upon some account or other *Straton's* tower; and so verified, according to *Josephus*, the prediction of one *Judas*, of the sect of the *Essenians*, concerning this prince's death. This man, who was then at *Jerusalem*, had foretold, some time before, that *Antigonus* should be killed on that very day at *Straton's* tower; but as he understood it of another more famed on the sea-coast, and at a distance from this, he was not a little surprized to see that prince come to the temple, looking upon it as a demonstration of the falshood of his prediction, since, the day being already far advanced, it was impossible for him to reach it, it being above six hundred furlongs from *Jerusalem*.

This threw him into such a fit of raving, that he vented his complaints for the supposed delusion in a very indecent manner, and, *Jonas* like, cried out, it had been better for him to have been dead, before he had been found a false prophet. Whilst he was in the height of his murmuring, news was brought of *Antigonus's* murder, and the name of the tower convinced both him and the rest of the truth of his prediction (20).

(20) *Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.*

to ask the meaning of it, and found them unwilling to acquaint him with it; which made him still more desirous of knowing it. At length he forced the fatal secret from them, which threw him into an excess of grief and despair, which he vented in words to this effect: Since the privacy of the place could not hide from God's all-seeing eye the detestable deed I have committed, but must now vomit up my own blood, as it were, by drops, to atone for that which I have so inhumanly shed, would not a speedy death be much more desirable to me? He gave up the ghost soon after, having reigned but one year (D), and was succeeded by his brother *Jannæus*, or *Alexander*, whom the queen *Salome*, called by the *Greeks Alexandra*, released out prison with his other two brethren, and caused him to be proclaimed king, as being the eldest of the three, and of a milder disposition than either of them.

HE was, however, forced to begin his reign with the death of his fourth brother, who had made some treasonable attempt against him; but was much kinder to *Absalom* the youngest of all, whom finding contented to lead a private life under him, he took under his protection as long as he lived; and so privately did this prince live, that we hear no more of him, till above forty two years after, when, having engaged in the war against the *Romans*, he was taken by *Pompey* and sent prisoner to *Rome*. *Alexander* being a subtle and warlike prince, and *Syria* being then torn by civil wars between the contending brothers, *Antiochus Cyzicus* and *Antiochus Gypus* *, and therefore in no capacity to oppose him, he led an army in the very first year of his reign against the city of *Ptolemais*; but met with worse success in that siege than any of his predecessors had done, being forced to raise it to succour his own territories, which were invaded by *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who took from him the city of *Azochis* in *Galilee*, and carried off ten thousand captives, and gave him soon after a dreadful overthrow near the banks of the

Year of
the Flood
2895.
Before
Christ,

* See Vol. VIII. p. 26, & seq.

(D) *Aristobulus* had so far ingratiated himself to the *Greeks*, of whom he was excessive fond, that they were great admirers of him; and *Josephus* quotes one of their authors (21), who gives him the character of a prince of great equity and beneficence; but the actions of his short reign shew him to have been of a quite different disposition.

104.
~~~~~

(21) *Timagen. ap. Strabon. ex Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra.*

Jordan,



Year of  
the Flood  
2897.  
Before  
Christ,  
102.

Alexan-  
der assisted  
by Cleopa-  
tra.

*Jordan*, as we have seen in a former chapter †. This defeat, in which he lost thirty thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, and which was a just reward for his treachery to that prince, would infallibly have opened a way for the latter into *Judæa*, *Alexander* being now in no condition to have stopped his progress; had not *Cleopatra* come to his assistance. It was indeed that princess's interest not to let *Lathyrus* grow too great, and be thereby enabled to come and wrest the crown from her; but there was another spring that moved her to what she did. The *Jews* of *Alexandria* were highly in her favour, and *Chelkias* and *Ananias*, two of the most considerable, being the sons of *Onias* the high-priest, who built the *Jewish* temple at *Alexandria*, were at the head of affairs: and these could not behold *Judæa* in such imminent danger from an exasperated enemy, without using all their interest with that queen to prevent it. We shall not repeat what has been said in a former chapter \*\* concerning the success of her arms against that competitor. *Alexander* reaped so far the benefit of it, that it obliged *Lathyrus* to set aside the invasion of *Palestine* for some time; and *Cleopatra* being come to *Ptolemais*, which had surrendered to her, the *Jewish* monarch came to acknowledge her favour to him by presents suitable to her dignity. He was received outwardly like a prince in distress, and who had no other refuge than her friendship; but that which ingratiated him most to that politic princess was, his being an enemy to her son *Lathyrus*, who was by that time returned into *Palestine*, and had taken his winter-quarters at *Gaza*.

DURING *Alexander's* stay with *Cleopatra*, some of her friends advised her to take so favourable an opportunity to make herself mistress of *Judæa*; which would at once increase her dominions and strength, and give her a superiority over her competitor. But *Ananias* the *Jew* lately mentioned, who was one of her head generals, dissuaded her from such an attempt, alledging, that it would be very ungenerous and unjust to dispossess of his dominions an ally, who was come to implore her friendship and assistance; that it would lessen her character in the eyes of the world, and, above all, make her detested by all the *Jews*. These reasons, joined to the influence which that general, who was *Alexander's* kinsman, had over her, did not only divert her from her design, but procured an alliance between them, which was concluded in the city of *Scythopolis*; after which *Alexander* returned

† Ibid. p. 118.

\*\* Ibid. p. 115, & seq.

to *Jerusalem*, where, being now pretty secure of any danger from *Lathyrus*, he recruited his broken army, and, crossing the *Jordan*, went to besiege *Gadara*, and took it at the end of ten months. From thence he marched to *Amathus* another strong fortress on that side of the river, into which *Theodotus* the son of *Zeno*, tyrant of *Philadelphia*, had laid up an immense treasure; and took it in a much shorter time than he had that of *Gadara*; and with it all *Theodotus's* treasure. But he did not keep it long; that prince, having got together a numerous army, fell suddenly upon him, as he was returning from the siege, killed him ten thousand men, routed the rest, recovered all his wealth, seized on *Alexander's* baggage, and carried off a considerable plunder from his men<sup>1</sup>. This defeat however, did not discourage *Alexander* from pursuing his warlike views, only it afforded great matter of triumph to the *Pharisees*, his implacable enemies, who took occasion from thence to vilify him to the people, and to use all possible means to make his crown sit uneasy on him.

As soon as *Alexander* had recruited his army, he stayed not in *Jerusalem* to quell the *Pharisaic* faction, but left them to make the most of his late disgrace, whilst he went to vent his resentment on the treacherous *Gazeans*, who, by inviting *Lathyrus* against him and furnishing him with auxiliaries, had been the cause of his late overthrow. He immediately besieged the towns of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, since called *Agrippias* by *Herod*: these two places stood at a few miles distance from *Gaza*, by which means having in some measure blocked up this last, he on the next year set about besieging it with a powerful army. The city, being then under the command of *Apollodotus*, a man of great valour and conduct, made a stout defence against him one whole year, and in one sally were like to have routed him and his army; and much longer it might have held out in all likelihood, had not the brave governor been treacherously murdered by his own brother *Lyfimachus*, and the place betrayed by him to the besiegers. *Alexander* upon his entering it made great shew of clemency to the *Gazeans*, but soon betrayed his rancour and cruelty against them, by abandoning them to the fury of his men; who thereupon made such horrid slaughter of them, as was like to have proved a dear revenge to him; for the *Gazeans*, standing desperately on their own defence, killed him almost as many of his men as he did of theirs. Having at last glutted himself with the blood of those unfortunate wretches, he vented the rest of his resentment on that great and ancient

Takes *Gadara*.

Year of the flood, 2899. Before Christ, 100.

Goes against *Gaza*.His cruelty to the *Gazeans*.<sup>1</sup> Antiq. l. xiii. 21.



city, by reducing it into a heap of ruins ; after which he returned with his army to *Jerusalem*<sup>r</sup>. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds <sup>s</sup>, that he took afterwards the cities of *Emath* and *Tyre*, but *Josephus* says nothing of it.

Alexander pelted  
by the people  
Year of  
the Flood  
2904.  
Before  
Christ  
95.

BUT whilst he had been abroad with his army, the *Pharisees*, who, as we hinted before, bore a mortal hatred to him and his whole family, had taken such means to exasperate the people against him by evil surmises and slanders, which they privately instilled into them, that it broke out at last into an open affront, which came little short of a rebellion. They chose the feast of tabernacles, on which solemnity they go to the temple with palm and other branches in their hands, especially that of a kind of citron, which they call *attrog*, with the fruit upon it (E) ; and when he was performing the priestly office at the great altar, probably on the last day of that solemnity, they pelted him, not only with those *attrogs* but with the most injurious reflections and opprobrious

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. <sup>s</sup> cap. xxix.

(E) This *attrog*, which the *Jews* imagine to have been the forbidden fruit which our first parents eat in paradise, very much resembles a citron or lemon, except that it has on the rind some unevennesses, (such as we observe sometimes in the *Seville* orange) and which they fondly believe to have been originally impressed upon it by *Eve's* planting her teeth upon it, from which time they think that fruit has retained the print of it on both sides.

Where-ever therefore it is to be had, they carry it during this festival in their hands to the synagogues, as they did then to the temple, and are very curious in the choice of such only as best represent that fatal bite ; and as our *Jews* here, and in *Holland*, *Germany* &c. are forced to have it from some parts of *Greece*, none but the richer sort are able to purchase it ; and it sometimes happens, either through contrary winds, ships being taken or cast away, that there is such a scarcity of them, that the price of them advances to a guinea a sprig. Those who are curious enough may see them on that festival in their synagogues, it seldom or never happening but some quantity is brought over against that time. But when it doth, they are forced to substitute some other odoriferous tree instead of it ; but the poorer sort content themselves with branches of willows.

On the seventh day, which closes the festival, they break their branches or throw them away ; and we suppose it was on this day that the mutinous crowd did pelt the high-priest with those *attrogs*, they being so common at that time in *Palestine*, that the meanest people might purchase them.

language,

language, crying aloud, that such a slave as he (F) was unworthy of either the pontifical or regal dignity. This insolence, which seemed the fore-runner of something worse, did so exasperate the pontiff, that, suspending his office for a while, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon the mutinous mob; which they did with such speed and fury, that they killed six thousand of them, and dispersed the rest<sup>t</sup>. As soon as the tumult was quelled, he caused the court of the priests to be inclosed with a wooden wall, to prevent such insults being offered to him for the future, and at the same time provided for his further safety, by taking into his pay six thousand auxiliaries out of *Pisidia* and *Cilicia*, being afraid to trust his person any longer to the guard of those of his exasperated nation, who, as he found now to his great grief, were not to be quelled by the greatest severities, nor mollified by the greatest lenitives. So that being quite wearied out with their continual clamours, he marched out of *Jerusalem* at the head of his army, crossed the *Jordan*, and went and destroyed the city of *Amathus*, without meeting with any opposition from *Theodotus*, who contented himself with carrying off his treasure and garison, leaving the city to his mercy; so dreadful was become the name of *Alexander* by this time to all the nations round about. From thence he marched against the *Arabians*, whom he subdued; after which he laid the *Moa-*  
*bites* and the mountaineers of the land of *Gilead* under tribute. Makes  
war a-  
broad. Soon after this, as he was carrying on the war against *Obedas* king of the *Arabians*, he fell into an ambush near *Gadara*, where he was forced by a large drove of camels into a streight so narrow and craggy, that it was with the greatest difficulty that he escaped and regained his own metropolis (G). Here  
he

<sup>t</sup> Antiq. l. xiii. 21. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.

(F) By calling him a slave, it is plain, they harped upon that scandalous suggestion of *Eleazar* mentioned in a late note, of his mother having been a slave. But the true foundation of the *Pharisaic* grudge was his treading in his father's steps, not only in carelling the opposite sect, but in continuing the penal laws against those who should observe the traditions and customs introduced by the *Pharisees*. This was such a crime against them, that nothing but his blood could expiate, and they did not scruple to tell him so soon after, as we shall see in the sequel.

(G) *Josephus* mentions these wars so confusedly, that it is impossible to guess at what time they happened, or how long they lasted.



The Pha-  
risees cause  
a rebellion

he found to his great mortification, that the news of this last defeat had not only reached the place, but had given a new life to his enemies, who began to exclaim louder than ever against him. His endeavours to quell them, as he had done before, did now but increase the tumult, till it broke out into an open insurrection against him. He was however, too wise and brave to be either surprised or terrified by it, but quickly gathered a number of forces to make head against them. A civil war immediately ensued, which lasted six whole years, during which above fifty thousand of the rebels lost their lives, besides those he lost on his own side (H), and the innumerable calamities it brought on the Jewish nation.

Alexander, however, tho' he still got the better of them, was so weary with destroying both his people and country, that he spared no means, no offers or promises, to bring matters to a pacification. But as he had to do with a crew of rebels, and they of the Pharisaic leaven, every advance he made did but harden them the more. At length being resolved, if possible, to bring them to a better mind, he sent some of his friends to know what would satisfy them, promising to grant them whatever they should in reason and justice demand. To this they unanimously cried out, that he must cut his own throat, telling him at the same time, that he ought to think highly of them, if they thought his death a sufficient recompence for the blood he had shed, and the mischiefs he had brought upon his nation<sup>u</sup>. This answer made him lose all hopes of an accommodation, and look out for some more effectual means to suppress their horrid insolence, whilst they, on the other hand, sent to *Damascus*, to beg  
of

<sup>u</sup> Id. *ibid.*

It seems as if he had lumped them thus together at the sag end of a chapter (22), to shew his readers what a warlike prince Alexander was, and that his neighbours led but a weary life during his reign. Perhaps it would have been better for him to have continued them longer, since his return to *Jerusalem* proved the cause of fresh tumults, which ended at last in an open rebellion.

(H) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that this intestine war was between the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*; and that Alexander having declared himself against the former, had put fifty thousand of them to death, within the space of these six years; which did so exasperate the rest of them, that they would hearken to no accommodation, but sent to invite *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to come to their assistance against him (23).

(22) *Ant. l. xiii. in fin. cap. 21. & Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3.*

(23) *Cap. xxix.*

of *Demetrius*, surnamed *Eucharus*, to come to their assistance <sup>w</sup>.

*Demetrius* came accordingly into *Judæa*, with an army of three thousand horse and fourty thousand foot, who were partly *Jews* and partly *Syrians*; and *Alexander* came against him with another, consisting of six thousand *Greek* auxiliaries and twenty thousand *Jews*; each of them tried for some time to gain over the troops of his competitor, *Demetrius* to debauch the *Greek* auxiliaries to forsake the *Jewish* king, and this latter to bring over those *Jews* that were in the *Syrian* army. But all their efforts proving vain, they came at length to a decisive battle, in which *Alexander* was defeated, and forced to flee to the mountains for shelter, with the small number of men that stuck close to him. This is the account which *Josephus* gives us of this action, wherein he again clashes with the fourth book of *Maccabees*, which makes the advantage to have been vastly on *Alexander's* side, as the reader may see in the margin (I). But be that as it will, the former tells us that he was reduced by this defeat to such a low ebb, that he seemed irrecoverably lost, when an unexpected accident turned again the ballance on his side. Those *Jewish* troops, whom he could not, with all his art and fair promises, withdraw from the enemies army, before the battle was fought, were now, upon his losing it, taken with such a fit of compassion, that they came all over to him; so that *De-*

*Alexander defeated by Demetrius.*

*Relieved.*

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. c. 22. Bell. Judaic. ubi supra.

(I) This author tells us (24), that *Alexander* defeated the *Syrian* king, and pursued him quite to *Antioch*, where he kept him besieged three whole years; that at length *Demetrius*, having ventured out with his army against him, was killed; and that *Alexander*, after this second victory came back to *Jerusalem*, where he was well received by the people; that he went afterwards and subdued the *Idumeans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Philistines*, and *Arabian* mountaineers; but all this seems exaggerated, and *Josephus's* account perhaps more justly preferred to it, who is seldom less liable to suspicion, than when he speaks against his own nation. Yet it must be remembered here, that *Josephus* was a zealous *pharisee*, and *Alexander* an inveterate enemy to, not to say in some measure a prosecutor of, that whole sect; and how far this consideration may have sowered the *pharisaic* leaven in that historian, and have made him represent that prince as less successful than he really was, and guilty of such cruelties as he was a stranger to, may be easily guessed,

(24) Chap. xxix.

*metrius,*



Year of  
the Flood,  
2913.  
Before  
Christ,  
86.

His cruelty  
to the re-  
bels.

*metrius*, fearing lest the the defection should still increase, left *Judæa* and marched against his brother *Philip*. This retreat gave *Alexander* an opportunity of getting his army together, with which he marched against the rebellious *Jews*, and beat them in every engagement he had against them; though without being able to bring them to submission, or in the least abate the fury of their resentment against him, till a decisive battle put an end to the war. In this last action *Alexander* cut off the greater part of their army, and drove the rest, at least the chief of them, to *Bethome*, where he closely besieged them, and on the next year made himself master of the place; and here it was that he began to let loose the reins of his fury against them, in such barbarous manner, as can hardly be read without horror, if our historian has not exaggerated the matter. He caused eight hundred of the principal of them to be carried to *Jerusalem*, and there to be all crucified, in one day and at one place; and as if this had not been punishment sufficient to appease his resentment, he caused their wives and children to be brought and butchered before their faces, whilst they were hanging each upon their crosses. But what swells the account of his barbarity almost beyond all credibility is, that he caused a banquet to be prepared for himself and his concubines, near enough to this scene of horror, from whence he might glut his eyes with their sufferings. Hence the historian adds \*, that he had the name of *Tracidas* or *Thracian* given him, that nation being infamous above all others for their horrid barbarities; and was indeed a name rather too good for him, if he was really guilty of all these cruelties.

AFTER this dreadful havock the rebels did quite disperse themselves, and eight thousand of them disappeared on the very night following, and never more molested him during the remainder of his reign, so that from that time forth the *pharisaic* faction never dared to lift up their heads as long as he lived. Soon after this, the king of *Syria*, intending to invade the territories of *Arabia Petrea*, marched his army through part of *Judæa*, which was the only passage he could have to come thither. *Alexander*, who suspected him to have some design against him, endeavoured in vain to obstruct him, by drawing a deep trench twenty miles long, that is, from the town of *Caphersaba*, now *Antipatris*, quite to the sea of *Joppa*, and fortifying it with wooden towers at convenient distances. *Antiochus* forced his way through them and penetrated

\* *Id. ibid.*

into *Arabia*, where he lost his life, as we have seen elsewhere \*; and *Alexander*, being rid of that fear, marched his army over *Jordan* to recover some of those places in *Arabia* and the lands of *Moab* and *Gilead*, which he had formerly taken, but had been forced to surrender during the civil wars, to prevent the *Arabian* king's supporting his rebellious subjects. This brought *Aretas*, now king both of *Arabia* and *Cæle-Syria*, into *Judæa*, where he defeated *Alexander*; but having soon after made a treaty with him, he retired with his forces, and left him to pursue his other conquests. *Alexander* accordingly marched against the city of *Dion*, and took it by assault †. *Pella* was taken next ‡, after which he went and besieged *Essa*, alias *Gerasa*, into which *Theodotus* had secured all his treasure; and having built a treble wall about it, took it by storm, and carried off all the rich plunder he found in it. The inhabitants of *Pella* having refused to be circumcised, he forced them, according to the custom of the *Asmonean* princes, to leave the country, and their city was demolished. *Alexander* marched from thence and took *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, the valley of *Antiochus*, and *Gamala*, and stripped *Demetrius*, who commanded in those places, of his principality, because he had been guilty of some foul crimes and malversations. This expedition took him up three whole years, after which he returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, and brought *Demetrius* prisoner with him thither, where his late conquests gained him the loud acclamations of his subjects †. But giving himself from thenceforward to drinking and other debaucheries, he was seized with an obstinate quartan ague, which stuck to him till the day of his death, which happened about three years after. All this while, neither his distemper, nor his pleasures, which he still pursued, could alleviate his invincible thirst after conquests (K). Perhaps also he was in hopes to overcome

His conquests.

His death.  
Year of  
the flood,  
2920.  
Before  
Christ,

79.

\* See Vol. IX. p. 32. † Antiq. ibid. c. 23. ‡ Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4. § Antiq. ubi supra.

(K) Witness the vast number of places he died possessed of, in *Syri*, *Idumea*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, &c. beyond all his predecessors, and which we shall here subjoin out of *Josephus*, that the reader may have them all in one view †.

Along the sea, the tower of *Straton*, the ports of *Apollonia*, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, and *Rhinocorura*. In the mid-land of *Idumea*, *Adora*, *Marissa*, and all *Samaria*, with the mountains of *Carmel* and *Itabyr*, and the cities of

† Antiq. l. iii. 23,

*Scythopolis*,



overcome the one by the other; but it happened quite otherwise, and his strength being quite exhausted by fatigues and debauch, he died in his camp before *Ragaba*, a fortress in the territories of the *Gerasens*, beyond *Jordan*, which he was then besieging, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign <sup>b</sup>.

HE left two sons at his death, *Hyrchanus* and *Arisiobulus*, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to his wife *Alexandra* during her life, and then to which of her two sons she should think fit to leave it. The queen, who was then with him at the siege, seeing him to be past recovery, addressed herself to him, all in tears; and, in a most pathetic speech, represented to him the extreme danger she and her children were going to be exposed to, from the inveterate grudge which the *pharisaic* faction did still bear to him, and to all that belonged to him; and who, being the idol of the people, would not fail to make her feel the effects of their bitterest rancour, by raising up new seditions against her, as they had formerly done against him, and perhaps to the total extirpation of his race. As her fears were but too well grounded, they could not but awake those of her dying husband, who, luckily for her, happened to have still presence of mind enough to bethink himself of an expedient, which would effectually put her out of all danger from that revengeful sect. Having therefore thought some time upon it, he spoke to her to this effect: "You know, said he, but too  
 " well the cause of our mutual enmity; and since your security and happiness must rise or fall, according as you  
 " make them your friends or your foes, when I am dead,  
 " be sure to conceal the secret from my army, till they have  
 " taken the fort; and then lead them triumphant to *Jerusalem*, carry my body along with you, and, as soon as you  
 " are come thither, send for the principal leaders of that  
 " factious sect, and lay it before them, and tell them that  
 " you wholly submit it to them, either to give it a burial,

*His dying  
advice to  
his queen.*

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

*Sythopolis, Gadara, Gaulona, Seleucia, and Gabala.* In the land of *Moab, Heshbon, or Effehon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Telithon, and Zara.* In *Cilicia, Aulon and Pella*; this last and that of *Gaza* were demolished, as we have seen before. Besides those he conquered in *Arabia*, and was forced to surrender to *Aretas*, and many more in the land of *Gilead*, and some fresh ones in the land of *Syria*, whose names our author has omitted; and what a subject would there have been here for a lofty panegyric, had the historian been a *sadducee*, or the prince a *pharisee*! and how truly is the saying verified, *Cedunt arma togæ*!

or

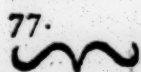
“ or to throw it in the high-way, for the injuries I have  
 “ done them. Assure them at the same time, that, as to  
 “ yourself, you are so entirely devoted to them, that you  
 “ design to place them again at the head of affairs, and that  
 “ you will do nothing without their advice and consent.  
 “ Give them immediately some marks of your favour and  
 “ friendship, and then you need not doubt but they will not  
 “ only extol me to the skies, and give me a royal burial,  
 “ but will likewise support you, and my sons after you, in  
 “ the peaceful enjoyment of your kingdom.” He just lived  
 to give her this salutary counsel, and then expired in the forty ninth year of his age.

*Alexandra* was too wise not to follow his injunctions, if they were really his, and not a pretence trumped up by that politic princess. However, it had the desired effect; and the *pharisees*, glad to see themselves again at the head of affairs, were beyond measure lavish of their praises and honours to the deceased king. They extolled him for a great conqueror and patriot, they bestowed a magnificent funeral on him, and applauded above all his wisdom in bequeathing the government to his queen. He did certainly right in that, seeing his eldest son *Hyrchanus*, who was then about thirty years of age, was a prince of a sluggish disposition, without ambition or spirit. Him therefore the queen thought fit to nominate to succeed his father in the pontifical function, not so much out of respect to his primogeniture, as because he was less likely to interfere with the affairs of state than the younger brother; who, being of a more enterprising genius, was for that very reason secluded and confined to a private life. But though she had so carefully secured her prerogative from any attempt from her two sons, yet was she far enough from enjoying it so absolutely and quietly as she expected. For the *pharisees*, as they grew more and more powerful, grew also more and more insolent and untractable, insomuch that the fear of their raising a new rebellion forced her to consent to many of their demands, much against her will, as well as her interest.

THE first thing they obtained of her was, a total revocation of all the edicts which *Hyrchan the first*, and the late king, had made against their constitutions and traditional doctrines; the next was, an amnesty for all their faction, together with the release of such of their brethren as had been confined since the late civil war; and the third was, the recalling of all those who had been either banished or forced to fly the country since the conclusion of it, and their being readmitted into the possession of all their forfeited estates.



Year of  
the Flood,  
2922.  
Before  
Christ,  
77.



Sadducees  
persecuted.

Petition  
the queen.

By the first of these, the *pharisaic* traditions grew again into credit, by which means they became more and more numerous; and that sect being at full liberty to impose them on the people at their pleasure, they not only became an intolerable burden to the people, but by degrees quite obliterated the written word, of which they were pretended to be the true sense and explanation; and by the other two decrees, they so increased and strengthened their party, that the queen was now afraid to deny them any thing; whereby they became still more exorbitant in their demands, till they let her see plainly that they designed to leave her only the name of sovereignty, and the power to command her subjects to obey them. She retained indeed six thousand auxiliary troops in her pay, by which she kept at least her neighbours and conquered provinces in awe, and received from time to time fresh hostages from them <sup>c</sup>. But as the *pharisaic* crew looked upon this as the effects of their friendship to her, they claimed all the merit of her peaceful reign to themselves, and soon gave her to understand, that nothing less than the total extirpation of the *Sadducees*, who were the only ones that stuck close to the late king, should purchase the continuance of their friendship and assistance. They began with insisting upon her punishing all those, who had counselled him to crucify the eight hundred rebels lately mentioned, with immediate death. Accordingly *Diogenes*, one of the chiefs of the *Sadducees*, and a confidant of *Alexander*, was presently dispatched, and after him a great many others, against whom they laid the same accusation, right or wrong, that is, against as many of that sect as they thought had been too attached to that monarch's service <sup>d</sup>.

THESE prosecutions were continued several years, though much against the queen's mind, who could not but feel some lively remorse to see so many of her husband's most zealous friends daily butchered; but the *pharisees* still insisting, that to put a stop to these severities would be to stop the course of justice, contrary to the laws of God, and the security of every good government; the fear of a new insurrection, the dreadful effects of which she had so lately felt, made her still look upon those executions as the lesser evil of the two. At length some of the most considerable persons of that persecuted party, having got young *Aristobulus* at their head, came to the royal palace, to beseech the queen that

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, comp. with l. xx. c. 8. & bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid.

she would put an end to their misery. They reminded her of their great services and invincible loyalty to her late husband, and that it was in consideration of it that he had bestowed on them those marks of his favour and esteem, which exposed them now to the fury of their enemies. They conjured her not to suffer the late king's best and most loyal friends to be thus daily sacrificed to the rancour of his ambitious and bitterest enemies, in a time especially of a profound peace, and under her government, who had been a witness of all the difficulties and hardships they had suffered with and for him. They concluded with their earnest prayer, that if she could not suppress the *pharisaic* rage against them, she would at least give them the liberty of sheltering themselves from it, either by retiring into some foreign countries, or by her placing them in such of her garisons, where they might be out of the reach of their enemies. *Aristobulus* at the same time backed their petition in such manner, as sufficiently shewed his disgust to such cruel proceedings. The queen, though doubtless highly affected with their distress, dared not grant the first part of their petition, for fear of exasperating the *pharisees*. To grant them the second, that is, to permit them to depart the kingdom, was in fact depriving herself of so many faithful subjects, whose friendship might one time or other be of service to suppress the arrogance of that tyrannic sect. Upon mature deliberation therefore she agreed to the last expedient proposed, of placing them in the several garisons of her kingdom, whence she might at any time fetch them when occasion served, and where they might be either safe from their enemies, or at least in a condition to stand in their own defence. She excepted, however, those of *Hyrcania*, *Alexandria*, and *Macheron*, in which she had deposited her most valuable treasures, lest by shewing too great a confidence in them, she should give umbrage to their enemies the *pharisees* (L). How she took her son's intercession

(L) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (25) takes no notice of their being sent into garisons; but only tells us, that she gave them liberty to retire into what cities of *Judea* they pleased; and that the *Essenians*, no less hated by the *pharisees*, joined themselves to them.

In this year, our learned *Usher* observes (26), was born *Herod*, since king of *Judea*, of whom we shall have a great deal to speak in the sequel; for he was twenty five years old when he was made governor of *Galilee*, in the year before Christ 47.

(25) *Ch.* xxxii.(26) *Sub. A. M. Jul. Per.* 4642.

N 2

Concerning



Concerning his father *Antipas*, or, as he grecified his name, *Antipater*, authors have given us various accounts, according as they were well or ill affected towards his son. Thus *N. Damascen*, who had received great obligations from him, and published his history in *Herod's* life, derives his pedigree from one of the principal *Jews* that returned from the *Babylonish* captivity; for which flagrant flattery *Josephus*, who must have been better informed, doth sharply reprove him, and assures us (27), that *Antipater* was of a noble *Idumæan* family, and had been made governor of *Idumæa* by *Alexander Jannæus*, and continued so under his queen *Alexandra*; so that, according to this last historian, he was of *Idumæan* race, but by religion a *Jew*, the *Idumæans* having long since been proselyted, and incorporated into the *Jewish* church and state, as we have seen before.

But a modern jesuit (28), who has pretended to prove *Josephus's* history to be a mere forgery, makes *Herod* to have been an *Athenian*; his proofs are, that he is called in some medals a benefactor to *Athens*, and that there actually was one of his name in that city in *Cæsar's* time. He has advanced several other singularities concerning that prince, which we may have occasion to mention, when we come to speak of his reign.

But none have more debased his origin than *Julius Africanus*, who, in his letter to *Aristides* mentioned by *Eusebius* (29), makes *Antipater* to have been the son of one *Herod*, an *Ascalonite*, who was vestry keeper of *Apollo's* temple in that city; and withal so poor, that when his son (this our great *Herod*) was taken prisoner by some *Idumæan* robbers, he was not able to redeem him, so that he was brought up among those banditti, who were, however, of the *Jewish* religion; and this notion, it seems, was readily adopted by several of the fathers (30).

One thing seems beyond contradiction, namely, that one of the main causes of the invincible hatred which the whole *Jewish* nation bore against that prince, in spite of all his grandeur, generosity, and munificence, was his not being of *Jewish* extract; so that what *Damascen*, and after him the *Arabic* history, printed at the end of the *Paris* polyglot, affirm of his noble descent, from a *Jewish* stock, must be false and groundless.

His opposite pedigree from a sexton of *Apollo's* temple, is at best founded on a tradition, attributed to Christ's kinsmen, according to the flesh, without the least authority, and seems to be trumped up to debase the whole *Herodian* family, which was universally hated; and can consequently never outweigh the testimony of *Josephus*, who wanted neither means nor inclination to inform himself of his genealogy, and whose authority is still universally received, in spite of all the cavils which the jesuit above-quoted has raised against it.

(27) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 2.*

(28) *Hardouin. de Numm. Herodian.*

(29) *Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 6, & 7.*

(30) *Vid.*

*Ambr. Comment. in Luc. c. iii.*



cession on their behalf, our historian doth not tell us; but intimates, that she sent him soon after with an army into Syria against *Ptolemy Meneus*, who infested all the neighbouring countries, and that he returned soon after without effecting any thing worth notice<sup>e</sup>.

ABOUT the same time news came to her, that *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* was come into Syria with an army of fifty thousand men, and had besieged *Ptolemais*, and that his design was to march from thence into *Judæa*. This news threw the whole kingdom into the greatest consternation, it not being in a condition to make head against such a powerful invader. She therefore hastened some ambassadors, laden with the richest presents, to beseech him to spare her dominions, and to grant her his friendship. Both presents and embassy were received with marks of the sincerest kindness and affection, not so much out of regard to that princess, as to his own affairs, which had by this time taken a different turn; his territories being now threatened with an invasion from the *Romans*, who had already penetrated into *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, where *Lucullus* was then ravaging all that country. So that he was forced to go and defend his own territories, instead of invading those of his neighbours<sup>f</sup>.

THE queen was scarcely rid of this danger before she fell <sup>The queen's</sup> into new ones. A fit of sickness, which seized her about this <sup>sickness:</sup> time, dangerous in its nature, and much more so on account of her great age, made her youngest son believe that her death was near at hand, and that it was therefore high time for him to think of securing the crown for himself, which his elder brother was unfit for. To this end he went out of *Jerusalem* one night, accompanied by one single confident, with a design to go and bring over to his interest those friends of his father, who had the custody of the several fortifications, of which we have lately spoken. This secret he intrusted with none but his own wife, whom he left behind with her children, till he came to the castle of *Agaba*, where *Gabestus*, one of his father's chief confidants, who commanded there, received him with no small joy. He immediately declared to him the design of his coming, and the reasons he had to fear, lest, if his mother died before he had made sure of the crown, not only he and his whole family, but all their friends in general, should again fall under the tyranny of the *Pharisaic* sect, through the indolence and stupidity of his elder brother, who would doubtless suffer himself to be wholly governed by them. As his fears were but too well grounded, he easily

<sup>e</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 24. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Id. ibid.

gained



Aristobu- gained *Gabestus*, whose example was soon followed by all the  
lus secures governors of the other fortresses, who all declared for him.  
the crown. The queen missed her son from the first night, but did not  
suspect him of any design, till the alarmed *Pharisees* brought  
her word, that these fortresses were gone over to his interest,  
by which means he had got in some measure the whole strength  
of the kingdom into his hands. As to the army, and even  
the people who were heretofore so ready to idolize their sect,  
they were sensible they had used them of late with such seve-  
rity and insolence, that, instead of expecting any support  
from them, they had great reason to fear they would upon  
the very first occasion go over to *Aristobulus*, and embrace  
the milder government of the *Sadducees* <sup>g</sup>.

THEY had brought *Hyrca*n with them to the queen, when  
they came to acquaint her with the dismal situation of their  
affairs, and both he and they were very pressing with her to  
advise them what to do in such a dangerous case. The queen,  
who found herself dying, had just strength enough to tell  
them, that her condition would not now permit her to think  
of their safety, and that she left it wholly to them to see to  
it themselves. She added, that they wanted neither soldiers,  
arms, nor money to make head against her other son, and  
that she appointed *Hyrca*n her successor. She expired imme-  
diately after, in the seventy third year of her age, and the  
ninth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the *Pharisaic*  
faction, who now could expect nothing else but a severe re-  
taliation for all their cruelties to the late king's friends; but  
to the great joy of all the rest of the kingdom, who now hop-  
ed to see an effectual end put to the *Pharisaic* tyranny, by her  
brave son *Aristobulus* (M).

The queen's  
death.

WHILST

<sup>g</sup> Ant. l. xiii c ult. Bell Jud. l. i. c. 4.

(M) This defection from *Hyrca*n, whom she had nominated her  
successor, to her younger son, who was in some measure in open  
rebellion against her, did not proceed from any disrespect the peo-  
ple had for her; for she appears to have been a princess of great  
wisdom and conduct; and could she have suppressed the *Pharisaic* ty-  
ranny, would have left an unblemish'd character behind her; and  
even this circumstance of her giving too much way to it, appears to  
have been rather her misfortune than her fault.

Some authors (31) have absurdly confounded this queen with  
*Salome* the wife, and afterwards the widow, of *Aristobulus*, the el-

(31) Capel. & al. Vid. Prid. Connect. sub A. 70.

WHILST therefore the hopes of such a happy change brought daily both army and people over to him, the *Pharisees* found no other expedient to provide for their own safety, than seizing on his wife and children, and confining them in the castle of *Baris*, to be kept there as hostages against him ; but when they found that this did not stop his progress, but that he took the royal title and state upon him, and daily gained strength, they raised an army against him ; and *Aristobulus*, who desired nothing more than a decisive battle, well knowing the valour and fidelity of his army, and that he had little to fear from that of his brother, soon gave him an opportunity of joining issue with him. A battle was accordingly fought near *Fericho*, in which most of *Hyrca*n's forces went over to his brother, so that he had no way left but to retire to *Jerusalem*, and to shut himself up in the same castle, where they had confined *Aristobulus*'s wife and children. The few forces that stuck by him followed his example, and took sanctuary within the verge of the temple, where they had not been long, ere they came over to his victorious brother. Things being brought to this desperate state, *Hyrca*n was glad to accept of a peace upon any terms ; and *Aristobulus* granted it to him, upon condition that he divested himself of his regal and pontifical dignity, and wholly resigned them to him, and contented himself with a private life, with the enjoyment of his private fortunes. *Hyrca*n, who, as we have observed more than once, was a man without ambition or spirit, made no difficulty to yield to those conditions, and to divest himself of a government he could keep no longer, after a three month's troublesome possession of it <sup>h</sup> (N).

THIS

<sup>h</sup> Ant. l. xiv. c. 1, 2, 3. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

der brother of the late *Alexander*, and who, as we observed a little higher, out of *Josephus*, was also called *Alexandra* ; so that they have supposed her to have been the same person, and that being left a widow, *Alexander* the next brother had been obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to marry her, and to raise up seed to his brother.

But this has been fully confuted by our learned *Prideaux* in the place above quoted, since *Hyrca*n, who is every-where allowed to have been the son of *Alexander*, is there proved to have been five years old before *Aristobulus* died ; for *Hyrca*n being according to *Josephus* above eighty years of age when he died, which happened in the year before Christ 30, eighty one years will carry us back to the year before Christ 111, whereas *Aristobulus* did not die till the year 106.

(N) So says the text in *Josephus* ; but our excellent *Usher* has clearly



THIS deposition did not, however, hinder *Hyrca*n's retaining still a powerful party, which consisting chiefly of *Pharisees*,

clearly shewn from the six years which elapsed between the consulate of *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus*, in which *Hyrca*n began his reign, and that of *C. Antonius* and *M. T. Cicero*, in which his brother *Aristobulus* was deposed by *Pompey*, that there must be an error crept into *Josephus*, who allows but three months reign to the former, and three years and six months to the latter.

But the learned prelate has not so well succeeded in correcting that mistake, by supposing that *Hyrca*n reigned three years and three months (32), and that the former of the two numbers had been dropped by the carelessness of the transcribers; but this seems quite contrary to the tenor of *Josephus*, who makes his reign and deposition to have followed much closer, than this supposition will admit of.

Another great antiquary (33) has taken a different way to solve the difficulty, by supposing that *Hyrca*n was divested of his regal dignity after the first three months; but that he preserved the high-priesthood three years longer, that is, till his flight to *Aretas*, of which we shall speak by and by; and that the three years and six months allowed to his brother by the *Jewish* historian are to be reckoned only from the time that he assumed the pontifical dignity. But this is again contradicted by *Josephus*, who makes *Aristobulus* to have divested his brother of both dignities, and to have taken them upon himself at one and the same time, and *Hyrca*n to have been reduced to a private state.

Dean *Prideaux*, in the place above quoted, supposes therefore, that the original had six years and six months, it being more reasonable that a numerical letter should be changed by the carelessness of the scribe, than a whole word, that is, that he should mistake a three for a six, rather than a month for a year, as in the supposition of archbishop *Usher*.

From the objection, that *Josephus* in another place (34) gives him but three years reign, and that not in numerical letters, but in words at length, which might be therefore looked upon as a confirmation of the former; the same judicious author rather confirms his own hypothesis in as clear a manner as the subject can admit of. To give his answer at length would swell this note too much; we shall therefore content ourselves with hinting at the main stress of his argument.

He observes, that this last place has *three years, and the same number of months*, whereas the former has three years and six months; from whence he supposes, that some critic, finding this difference between those two places, and not suspecting this last to

(32) *Sub A. Jul. per. 4647.* (33) *Petav. ap. Prid. ubi supra.*

(34) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 2. ad fin. Conf. cum l. xiv. 11. & xv. 9.*

*Assets*, who had nothing to hope for, but a great deal to fear, from his successful brother, were still busily plotting to raise up their old idol over him. This was gladly observed by *Antipater* the father of *Herod*, whose nation and pedigree we have spoken of in a late note. This person, tho' in all likelihood indifferent as to the distinction between *Pharisee* and *Sadducee*, being, as we there observed, an *Idumean* proselyte, was in as great danger of feeling the resentments of *Aristobulus*, as any of the former sect. His peculiar skill and address, backed by an unmeasurable ambition, had long before recommended him to the favour of the late king *Alexander* and of his queen *Alexandra*, who had bestowed the government of *Idumea* upon him; and as he still looked upon *Hyrca* as their successor, the hopes of advancing himself still higher under that soft prince, had betrayed him into a more than ordinary zeal for him. So that when he came to see his brother on the throne, he had all the reason in the world, not only to despair of further advancement, but to dread his resentment. This determined him to join with the discontented *Pharisees*, whom from that time he still took care to fill with fears and jealousies from that prince, whom he styled an usurper; and who, he told them, would never think him self secure, till he had cut off his brother, and with him all that had been in his interest. By these insinuations he soon drew them into his design to dethrone him, and set up his brother again; but his great difficulty was to prevail upon *Hyrca* to join with them. That prince being of an easy and indolent disposition, could not be persuaded that his brother would attempt any thing against his life; neither had he any ambition to recover his lost dignities, or, if he had, it was easily cooled by the danger of attempting it, which he viewed in the most dismal light. When therefore *Antipater* perceiv-

Antipater  
cabals  
with the  
Pharisees.

have been corrupted, that is, three to have been put instead of six years, has altered the other place according to it, in order to reconcile the *Jewish* historian; and so instead of six years and just as many months, as he found it written, he made it three years and as many months as he found it corrupted in the other place.

This supposition, which cannot but appear very probable to those who are acquainted with manuscripts, and with the inadvertency of transcribers, as well as the boldness of critics in correcting them, takes away at once all the difficulties, reconciles *Josephus* to himself, and fills up the six years space between *Hyrca*'s reign and *Aristobulus*'s deposition, according to the consulates under which each of them happened according to the same historian (35).



ed that fear was his predominant passion, he raised such a battery against it, by repeated assurances that his life was in manifest danger, and that he must resolve either to reign or die ; that the weak prince was at length wrought upon to seek for safety and assistance from *Aretas* king of *Arabia*.

Carries  
Hyrcean  
into Ara-  
bia.

As soon as he had gained his consent, he offered himself to go and negotiate that affair ; which he did with such privacy and dispatch, that he came back very soon after, took *Hyrcean* with him in the night, and by long journies brought him to *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where he presented him to the king. It is likely that *Antipater*, at his first interview with *Aretas*, had only engaged him to protect *Hyrcean* against his brother ; but now they were both at his court, he began to open to him the other part of his design, and to convince him how much it would be his interest to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, by assuring him that he should have all the places restored to him, which had been heretofore taken from him by the *Jewish* kings, which were very considerable (O), and which he must never hope to recover, as long as *Aristobulus* was on the throne. He told him moreover, that *Hyrcean* had such a powerful party in *Judæa*, ready to join with his forces, that he looked upon the dethroning of the usurper as a very easy task. *Hyrcean* was easily persuaded to confirm all his minister had said, and to ratify all the engagements he had made to the *Arabian* king, who came soon after with them into *Judæa*, at the head of an army of five thousand men, where he was joined by those of *Hyrcean's* party. *Aristobulus* marched against him, and an obstinate fight ensued, in which he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jerusalem*. *Aretas* pursued him thither, and entered that metropolis without opposition, drove him and his few men, most of them priests, into the precinct of the temple, and there closely besieged him, whilst the rest of the people declared for the conqueror.

*Aretas in-  
vades Ju-  
dæa.*

*Aristobu-  
lus defeat-  
ed.*

*Besieges  
the temple.*

THE temple being thus besieged, and the approaching feast of the passover thereby likely to be wholly obstructed, many of the chief of the the *Jews* retired into *Egypt* to celebrate

(O) These were *Medeba* *Neballo*, probably *Abela*, *al Arbela*, and *Abel of the vineyards* ; and *Rabbah*, once the capital of the *Ammonites* ; *Livias* *Agalla*, perhaps the same with *Gallim* ; *Therabasa*, *Atbone*, *Zoara*, probably *Segar* ; *Oronæ*, or *Oronaim*, on the dead sea ; *Marissa*, *Rydda*, *Lufa*, and *Oryba* (36).

(36) *Ibid.* cap. ii. ad fin. De his vid. *Euseb. loc. Hebr. Bo-  
hart* &c.

it there. On the other hand, the besieged having neither lambs nor other victims for the sacrifices of that solemnity, *Aristobulus* applied himself to the besiegers to supply them with a competent number of them; which those at first promised, upon condition that they payed them a thousand drachms of silver for every head, and had the money delivered before hand. But when the sum stipulated was let down to them by a rope from the top of the wall, they refused to send the victims; upon which the priests went to the altar, and instead of them, offered up their prayers to God, that he would speedily punish their perfidious contempt of his religion. To this guilt the besiegers added another, neither of which went long unpunished.

THERE was at that time in *Jerusalem* one *Onias*, a man in high esteem for his sanctity; and who was thought to have saved the land from a famine, by obtaining from heaven a comfortable rain, after a long and grievous drought. This good man, seeing his unhappy country involved in a civil war, had retired into some of the neighbouring deserts, and hid himself there. Him they found out, and brought by main force to the siege, and would have obliged him to curse *Aristobulus* and his adherents. He resisted a long time, till constrained at length by their threats, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and addressed it in words to this effect: *O Lord God, sovereign Governor of the world, since these that besiege thy temple are thy people, and those that are besieged in it are thy priests, I beseech thee to hear the prayers of neither side.* He had scarce pronounced these words, before the exasperated multitude let fly on him such vollies of stones as put an end to his life. This double crime brought a double punishment very speedily upon them: a vehement stormy wind did shortly after destroy all their fruit and grain, insomuch, that a measure of wheat sold for eleven drachms, and other provisions in proportion<sup>1</sup>. But the most dreadful of all was, their falling presently after under the yoke of the *Romans*; a yoke which they never more could shake off, but groaned under the severe weight of it, till the utter destruction of their city and temple, and their total dispersion throughout the world, as will be seen in the next sections.

*Onias's  
murder  
punished.*

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. & seq.



## S E C T. IV.

*The History of the Jews from their being subdued by the Romans to the reign of Herod the Great.*

The Romans invited by Aristobulus.  
Year of the Flood, 2934.  
Before Christ, 65.

Aretas defeated by Aristobulus.

**A**RISTOBULUS being thus straitly besieged by the Arabian king, and forsaken by all his party, was forced to have recourse to the Romans; for Pompey, having by this time overcome Tigranes, was retired into the Lesser Armenia, and from thence had dispatched Gabinius into Judæa; and this last having received three hundred talents from Aristobulus, was gone back without acting for or against him. Scaurus came next from Syria into Judæa, and in his way was met by some ambassadors from the two contending brothers (P), each to implore his friendship and alliance, for which they offered him four hundred talents. Scaurus, who knew Aristobulus to be the more liberal and the braver of the two, suffered himself to be gained by him; besides, as he rightly judged, it would be the easier task to restore him, since he need but oblige Aretas to raise the siege and to depart out of Judæa, and Hyrcan would soon be abandoned by his party. He therefore wrote a threatening letter to Aretas, in which he told him, that if he did not forthwith withdraw his troops, he should be declared an enemy to Rome, and oblige Pompey to turn his army against him. Aretas, who had no mind to exasperate the Roman general, did readily obey, and led his army out of Judæa, Scaurus returned to Damascus, and Aristobulus being thus timely relieved, gathered up what forces he could, and pursued after the Arabian king. He overtook him and his brother Hyrcan at a place called Papyrion, and gave him a great overthrow, in which he killed seven thousand of his men, and amongst them Cephalion the brother of Antipater<sup>a</sup>. Much about the same time, Pompey being come to Damascus, received ambassadors from all the neighbouring states, especially those of Judæa, Syria, and Egypt. These three last being but a kind of usurpers, were extremely desirous to bring the Romans over to their interest, and endeavoured to gain their general by most magnificent presents. Aristobulus for his part sent him a golden vine, upon a square

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(P) The fourth book of *Maccabees* says (37), that only Aristobulus sent presents to Scaurus, and that Hyrcan omitted it, which determined the Roman general in favour of the former, and made him come to his assistance; but that he retired as soon as he heard that Aretas had raised the siege.

mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions, and other beasts <sup>The</sup> about it, all of the same precious metal. This curious <sup>two bro-</sup> piece had been formerly made by *Alexander Jannæus*, and <sup>thers send</sup> was now sent by his son to *Pompey*, who conveyed it to <sup>presents to</sup> *Rome*, where it was deposited, in the temple of *Jupiter*, in *Pompey*. the capitol. *Strabo* tells us <sup>b</sup>, that he saw it there, and that it was reckoned worth five thousand talents. However, the senate, not being willing to acknowledge *Aristobulus* for king of *Judæa*, caused the present to be inscribed to his father *Alexander*, king of the *Jews*.

Soon after this the two contending brothers sent a separate embassy to *Pompey*, on his coming into *Cæle-Syria*, each to implore his friendship and patronage against the other; *Antipater* in behalf of *Hyrcau*, and *Nicodemus* in behalf of *Aristobulus*. Both were heard with seeming equanimity, and dismissed with fair promises, and the two brothers ordered to appear in person, and to plead their causes before him, and, after a full hearing, he engaged to decide the controversy as justice should direct. Unfortunately for *Aristobulus*, his ambassador took it into his head to complain of *Scaurus* and *Gabinus*, for having received the former four hundred, and the latter three hundred, talents from his master, by which he made those two generals, who had a great influence on *Pompey*, to become his enemies <sup>c</sup>; and the fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that the *Roman* general did accordingly promise him to decide in favour of *Aristobulus*, but did underhand act in favour of his brother <sup>d</sup>.

EARLY on the following year, *Pompey* came again into *Syria*, where he deposed several petty tyrants, took several fortresses, particularly that of *Lyfiad*, of which *Silas* a *Jew* had made himself master, and came at length to *Damascus*. Here he found the two brothers, who were come to plead their cause and pretensions before him, and had brought a great number of witnesses to their respective pleas. But, besides these, there came also another set of *Jews*, to plead against them both, alledging, that their nation had been for a long time governed only by the high-priests of the God of *Israel*, without the regal dignity; and that, though the two brothers were of the sacerdotal race, they had governed them contrary to their antient laws, by taking the power and title of kings, and thereby reducing the *Jewish* nation into a state of slavery. *Hyrcau* spoke next, and complained, that, being the elder brother, he had been unjustly deposed by *Aristobulus*, and by him forced into a private state, with only the in-

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. ap. JOSEPH. ubi supra. Vid. & P. IN hist. l. xxxvii. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Ant. l. xiv. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> c. xxxviii.



come of a few paternal lands, whilst he, not contented with the revenues of the whole kingdom, committed continual depredations on his neighbours both by sea and land. For proof of all which he brought a thousand of the principal *Jews*, who had been gained by *Antipater*, to witness what he had alledged. To this *Aristobulus* replied, that he had indeed turned his brother out of the government; but that it was, because he was incapable of holding of it, and not from any ambitious views of his own; that *Hyrca*n was a person of such unactive and sluggish disposition, and so despised by the people, that he had been forced to wrest the power out of his hands, lest it should be transferred into another family. He added, that as to the royal title, it was no other than his father *Alexander* had bore before him. The witnesses he brought to justify his pretensions were, a numerous set of young gentlemen so sumptuously cloathed, that they rather discredited him, and seemed to have been introduced to expose his vanity more than to back his cause. However, *Pompey*, after a full hearing of all parties, wisely deferred giving his sentence, lest *Aristobulus*, against whom he designed to declare, should obstruct his intended expedition against the *Nabatheans*, and contented himself with dismissing them with a promise, that, as soon as he had subdued *Aretas*, he would come himself into *Judæa*, and there determine their controversy. *Aristobulus*, who looked upon this delay as an ill omen, and did not perhaps care to see *Pompey* in *Judæa*, went away in a huff, first to *Delion*, and thence into *Judæa*, without so much as taking leave of him <sup>e</sup>.

THIS proceeding highly offended the *Roman* general against him, who thereupon sent for his troops, which he had in *Syria*, and with those which he designed against the *Arabians*, and the legions which he had with him, marched strait against *Judæa*. *Aristobulus* had not been idle, but had got a good army under him, and was himself at the castle of *Alexandri*on, a place of no small strength (Q), when *Pompey* entered *Judæa*. As soon as this  
last

<sup>e</sup> Antiq & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(Q) This fortress had been built by his father, *Alexander Janneus*, and was from him called *Alexandri*on; it was situate on a high mountain, in the very entrance into *Judæa*, near to the town of *Corca* (38), which was the first place in *Judæa* on the *Samari*-

(38) *Vid. Joseph. antiq. l. xiii. c. ult. xiv. 6. & alib.*

last had reached *Corea*, he sent for *Aristobulus* to come to him ; who would have willingly excused himself from it, but was at length prevailed upon by those that were about him to obey the summons, and prevent thereby a war with the *Roman* general. He came accordingly, more than once or twice, to him, and conferred with him about the dispute between his brother and him, sparing neither compliments, promises, nor presents, to engage him on his side. *Pompey* as often dismissed him with a shew of friendship, and suffered him to return to his castle. At length he proposed to him that he should put all his fortresses into his hands, and send orders to all his governors to resign them to him without hesitation. It was easy then for him to see now that the *Roman* general was in his brother's interest, and wanted only to put it out of his power to maintain himself against him. But tho' he had been long before suspecting this partiality, and had taken all possible methods to secure himself against it, yet was he forced, tho' much against his will, to comply with the proposal, being now in that general's hands. But as soon as he was got away from him, he fled with all speed to *Jerusalem*, with full resolution to defeat his design †.

*Pompey* was not long in following him thither, and upon his encamping in the plain of *Jericho*, received the agreeable news, that *Mithridates* had killed himself, and that his treacherous son had seized upon the kingdom ; and in such haste was the army to know it, that the general, for want of a tribunal to communicate it to them, according to custom, caused one to be raised by laying a number of saddles one upon another, from which he acquainted them with the *Pontic* king's death, and received their congratulations with the usual signals of joy ‡. He pursued his march on the next day towards *Jerusalem*, whence *Aristobulus*, repenting now of what he had done, came out, and went to throw himself at his feet, and to beg of him to forbear any hostilities against the *Jewish* nation, promising him a considerable sum of money upon

*Pompey comes against Jerusalem.*

† Ant. ubi supra, c. 6. Bell. Jud. ubi supra. in vit. Pomp.      ‡ PLUTARCH.

tan side, and upon the road to *Jericho*, on the frontiers of *Judah* and *Benjamin* (39). *Alexandria* was afterwards the burying place of the *Jewish* kings, so that, though it was demolished by the *Romans*, it was rebuilt by *Herod*, and his sons sent thither to be buried, as we shall see in the sequel.

(39) *Ibid.* & bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.

that



that condition. The general agreed to it, and, keeping him in his camp, sent *Gabinus* with some troops to receive the money; but he was repulsed by the garison, who shut the gates against him, and refused to perform the agreement. This disappointment so exasperated *Pompey*, that he ordered *Aristobulus* to be clapt in chains, and marched directly with his whole army against the city (R). We have had frequent occasion to speak of the strength of this place, both with respect to its excellent situation, and of its other fortifications; so that being now so well garisoned and provided, it might in all likelihood have found the *Roman* general work enough to have taken it by siege; but unfortunately for it, those that should have defended it were divided into two parties; that for *Aristobulus* were for standing out to the last against a general, who dared to keep their king in chains; but that for *Hyrcau*, which were the more numerous, were on the contrary for opening the gates to him, and prevent thereby the sad effects of a siege and destructive war. The priests declared for the former, but the generality of the people were for the latter; so that *Aristobulus*, finding himself overpowered, was forced to retire with his men within the precinct of the temple, breaking down all the bridges between that and the city, that were over the deep valley, which parted those two places; before *Pompey* could be admitted into the latter.

Beseges it.

HE was accordingly invited soon after, and sent *Piso*, one of his generals, with a number of troops, to secure the place and the royal palace, whilst those that were in the temple were busy in fortifying every part of it, that could be of service to them to hold on the siege. *Pompey* at first sent to them some proposals of peace, but finding them resolved to stand it out, he set himself immediately to besiege them in form. He be-

(R) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* differs a little from *Josephus*, and mentions nothing of this submission of *Aristobulus* to the *Roman* general; but tells us (40), that *Pompey* marched directly against *Jerusalem*, where, observing the situation of the place, the strength of its walls, towers, &c. he resolved to try to gain *Aristobulus* by fair means; that he invited him to come to his camp, and promised him all the safety he could desire; that he came accordingly, and promised that general to deliver up all the treasure of the temple, if he would declare for him. But that the priests having refused to ratify their king's promise, made the disappointed general lay siege to the temple.

(40) c. xxxvi.

gan

gan with inclosing the place with a strong wall, to prevent either their flight, or their receiving any help from without; *Hyrca*n gladly furnishing him with all necessary things to carry on the work. Battering rams and other engines of war being brought to him from *Tyre*, he ordered the attack to be made on the north side of the temple, which was the weakest, though inclosed with strong walls, high towers, and other fortifications, and had a large deep ditch and a spacious valley beneath it. As for the other sides of it, they were in a manner inaccessible, after the bridges had been broken down, by reason of their cragginess and steepness. The battering engines were accordingly raised on mounds and plat-forms, and began to play in earnest against the place, and to sling large stones into it, whilst the besieged were as industrious in levelling the one and dismounting the other as fast as they were raised by the besiegers. The siege had already took him up three months, and might in all likelihood have lasted much longer, if not perhaps been raised, had not the besieged been seized again with their old and fatal superstition about the breach of the sabbath, which hindered them from making such a defence as they had formerly, and should now have done.

*Strange  
superstition  
of the Jews*

WE have had occasion heretofore to shew how destructive that notion had been to their forefathers, and how wisely it had been condemned by the brave *Maccabees*, so that from their time they had made no scruple to take up arms against an offending enemy; but now they were, it seems, taken with a qualm of conscience, that though it was lawful to stand in their defence on the sabbath, when an actual assault was made upon them, it did not therefore follow, that they might do any thing on that day towards preventing those preparatives which the enemy made towards such future assaults. This scruple had such an effect upon them, that they never moved a hand on that day to hinder either mounds and batteries being raised, or breaches being made on their walls; which being at last perceived by the besiegers, they took the advantage of getting all things ready for an assault on that day, without throwing either stones or any missive weapons that might force them on their own defence, so that the besieged let them go on with their other works without the least opposition; and such was their zeal for the divine service of the temple, that no annoyance from the enemy could obstruct it from being performed, with the same regularity and calmness, as in time of the profoundest peace. By these means the besiegers made at length so deep a breach by playing down one of their towers, which in its fall brought down a considerable



The city  
taken.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2935.  
Before  
Christ,  
63.

Admirable  
constancy  
of the  
priests.

derable part of the wall (S), that they easily mastered the place. *Cornelius Faustus*, the son of *Sylla*, at the head of a number of troops, mounted one end of the breach, *Furius* the other end, and *Fabius* in the middle. A horrid slaughter immediately ensued, in which no less than twelve thousand of the besieged were killed by the *Romans*, besides many more, who died by their own hands; in this action the *Jews* of the contrary faction acted with greater fury and cruelty against them than the heathen.

WHAT was most surprising, during this horrid scene of action, was the constancy of the priests, who never intermitted one moment the divine service of the temple, but continued to offer up their usual prayers, praises, and sacrifices, with the same calmness and assiduity, as if no such slaughter had been then acting in the sacred place; and at last suffered themselves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekness and constancy, as the victims they were then offering upon it (T). *Pompey*, though surprised at their religious constancy, caused all the prisoners that were found to have been most zealous against him to be put to death (U), whilst a great number

(S) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (41) says, that some of the *Jews*, who were on *Pompey's* side, scaled the wall, and, having slain all the priests that opposed them, opened the temple gates to him.

(T) It is observable, that the city was taken on the very day on which the *Jews* were keeping a solemn fast in memory of its having been formerly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, viz. on the 28th of the month *Cisleu*, answering to our *December*, according to the learned *Usher* (42), who takes the third month here mentioned to have been that of the sacred year; but it is more probable to have been the third of the civil year called *Thammus*, answering to our *June*, as dean *Prideaux* has shewn (43). On the same day, twenty six years after, it was likewise taken by *Sosius*, by which the *Jews* became subject to the *Herodian* sceptre (44).

(U) Among these is supposed to have been *Abfalom*, the uncle and father-in-law of *Aristobulus*. This prince, who was a younger son of the famed *John Hircanus*, had led a private life under the protection of his brother *Jannæus*, without meddling with public affairs, till he unfortunately gave his daughter to *Aristobulus*. For this marriage having drawn him into his son-in-law's party, he was taken prisoner, and in all probability put to death. At least no further mention is made of him from that time (45).

(41) *Ibid.*  
*Christ.* 63.  
c. 8.

(42) *Sub A. M.* 3641.  
(44) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. ult.*

(43) *Sub A. ant.*  
(45) *Antiq. l. xiv.*

of the rest prevented him by a desperate exit, some throwing themselves down the deepest precipices, and others setting their apartments on fire, burnt themselves in it. These were the fruits of *Aristobulus's* ambition, and of the two contending brothers calling in the *Romans*. These new masters, who, seldom, if ever, lent their assistance but with a view of enslaving, soon altered the face of the *Jewish* affairs, according to their usual method. *Hyrca*n was indeed restored to the Hyrcan pontifical dignity, with the specious title of prince, though *half re-* from thenceforth tributary to *Rome*; but he was wholly *dis-* vested of his regal one, and fortid to resume either the diadem or royal style, or to extend his territory beyond the old borders of *Judæa*. All the cities, which had been taken by his predecessors in *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, were taken from him, and restored to *Syria* (W), of which province *Scaurus* was left governor, at the head of two *Roman* legions, to keep the country in awe, whilst the conqueror prepared himself to return to *Rome*.

BUT before he left *Jerusalem*, he gave the *Jews* a more *Pompey* mortifying stroke than any we have yet mentioned. We have *enters into* had frequent occasion to mention how jealous they were of *the temple*. having their temple prophaned by strangers, whom they absolutely debarred not only setting a foot into that holy place, but even casting a distant look towards it. But *Pompey* was above humouring them in what he looked upon as a piece of *Jewish* superstition. Resolved therefore to satisfy his curiosity, and to view the most sacred recesses of that building, he caused them to be opened to him; and, attended with a number of his chief commanders, penetrated even into the most holy place, into which the high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, on the grand day of expiation †. He view-

† See Vol. III. p. 202, & seq.

(W) These were, among many others of less note, those of *Hyrca*n, *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Marissa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, and *Arcthusa* in the inland, together with *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and the tower of *Straton* on the sea coasts. This last was afterwards magnificently rebuilt by *Herod*, and by him called *Cæsarea*, as shall be seen in the sequel

Among those cities which had been destroyed during the wars, that of *Gadara* was rebuilt by *Demetrius*, a native of it, and a freed-man and favourite of *Pompey* (46), of whose excessive insolence, *Plutarch* gives us several instances in the life of that general.

(46) *Id. ibid.*

P 2

ed



ed with a curious eye the golden table, candlestick, censers, lamps, and other golden vessels, the great quantity of rich perfumes and spices used in the divine worship; and in the treasury he found about two thousand talents. But whether the sacredness of the place inspired him with an uncommon respect for those costly things, which he there saw, our author tells us, that he not only forbore to touch any of them, but that he immediately ordered the priests and officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their sacrifices according to custom (X). But this moderation of his did not hinder the *Jews* from resenting the indignity he had offered to that holy place, more than all the mischiefs they had suffered from him, and from ascribing all the misfortunes that befel him afterwards to this sacrilegious attempt<sup>h</sup>. Many christians have been of the same mind, and men are indeed too apt to judge rashly in matters of this nature; but whatever may have been the cause of that great general's misfortunes, it is plain, that this victory over the *Jews* was the last he ever gained, and that from this time his affairs went from bad to worse, as we shall shew when we come to the *Roman* history.

*Aristobu-  
lus carri-  
ed to  
Rome.*

*Pompey*, having thus subdued the *Jewish* nation, to prevent a future revolt, pulled down the walls of *Jerusalem*, and

<sup>h</sup> JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

(X) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* says, (47), that *Pompey* restored the kingdom to *Hyrchanus*, and sent *Aristobulus* in chains to *Rome*. As for *Alexander*, he tells us, that he could not be taken, but continued hid in *Judæa*, till he appeared at the head of a strong party; and as for *Hyrchan*, though he had the title of king, yet he was to pay a yearly tribute and acknowledgment for his crown.

This expedition and success of *Pompey* against the *Jews* is also related by several heathen authors, and, excepting some difference in small particulars, almost to the same purport with *Josephus*. *Cicero* highly commends the respect that general shewed to the sacred utensils of the temple (48). *Livy* (49), *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, *Tacitus*, *Florus*, *Dio*, and *Appian*, as well as *Plutarch*, have made likewise mention of it. Only *Appian* (50) will have it, that *Pompey* caused *Aristobulus* and *Tigranes* to be put to death, which is not taken notice of by any other. On the contrary, *Josephus* and *Dio* tell us, that he spared them; and accordingly we shall find in the sequel, that *Aristobulus* found means to return into *Judæa*, and to raise new troubles there.

(47) *Cap. xxxvii.* (48) *Orat. pro L. Flacc.* (49) *In Syriac.*  
*& bell. civil. l. v.* (50) *Lib. xxxvii.*

left

left *Scaurus* governor with a sufficient force. He set out for *Rome* soon after, and took *Aristobulus*, his two sons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters with him, as captives fit to adorn his future triumph. However, they were not, it seems, so closely guarded, but *Alexander* found means to escape and return into *Judaea*; where he soon drew a considerable party after him, which proved the source of new and more grievous troubles. As for his father and brother, they were brought to *Rome*, and led in triumph among the many other princes whom *Pompey* had conquered. What became of *Aristobulus* afterwards, we have mentioned in the close of the last note. Among the rich spoils which *Pompey* carried with him, was the golden vine we have spoken of in the last section, the worth of which is said to have amounted to five or six hundred talents, and which he dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* <sup>1</sup>.

*Alexander*  
returns ex-  
to *Judaea*.

As soon as *Hyrca*n found himself rid of his rival brother, *Antipater*, he relapsed afresh into his indolence, leaving the care of his ter's politics affairs to *Antipater*, who, like a true politician, failed not to turn it to his advantage and the aggrandising of his family. He foresaw, however, that he could not easily compass his ends, unless he endeared himself to the *Romans*; and therefore spared neither pains nor cost to gain their favour. *Scaurus* was soon after beholden to him for a supply of corn and other provision, without which his army, which he had led against the metropolis of *Arabia*, must have been in danger of perishing. This service was followed by another, and *Antipater*, who was so well known to the king of *Arabia*, went and prevailed on that prince to pay three hundred talents to the *Roman* general <sup>2</sup>, and thereby save his country from being ravaged by him (Y). It is also very probable, that *Antipater* was the person who procured those services

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq.* ubi supra. See also the authors quoted in the last note.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 9.

(Y) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (1), that *Hyrca*n and *Antipater* accompanied *Scaurus* into *Arabia* with some forces, and that during that time *Alexander* took the opportunity of seizing on *Jerusalem*, rebuilding its fortifications, and of raising an army, with which he overthrew the high priest on his return from the *Arabian* expedition: but if he got such advantages over his uncle, he did not keep them long; for, according to *Josephus*, we find that pontiff in *Jerusalem*, and *Alexander* only plundering the countries round about, till suppressed by *Gabinus*.

(1) *Ubi supra*.



from *Hyrca*n to the *Athenians*, for which, *Josephus* tells us <sup>1</sup>, they made that honourable act of their senate, in which the pontiff is styled a great friend and benefactor to all the *Greeks*, and more particularly to the *Athenians*, and for which they decreed him a crown of gold, and a statue of brass, to be placed in the temple of *Demus* (Z) and the *Graces* <sup>m</sup>. Thus did that politic minister lay the foundations for his future grandeur, by securing the friendship of the most powerful states. *Herod* his son followed the same maxims, especially with regard to the *Romans* and *Athenians*, and thereby completed what his father had begun, as the sequel will soon shew.

Alexander  
wastes  
Judæa.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, having got a strong party in *Judæa*, and an army of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, began to seize and fortify several eminent fortresses, such as those of *Alexandri*on and *Macheron*, situate near the foot of the *Arabian* mountains, and from them made frequent incursions into *Judæa*. *Hyrca*n was not in a condition to suppress him; on the contrary, having endeavoured to shelter himself from him by rebuilding the walls of his metropolis, which *Pompey* had caused to be demolished, the *Romans*, always jealous of their new conquests, had forced him to desist; so that he was forced to call them to suppress this new invader. Accordingly *Gabinus*, who was president of *Syria*, and was lately come into that province, sent *Marc Antony* with some troops against him, whilst himself, and the rest of his army were preparing to follow him. *Antipater* sent likewise such forces as he had

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. c. 10.

<sup>m</sup> Id. ibid. cap. xvi.

(Z) The original has τὸ Δημῶν, which some versions render *Demus*, as we have above, though our *English* one render it *of the people*, &c. A learned critic conjectures, that there is an error crept in *Josephus*, and that it probably was the temple of the *Muses* and *Graces*, or perhaps the temple of *Academus* and the *Graces* (2). For we are told by an ancient writer (3), that there was a temple in their academy dedicated to the *Muses*, in which *Plato* did set up the statues of the *Graces*; and we do not read that the *Athenians* had any other temple of the *Muses* besides that.

Archbishop *Usher* places this decree, and presents in the ninth year of *Hyrca*n's reign, from the death of his mother (4; he there rectifies an anachronism in *Josephus* concerning it, which the reader may see in that learned author.

(2) *Calmet Hist. v. Test. l. viii. sub A. M. 3943.* (3) *Diog. Laert. in vita Leucip.* (4) *Annal. sub an. ant. Chr. 63.*

raised to join the *Roman* general, and these being followed by a number of *Jews* in the *Roman* interest, with *Pitolaus* at their head, *Alexander* was forced to retire into the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, where a battle was soon after fought, in which he was defeated, and lost three thousand of *Defeated.* his men, besides those that were taken prisoners. He was thence pursued to *Alexandrión*, where he had refuged himself, and there besieged by *Gabinus*; but the place being *Besieged.* strong and well provided, that general ordered a number of his troops to invest the place, whilst he marched with the rest into *Judæa*, where he caused the cities mentioned in a former note to be rebuilt, according to *Pompey's* order. That of *Samaria* being one of them, he called it from his own name *Gabiniana*; but *Herod* soon after changed it into those of *Sebastē*, as we shall see in its proper place. Whilst *Alexander* was closely besieged, he sent to desire peace of the *Roman* general, promising to surrender that fortress, and that of *Macheron* and *Hyrcañion*. About the same time his mother, a wife and discreet woman, whose husband (*Aristobulus*) and her children were still kept prisoners at *Rome*, came to the *Roman* general; and, partly by her address, and partly by her services to him, did insinuate her self so much in his favour, that she procured the peace offered by her son to be accepted, and him to be dismissed with pardon and impunity for what he had done. After this *Gabinus* ordered the three fortresses delivered up to him to be demolished, that they might be no longer an occasion of future revolts; and then led *Hyrcañ*, who had, it seems, assisted him in the siege, to *Jerusalem*, where he reinstated him afresh into his pontifical dignity. He then divided the province into five several districts, in each of which he erected a separate court of judicature; the first at *Jerusalem*, the second at *Gadara*, the third at *Amath*, the fourth at *Jericho*, and the fifth at *Sephoris* in *Galilee*; by which the government was changed from a monarchy into an aristocracy, and the *Jews*, who had been till then governed by their own monarchical pontiffs, fell under the subjection of a set of domineering lords (A).

*Change of  
the Jewish  
govern-  
ment.*

IN

<sup>a</sup> Vid. SYNCHEL. ap. USSER. sub A. M. 3979.  
l. xiv. c. 10. Id. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Antiq.

(A) The *Jews* had till now been governed by two sorts of councils or courts of judicature under their sovereign. These councils or sanhedrins were of two sorts, the inferior consisting of twenty three, and the greater one of seventy two persons; and this latter was



Aristobu-  
lus escapes  
into Judæa.

IN the mean time *Aristobulus*, towards the latter end of the year, found means to escape out of the prison, into which he had been remanded after *Pompey's* triumph, and to return into *Judæa*, with his son *Antigonus*. Here he was soon joined by a considerable number of *Jews*, and, among the rest, by *Pitolaus*, who had till then been a chief leader of the *Roman* party. But a great number of them coming to him without arms, he was forced to dismiss them, and only reserved eight thousand stout men, with whom he went to secure and rebuild the castle of *Alexandria*, which had been demolished by *Gabinus*; but this last sent *Cisenna*, *Marc Antony*, and *Servilius* against him, who, in spite of the bravery of his small army, defeated him, killed five thousand of his men, and forced him to fly into the ruined castle of *Macheron*, with only a thousand men he had left, the rest having taken their flight where they could. The *Romans* did not give him time to fortify himself, but came and besieged him, and, after a two day's stout resistance, took him by assault, covered with wounds, and sent him and his son prisoners to *Rome*, where he was conveyed into his old prison. But *Gabinus* wrote soon after to the senate, and informed them of the promise he had made to *Aristobulus's* wife, upon the delivery of the *Jewish* fortresses; whereupon the rest of his family were ordered to be set at liberty, and

Defeated  
and sent  
prisoner.

was emphatically called the grand sanhedrin. Of the lesser fort there was one in every city, and two at *Jerusalem*, where there was a greater concourse of people and business. The grand one sat only at *Jerusalem*, and had a place appropriated to them in the temple. We have had frequent occasion to speak of this last in several parts of this history; and shall only add here, that it was the last resort to which all other inferior ones might appeal, and from whose sentence there could be no appeal. Both forts were abolished by *Gabinus*, who erected in lieu of them a court in each of the five districts independent of each other, and endowed them with the sovereign power, from which no appeal could be made but to *Rome*.

The talmud, however, tells us (5). that they retained a kind of council of three to decide all their controversies about bargains, sales, and other such private matters; each of the contending parties chose a judge from among themselves, and these two chose a third, and the three used to decide those controversies among them; which was perhaps done chiefly to avoid the charge, trouble, or rather injustice and arbitrariness of the courts erected by the *Romans*.

(5) *Tract. Sanhedrin.*

he only was kept prisoner during the rest of his life <sup>p.</sup> *Gabinus* being the next year invited into *Egypt*, to assist *Ptolemy Auletes* in the recovery of his kingdom, as has been related in another volume <sup>†</sup>, *Hyrca*n, or rather *Antipater*, proved very serviceable to that general, not only by furnishing him with necessary provisions of corn, arms, and money for his army; but also by writing to the *Jews* of *Onion* near *Pelufium*, which was the key of that part of *Egypt*, to forward the *Romans* to the best of their power. By this means *Gabinus* and *Marc Antony* easily succeeded in this expedition, which might otherwise have proved too hard for them. The fourth book of the *Maccabees*, in the place last quoted, tells us, that *Gabinus* having sent to desire *Hyrca*n to come and join him in *Egypt*, the high-priest sent his favourite *Antipater* with an army to him, who helped him to beat the *Egyptians*, and restore the king; after which, they returning into *Judaea*, the *Roman* general renewed his alliance and friendship with the *Jewish* pontiff, and then returned to *Rome*.

DURING this *Egyptian* expedition, *Alexander*, taking the advantage of *Cisenna's* weakness, a rash unexperienced youth, whom *Gabinus* had left to command in *Syria* with a small number of troops, had got a considerable army, and was entered *Judaea*, which was by this time filled with banditti and free-booters, who plundered every-where without controul. He fell on the *Romans* where-ever he met them, and killed a great number of them: the rest retired to mount *Garizim*, where he came soon after, and closely besieged them. The news of this having brought *Gabinus* into *Judaea*, the first thing he did was to send *Antipater* to try by fair means to withdraw the revolvers from *Alexander's* party; and this consummate politician acted his part so well, that he brought back a considerable number of them. But all his address could not persuade *Alexander* to come to any terms. On the contrary, this last, enraged to see such a defection of his men, resolved with the thirty thousand he had left, to put it to the issue of a battle. It was accordingly fought near mount *Tabor*, and he totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the spot, and the rest put to flight. *Gabinus* after this victory returned to *Jerusalem*, where he settled the *Jewish* affairs according to *Antipater's* mind, and left *Judaea*,

*Gabinus goes into Egypt.*  
Year of the Flood 2943.  
Before Christ 56.

*Alexander raises new troubles.*

*Defeated by Gabinus.*

<sup>p</sup> Id. ibid. 4 MACCAB. cxl. & seq.

<sup>†</sup> See Vol. IX. p. 137,



and soon after the government of *Syria* (B), and was succeeded by *Craffus* <sup>1</sup>.

THIS last upon his coming into his new government, found the whole province, and particularly *Judæa*, in peace, so that he was at leisure to pursue his favourite design of invading the *Parthians*; for which expedition he had obtained, though with some difficulty, a decree from the senate <sup>2</sup>. As avarice was the chief passion that pushed him to it, he began with plundering the temple of *Jerusalem*, not only of the two thousand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched, but of every thing he found valuable in it, to the sum of eight thousand *Attic* talents more. Among these there was a large beam of massive gold, covered with another hollow beam, which went across the partition, which divided the holy from the most holy place. The veil that separated those two rooms was fastened to it, and over it they threw all the old veils, whenever they hanged a new one; so that this valuable piece, which weighed three hundred *Hebrew minæ* (C), was so well

<sup>1</sup> JOSEPH. 4 MACCAB. DIO CASS. ubi supra. <sup>2</sup> DIO lib. xxxix. Vid. & PLUTARCH. in Craff.

(B) We shall not so far anticipate the *Roman* history as to enter into the merit of this general, and the causes of his being deprived of his government. It will be sufficient here to observe, that though he was accused to the senate of great corruptions, extortions, and such like crimes, yet *Josephus* (6) gives him a quite different character, and speaks of him as of a person who had filled that post with great exactness, honour, and applause. But *Pompey* and *Craffus* were then consuls, and the latter, as we shall soon see, had got an invincible itch after the province of *Syria*, ever since he had heard what treasures the former had left untouched at *Jerusalem*. Those riches he thought would come in a good time to help him forward in his *Parthian* expedition. In all this he only followed the motions of his insatiable avarice; and what crimes might not such a man trump up against *Gabinus*, in order to divest him of that government?

But whether the latter was really such as *Josephus* has represented him, or had really given cause for those accusations preferred against him, two things are sure; 1. that he was grown exceeding rich; and, 2. that he was forced to disgorge all his wealth, to bribe his judges and save his life, as the sequel will shew.

(C) The mina amounted to about two pounds and a half of our weight, so that the whole bar or beam weighed about seven hundred and fifty pounds. The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds, that

(6) *Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11,*

well concealed, that none knew of it but the treasurer of the temple. A priest named *Eleazar*, then in that post, and being apprised of *Crassus's* plundering design, was imprudent enough to endeavour to save all the rest of the costly temple furniture at the expence of this; but did not discover it to him, till he had made him swear that he would spare the rest; but the greedy governor made no scruple to break his oath, and to plunder that holy place of every valuable thing he could lay his hands on, without sparing the most sacred utensils belonging to it. The whole amount of this sacrilegious plunder was so great, that *Josephus*, fearing it would scarcely be credited by other nations, is forced to appeal to the writings of *Strabo* of *Cappadocia*, and other records not now extant<sup>r</sup>. What we have said at the end of the last note will further confirm his account, and the immense treasures of which that rapacious governor stripped that sacred place, though it amounts to above two millions of our money.

*Crassus's  
treachery  
and sacri-  
lege.*

We have seen, in the last volume \*, the ill success of his expedition against the *Parthians*. That general having been defeated and killed, *Cassius* brought the shattered remnant of his army into *Syria*, to suppress the incursions which the now elated *Parthians* made into that province; and here he gave them so many overthrows, that he soon forced them to send home for a fresh supply of troops. From thence he marched into *Judæa*, where he besieged *Tarichæa*, a city on the south shore of the lake *Genesareth*, where *Pitolaus* had shut himself up with the few remains of *Aristobulus's* faction; and having taken it, carried away thirty thousand *Jews* prisoners. *Pitolaus* was put to death by the advice of *Antipater*, to prevent his raising new troubles in favour of *Aristobulus* (D). As for *Alexander*, *Cassius* contented himself

*Cassius's  
success in  
Syria.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2947.  
Before  
Christ,  
52.*

<sup>r</sup> Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.

\* page 356.

all the old vei's which were taken down when a new one was hung up (and which were all extremely rich and beautiful), used to be thrown over it (7). Besides these and other costly utensils and ornaments of the temple, we may add the continual offerings sent to it by the *Jews* from all parts of *Asia* and *Europe*; but especially those which were presented to it, not only by the *Jewish* monarchs, but by those of other nations, of which we have given some instances in a former section out of the books of the *Maccabees* 8)

(D) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* adds (9), that *Cassius*

(7) *Ubi supra.*

(8) *Cap. xli.*

(9) *Ibid.*



himself with forcing him to be quiet, whilst he marched towards the *Euphrates* to stop the incursions of the *Parthians* <sup>t</sup>.

Aristobu-  
lus poison-  
ed.

Alexander  
beheaded.

THREE years after, *Julius Cæsar* having made himself master of *Rome*, and thinking that *Aristobulus* might be of service to him against *Pompey*, released him out of his prison, and sent him into *Palestine* <sup>u</sup>, with two legions under his command, to keep *Syria* in awe; but those of *Pompey's* party found means to poison him, and thereby frustrated the designs of that crafty general. His body was afterwards embalmed by some of *Cæsar's* partisans, and kept in honey in a coffin, till they could convey him into *Judæa*, there to be interred with his ancestors <sup>w</sup>. His son *Alexander* did not meet with better fate; the news of his father's return into *Judæa* had made him raise forces there, to join him on his arrival; but *Pompey*, who kept a watchful eye over him, sent orders to his son-in-law *Q. Metellus Scipio*, formerly his colleague in the consulship and now president of *Syria*, to put him to death. *Scipio* caused the unhappy prince to be seized, and brought before his tribunal at *Antioch*, where he condemned him, and caused his head to be struck off. *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, hearing of their death, sent to *Alexandra* the widow of *Aristobulus*, who was then retired to *Ascalon* and offered to take her son *Antigonus* and her two daughters under his care, who sent them to him accordingly. His son *Philippion* married one of the daughters, named also *Alexandra*; but some time after, either for some misbehaviour, or perhaps out of love to that princess, *Mennæus* caused him to be put to death, and married her himself soon after <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>t</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6.

<sup>u</sup> DIO, lib. xli.

<sup>w</sup> Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. Bell.

Jud. l. i. c. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Id. ibid. Vid. & PLUTARCH. in Pompei. DIO, ubi supra. CÆSAR. Bell. Civil. l. iii. & Comment. lib. 1.

came afterwards to *Jerusalem*, and there reconciled *Hyrcaan* and his subjects, who were then in open rebellion against him.

This is that *Cassius* who had formerly refused the command which the soldiers had offered him, out of hatred to *Crassus*; but now that general being dead, and the *Roman* army miserably shattered he was forced to take the government of *Syria* upon him, in order to suppress the insolence of the *Parthians* (10). He was afterwards one of those who assassinated *Julius Cæsar*, as we shall see in due time.

(10) Dio Cass lib. xl.

In the mean time, the war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, as well as those that followed between the former and the asserters of the *Roman* liberty, afforded the *Jews* not only a long breathing, but also an opportunity of ingratiating themselves to that conqueror. He was now in *Egypt* waiting impatiently for those new levies which *Mithridates* the *Pergomenian* was bringing to him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, where he had been raising them. But, these not being sufficient to break through *Pelustum*, the strong key of *Egypt* on that side, he was forced to stop at *Ascalon*, till new reinforcements came to him. But what did him the greatest service at this juncture, and facilitated the taking of that city, was the coming of *Antipater*, at the head of three thousand *Jews* well armed, together with some other succours which he had drawn from *Armenia*, and *Syria*, and mount *Libanus*. He also brought letters from *Hyrca*n, whether real, or forged by himself; exhorting the *Jews* of the territories of *O-nion*, *Deltha*, and *Memphis*, to assist the *Roman* emperor with all their might. By these means the city of *Pelustum* was easily carried by assault, *Antipater* himself being one of the foremost in scaling it, and a way thereby was made into *Egypt*. We have seen in a former volume the success of that expedition †; some have imagined, that *Hyrca*n came thither in person at the head of fifteen hundred men †, but without any likelihood. That pontiff was wholly governed by *Antipater*, whose main view was the aggrandising himself, rather than recommending the *Jewish* pontiff to that conqueror; and *Hyrca*n being in himself a man of no genius or ambition, it is more probable he contented himself with the credit of sending such seasonable aid to *Cæsar*, whilst *Antipater*, like a consummate politician, took the advantage of ingratiating himself to him by his valour and gallantry, as well as by his good offices with his master. Accordingly, we find in the subsequent battle, which was fought in the place called the *Jewish camp* ‡, that *Mithridates*, who commanded the right wing, must have been totally defeated, had not *Antipater*, who had been victorious in the left, which he commanded, come to his rescue, and gained him that signal victory over the *Egyptians*, which enabled him to join *Cæsar*'s army, and soon made that emperor master of all *Egypt*. In all these actions *Antipater* behaved with such valour and gallantry, that *Mithridates* did not scruple to own his late suc-

Antipater  
succours  
Cæsar in  
Egypt.

His valour  
rewarded.

† See Vol. IX. p. 152, & seq. † IPSICRAT. ap STAB. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17. CÆSAR. tabul. æn. ap. eand.  
‡ Antiq. l. xiv. c. 15.



Cæsar's  
gratitude  
to the Jews

cesses to be owing to him ; and in a letter he wrote to Cæsar, he gave the Jewish commander such encomiums, that he conceived a more than ordinary esteem for him ; and in token of it, before he left *Alexandria*, he gave him some considerable posts in his army, made him procurator or lieutenant of *Judæa*, and citizen of *Rome*, with all the privileges belonging to it, which places he held with great credit all the time of the war (E). Cæsar also confirmed *Hyrca*n in his priesthood, added to it the principality of *Judæa*, to be intailed on his posterity for ever ; and to the Jewish nation their antient rights and privileges ; and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon all these grants and his own decree should be engraven, which was accordingly done, soon after *Antipater*'s return into *Judæa*. Cæsar being come into *Syria*, *Antigonus* came to him, and preferred a severe complaint against *Hyrca*n and *Antipater*, for the injuries which he pretended they had done to him ; and at the same time represented to him the misfortunes of his family, for having stuck close to his interest ; and particularly the poisoning of his father by *Pompey*, and the beheading of his brother by *Scipio*. In consideration of all which, he concluded with a petition to the emperor, that he would restore him to his father's principality, of which *Hyrca*n had unjustly stripped him. But unfortunately for him, *Antipater* was then attending upon Cæsar, who defended his own and *Hyrca*n's cause so well, that they were both absolved with applause, and *Antigonus* repulsed as a factious and turbulent person, that could never be at rest. *Antipater* added farther, that as to *Antigonus*'s father, he had been justly sent prisoner to *Rome* for being a constant enemy to the *Roman* nation, and that his brother had been deservedly beheaded for plundering and ravaging that of the Jews. Cæsar had too many obligations to *Hyrca*n and *Antipater*, not to admit of a much weaker vindication of their cause. But he was resolved to do more than the bare acquitting of them :

Rejects  
Antigonus's  
suit.

(E) The fourth book of *Maccabees* (11) adds, that *Mithridates*, being totally defeated in the action, was so closely surrounded by the *Egyptians*, that he must have been cut in pieces by them, had not *Antipater* come in a lucky minute, and rescued him and the victory out of their hands. But what the same author adds, that Cæsar gave him the command of his own troops, and took him with him into *Persia*, seems quite to clash with *Josephus*, who doth not so much as hint, that he had the command of any of the *Roman* troops, neither doth it appear, that Cæsar carried any war against the *Persians*.

he confirmed his former decree in favour of them and of the *Jewish* nation, and caused it to be ingraven on brasen tables in *Latin* and *Greek*, and to be hung up in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Askalon* (F), as well as in the capitol at *Rome*, whither *Hyrca*n sent soon after his ambassadors to renew the old alliance with that nation; which was by his order published in all the principal cities of the empire, that all the world might know that the *Jews* were acknowledged the friends and allies of *Rome*. These ambassadors, who were there received with great marks of honour, did likewise obtain a permissory decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, and for rebuilding of the wall which had been pulled down by *Pompey* <sup>a</sup> (G).

*Cæsar*

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. l. xx. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 7.

(F) This decree, which at once abolished the aristocracy lately set up by *Gabinus*, and restored the *Jewish* state to its pristine sovereignty, has been preserved to us by *Josephus* (12), and runs to this effect:

“ *Julius Cæsar*, emperor and dictator the second time, &c.  
 “ Forasmuch as *Hyrca*nus the son of *Alexander*, a *Jew*, hath given  
 “ us many singular proofs of his affection, both in time of peace  
 “ and war, and particularly by the supply sent to me in the late  
 “ war; in consideration of these his services, I do hereby confirm  
 “ unto him and his heirs the perpetual government of the *Jews*,  
 “ both as their prince and high-priest, after the manner and rule  
 “ of their own laws. I enroll him from henceforth among my  
 “ trusty friends; and ordain, that all the legal and pontifical rights  
 “ and privileges be devolved upon him and his sons for ever; and  
 “ that in all controversies, that shall arise concerning the rights  
 “ and discipline of the *Jews*, he or they be the only judges; and  
 “ further, that the *Jews* be henceforth discharged from the bur-  
 “ then of winter-quarters and all public tribute”.

About the same time the *Athenians* renewed their alliance with *Hyrca*n, and sent their decree to *Jerusalem*, in which they acknowledged that pontiff's singular and constant friendship to all the *Greeks*, and to their own republic in particular. The reader may see it at length in *Josephus* in the place last quoted.

(G) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (13), that *Cæsar* did those ambassadors the singular honour of making them sit down in his presence; and a little lower, that that emperor had decreed for himself and successors, that all the maritime part of the *Syrian* province, from *Gaza* to *Sidon*, should pay yearly to the *Jewish* temple the tribute they were wont to pay to the empire; and that

(12) *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 17.

(13) *Cap.* xliv.

that



Antipa-  
ter's speech

*Cæsar*, having left the government of *Syria* to *Sextus Cæsar* his near relation, was accompanied by *Antipater* as far as *Tyre*, where he imbarqued for *Sicily*. On his return to *Jerusalem*, *Antipater* took care in every place he came through to extol the *Roman* emperor and nation, and to exhort the people to peace and obedience; representing to them with his usual eloquence, that, whilst they behaved like faithful subjects, they would be blest with a mild government, and enjoy their rights, liberties, and religion; but that, if they grew discontented and mutinous, they would soon find themselves forced to submit to a severer yoke, and that *Hyrca*n, from a mild and pacific prince, might easily become their tyrant, and the *Romans*, from friends and protectors, would not fail to turn their bitter enemies. This was not said so much to keep the *Jews* in obedience to *Hyrca*n, whose stupidity and indolence *Josephus* himself tells us, was but too visible to all his subjects; but, by thus over-awing them with the dread of the *Romans* anger, he plainly intimated to them his own credit and interest with them to be such, that they would never see his measures opposed, without interposing their own authority; and therefore closed the whole with these words; For they (the *Romans*) will be obeyed<sup>b</sup>. By these speeches he gained two main ends, he kept a divided and factious people in awe, and took the advantage of his own established power, and of *Hyrca*n's weakness, to aggrandise his family.

UPON his arrival at *Jerusalem*, he set himself about putting *Cæsar*'s decree in force, and settling, or rather restoring, the *Jewish* government to its antient model, and ordering the repairs of the walls and fortifications of *Jerusalem*. He made

<sup>b</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, in fin. c. 16.

that of the town of *Sidon* amounted yearly to twenty thousand five hundred and fifty measures of wheat; and that the cities of *Laodice* and others, which had been formerly in the possession of the high-priests, should be now surrendered to *Hyrca*n.

All these grants, our author says, were bestowed on the *Jewish* nation, in consideration of the eminent services which they and *Antipater* at their head had done the emperor in his *Parthian* expedition. But whether he really was sent thither by the high priest, as is there affirmed, 'tis certain that this great change in favour of the *Jews* was owing to the wisdom, conduct and valour of *Antipater*; and how much it contributed to raise his power and interest, not only in *Judæa*, but in *Rome* and other nations, the sequel will soon shew.

his eldest son *Phasaelus* governor of that metropolis, and *Herod* his second son governor of *Galilee* (H); whilst he and the high-priest took a progress about *Judæa*, to settle the government and peace of the kingdom. *Herod* soon signalised himself by the suppression of a band of thieves, who had till then much infested that and the neighbouring provinces. He took their chief, named *Hezekiah*, with some others of his companions, whom he put to immediate death, and thereby dispersed the rest of their gang. This action failed not to recommend him, not only to the whole province, but more particularly to *Sextus Cæsar*, the new president of *Syria*. On the other hand, his elder brother neglected nothing that could recommend him to the people of *Jerusalem*, over which he was governor; so that *Antipater* saw with pleasure himself and his sons become the darlings of the nation, without lessening, at least outwardly, any part of their respect to the high-priest, who seemed still to be at the head of all the national affairs, and to give his sanction to them.

BUT it was this greatness, this excessive growing power, of *Antipater*, which raised at length the envy and jealousy of the principal *Jews*. *Herod's* action was doubtless a noble one, and the country felt the benefit of it: but he had gone some unjustifiable lengths in it, in putting the banditti to death, by his own authority and without any formal trial; and this they looked upon as an earnest of what he might do in time, if his enterprising genius was not nipped in the bud. This made them at length resolve to try to open the eyes of their indolent pontiff, and to prevail upon him to summon that young hero to come and answer to this and some other accusations before him and the sanhedrin.

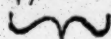
(H) *Antipater* had four sons by his wife *Cypris*, who were by this time grown up to maturity, and in great reputation for their wisdom and valour. We have mentioned the two first in the text: *Josephus* indeed allows the latter of them but fifteen years of age, but that must be a mistake, either of that historian, or rather of his copyists; for both *Ptolemy* and *Nicolas Damascen* gave him twenty-five years, and our learned *Usher* has made it appear that he could have no less (14).

The third son was called *Joseph*, and the fourth *Pheroras*. He had likewise a daughter named *Salome*, who became afterwards infamous for the feuds and divisions which she created in her family, as we shall see in the sequel.

(14) *Sub A. M.* 3937. *Vid. & Prid. Connect. sub an. A. C.* 47.



Herod  
summoned  
before the  
sanhedrin.  
Year of  
the flood,  
2952.  
Before  
Christ,  
47.



*Hyrca*n, who had a great friendship for him, betrayed at this juncture an extreme partiality in excusing him of several crimes they alledged against him. They in vain represented to him, how dangerous it was for him to suffer the son of a proselyte, who had already ingrossed all the power and honour, and left him only the bare title of sovereign, to arrogate to himself such an unlimited authority, as to put a number of men to death without trial, or even without asking his or the sanhedrin's consent. At length, since they could not work upon his fears, they tried to rouse his pity, by the daily clamours of the mothers of those whom *Herod* had put to death, and who ceased not to come daily to the temple to demand justice of him, for so daring and unwarranted an affront on his dignity. *Hyrca*n was at length prevailed upon to send his summons to him to come and answer to the charge before him and the sanhedrin. *Herod* appeared accordingly, but in such a guise, and with such a numerous retinue, as gave them to understand, that he did not come as a private person, much less as a criminal to be judged by them. He was cloathed in purple, and, by his father's advice, had brought such a number of servants, as should be sufficient to defend him in case he was condemned, and yet not so numerous, as to raise any jealousy in the friendly high-priest. He also brought letters to him from *Sextus Cæsar*, with express orders to acquit him, and threatening him with his highest resentment in case of non-compliance.

THESE letters seem indeed to have been calculated to intimidate the sanhedrin, rather than to recommend *Herod*'s cause to the high-priest, who was already sufficiently in his interest. Accordingly, when he appeared before that high-court, he struck such an awe upon them, that none of his accusers dared to open their mouths against him. At length *Sameas*, a man in great esteem for his wisdom and integrity, had the courage to stand up and arraign him, not only for his former crime, but much more now for his unjustifiable boldness in appearing, contrary to the laws of all nations, not in the guise of an accused person, but in that of an arrogant and threatening commander, who came rather to frighten his judges, than to clear himself of his accusation. I do not at the same time, continued he, so much blame him for the insolent means he takes to secure his forfeited life. What surprizes me is, to see both the high-priest and his judges thus tamely to permit it; but take notice of what I am now going to tell you, said he, turning to them; God is a righteous and powerful judge, and this very man whom you

now

*Sameas's*  
*noble*  
*speech.*

now strive to acquit, in complaisance to *Hyrca*n, shall prove the ruin of both king and judges. How true a prophet he proved, the sequel will shew; for *Herod* was no sooner got into the possession of the government, than he put both the high-priest and all his cowardly judges to death, except *Sameas* and *Pollio*, for whom he retained a singular esteem ever after (1). Here *Hyrca*n observing that his speech had made such an impresson on the court, that the majority were like to be against *Herod*, he adjourned the court till next day, whilst he sent private advice to him to flee for his life; which he accordingly did, and went to *Damascus*, where having gained the protection of the *Syrian* governor, he sent the sanhedrin word, that if they should take it into their heads to summon him afresh, he would disclaim their jurisdiction. This contemptuous message put the judges into a fresh fit of rage; they vented their resentments against the pontiff, and strove in vain to awaken him into a sense of his danger; he remained deaf and insensible to the last.

c Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.

(1) *Sameas*, or, as the *Rabbins* call him, *Shammai*, was, according to *Josephus* (15), the disciple of *Pollio*, another learned *Jewish* doctor in great esteem with *Herod*, not unlikely the same which the *Rabbies* call *Hillel*; for this latter having been a famous disciple of *Sameas* or *Shammai*, and having in process of time proved the antagonist of his master, and the founder of that famed school, which retained his name; it is a wonder *Josephus* should never mention him, whereas he speaks very honourably of *Pollio* in several places of his history.

*St. Jerom* (16) has imagined, that the *Pharisees* had their origin from the division of those two schools; but we have already seen how powerful that sect was long before *Hillel* or *Shammai*. Concerning this last the *Rabbies* tell us wonders, and if we may believe the father above quoted, they attribute the compiling of the *Mishnah* to him and his disciple *Hillel*, or, as he elsewhere calls them, *Simeon* and *Helles* (17).

We shall have occasion to speak to that point, as well as the rupture of those two famed schools, in a properer place. All we shall add concerning them here is, a *Rabbinic* proverb much in vogue among the *Jews*: *Be courteous as Hillel, and intrepid as Shammai*.

(15) *Antiq. l. xv. c. 1.*  
ad *Algaf. & quæst. x. & in Eccles. vii.*

(16) *In Isai. cap. viii.*

(17) *Epist.*



IN the mean time *Herod*, having with a large sum of money purchased the government of *Cæle-Syria* of his friend *Sextus Cæsar*, raised an army with an intent to march against *Jerusalem*, and he revenged of *Hyrca*n and the sanhedrin for the affront they had put upon him; but he was happily diverted from it by *Antipater* and *Phasaelus*, who reminded him of his great obligations to that pontiff, to whom both he and they were beholden for all the power and grandeur they enjoyed. *Herod* acquiesced for the present, and was satisfied with having given them such token of what he could do whenever occasion offered, and remained quiet in his province.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2955.

Before  
Christ,

44.

New pri-  
vileges  
granted to  
the Jews.

ABOUT three years after this, *Hyrca*n having sent an embassy to *Cæsar*, who was by this time entered into his fifth consulship, to renew his alliance with him, obtained a fresh decree for the fortifying of *Jerusalem*, which *Antipater* immediately put in execution; and that metropolis was soon after raised to its pristine splendor and strength. *Cæsar* did moreover grant some further privileges to the *Jews*, in consideration, as he expressed it, of the signal services they had done to him in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The reader may see them more fully in *Josaphus*. As for *Hyrca*n, he gave him leave to govern in *Jerusalem* according to his pleasure, and confirmed to him the grant of all the towns and villages which had been possessed by his ancestors; that the lands and other privileges which the *Romans* had bestowed on the kings of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, on account of the alliance that had been between them, should likewise be bestowed on him and his successors; that he, they, and their ambassadors, should have the liberty of sitting down with the *Roman* senators in all public shews and games; and lastly, that when they had any petition to present to the senate, they should be introduced by the dictator, or by the master of the horse, and that they should have an answer within ten days<sup>d</sup>. In a word, such was that emperor's gratitude and friendship to the *Jews*, so many and considerable the immunities and privileges which he heaped upon their prince and nation, that they could hardly be said to feel the weight of the *Roman* yoke. His kindness extended even to those who lived out of *Judæa*; witness the edict which the magistrates of the island of *Paros* had made against their exercise of their religion, living according to their laws, and sending their yearly tribute to *Jerusalem*, to maintain the

<sup>d</sup> Id. ibid. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

service of the temple (K) ; and which that monarch obliged them to revoke, as a piece of rigour and injustice, which he said was not to be suffered against the friends and allies of *Rome*, where all those privileges were indulged to them.

BUT this happy state was soon at an end. Two remarkable accidents happened, one on the heels of the other, the one in *Judæa*, and the other at *Rome*, which brought on a series of distractions and feuds in both. In the former *Sextus Cæsar* was treacherously murdered by *Bassus*, and *Cæsar* himself at *Rome* by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and their associates, as shall be better seen in the *Roman* history. *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella*, who were then consuls, assembled the senate ; and the ambassadors from *Judæa*, among others, were admitted to renew their alliance with them. Pursuant to which (some of the *Asiatic Jews* having been forced to enrol themselves in the *Roman* army) *Hyrca*n sent a complaint to *Dolabella*, reminding him, that the *Jews* were wont to be exempted from the war, by reason of their being obliged to observe the sabbath ; and obtained a letter from the consul to the governor of *Ephesus*, enjoining him to see that the *Jews* were set free, and restored to the exercise of their religion and laws\*. By this time *Bassus* had seized upon the government of *Syria*, but was soon after driven out of it by *Cassius*, who immediately came thither after *Cæsar*'s death, and took the command of the *Roman* troops upon him, who were then besieging the assassin of *Sextus* in the city of *Apamea*. *Cassius*, having drawn him and *Marcus* into his party, raised the siege of the place, and got all *Syria* into his possession. He was, however, forced to levy new troops to reinforce his army ; and hearing that *Alienus*, one of *Dolabella*'s lieutenants, was marching through *Judæa* with four legions sent to that consul by *Cleopatra*, he posted himself so advantageously, that he surrounded and intercepted him with a double number of his own forces, and took them all into his service. Having by

\* Id. ibid.

(K) We have often mentioned this yearly tribute which every *Jew*, both of *Judæa* and of the dispersion, was obliged to send. Besides this, we must further observe, that as they were allowed to offer sacrifices no-where but in that holy place, it was usual for them to remit the money thither for such victims, as either their religion or extraordinary devotions directed them to be offered up there for them ; and these were generally sent thither with the annual tribute of the temple ; and in some wealthy places they sometimes amounted to such vast sums, as raised the envy and jealousy of those among whom they lived, and have been often seized by covetous princes and governors, who have converted them to their own uses.

this



*Levies se-  
ven hun-  
dred ta-  
lents.*

this time got an army of twelve legions, which could not be subsisted without great expence, he was forced to levy very large tributes on that province, particularly on *Judæa*, which he taxed at seven hundred talents. *Antipater*, who knew the necessity that general was in of some immediate supply, and the consequence of gaining his favour, by sending him a speedy one, committed the levying of one half of that sum to his sons *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, and ordered the rest to be raised by one *Malichus* and some associates. *Herod* failed not to take this opportunity of ingratiating himself to *Cassius*, by bringing him the hundred talents which were assigned to his government; and as he was the first that complied with his orders, that general conceived a great esteem for him. His brother came soon after; but the rest of the governors not having followed their examples, particularly those of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa*, *Cassius* ordered all their inhabitants to be sold by auction, and would have put *Malichus* to death, had not the high-priest redeemed him at the expence of a hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers f.

*Malichus  
conspires  
against  
Antipater*

*Cassius*, being soon after forced to march against *Dolabella*, left the government of *Cæle-Syria* to *Herod*, as an earnest of his future friendship; but *Malichus* in the mean time, who bore a mortal hatred against *Antipater* (L), and saw him with an envious eye holding alone the reins of government, resolved to rid himself and the nation of him. *Antipater*, having had timely notice of his treacherous design, did presently retire to the other side of the *Jordan*, and there raised some forces, and put himself in a posture of defence. Whereupon *Malichus*, finding

f *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 18. *Bell. Jud.* l. i. c. 9.

(L) *Malichus* was a *Jew*; he and *Antipater* had been the main supporters of *Hyrca*n's interest; so that he could not behold his rival, who was of *Idumæan* race, as we have hinted before, preferred before him without the deepest envy and regret; and this was the motive which made him conspire against him, not doubting, but if he was once removed, himself would be at the head of the *Jewish* affairs.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* says indeed (18), that they were the heads of the *Jewish* nation who conspired against *Antipater*; and very likely *Malichus* had drawn a great number into the same black design; it being as great a mortification to them as to himself, to see their prince held in a kind of servitude by a stranger, who had ingrossed all the power into his hand.

(18) *Ch. xlvi.*

his

his plot was discovered, came to him in a seeming friendly manner, and by oaths, protestations, and other crafty insinuations, such as the folly of such an attempt against his life, whilst his son *Phasaelus* held the government of *Jerusalem*, and the warlike *Herod* that of *Cæle-Syria*; easily persuaded him of his innocency, and a reconciliation was made between them. *Antipater* was even forced to make use of all his interest with *Marcus*, now governor of *Syria*, and who was well acquainted with all his private plots, to prevent his putting him to death. But *Malichus* was not to be wrought on by such an unparalleled generosity, whilst he beheld his rival's interest raised still higher by it. For about this time *Cassius* and *Marcus*, who had bestowed the government of *Cæle-Syria* on his son *Herod*, had engaged his fidelity to them by a promise to make him king of *Judæa*, as soon as the war now begun against *Marc Antony* and the young *Octavius*, since named *Augustus*, was ended. This made him dread the excessive power of *Antipater* to such a degree, that upon the first opportunity, which was soon after offered, when he was to dine with the high-priest, he bribed that pontiff's butler to poison him in a glass of wine, whilst himself with an armed force seized upon the government of *Jerusalem*. *Phasaelus* and *Herod* easily perceived that *Malichus* was at the bottom of this villainy, notwithstanding his vows and protestations to the contrary; and *Herod*, who was of a fierce temper, was for immediately revenging the fact with open force; but his brother, who rightly judged that it would be much safer to dissemble for the present, and to punish the assassin by some private stratagem, without involving the nation into a civil war, easily brought him over to his opinion<sup>s</sup>.

*Antipater  
poisoned by  
Malichus.*

ACCORDINGLY, these two brothers feigning to believe *Malichus* innocent of their father's death, the eldest went and busied himself with rearing a stately monument to him, whilst *Herod* went into *Samaria*, under pretence of suppressing some turbulent spirits there. He came some time after to *Jerusalem*, attended with a number of his men of war, to assist at the feast of pentecost; and *Malichus*, who was afraid of something worse, prevailed on *Hyrca*n to forbid him to enter that metropolis with such an escort, as would prophane that solemnity. *Herod* despising his orders, entered the city by night, but forbore attempting any thing against his enemy, though he had received full power from *Cassius* to revenge his father's death on that assassin. But a much better opportunity offered itself soon after, in which *Malichus* was

*Malichus  
outwitted  
by Herod.*

<sup>s</sup> JOSEPH. *ibid.*

caught



caught in his own craftiness. *Cassius* had taken *Lodicea*, and all the chief lords of *Syria* and *Palestine* hastened thither with their presents and congratulations; and *Malichus*, having left his son hostage with that governor, designed to have taken that opportunity of getting him off, and to have gone back and excited a revolt in *Judæa*, whilst the *Romans* were taken up with their civil wars, and then to have made a bold push for the *Jewish* crown. Whether *Herod* knew his whole design or no, he rightly guessed that he would not fail to pay his compliments to the conqueror, and so he did accordingly, he accompanying the *Jewish* pontiff thither. *Herod* fell in with them in the way, and having first obtained from *Cassius* an order to the *Tyrians* to assist him in the punishment of *Malichus*, he invited *Hyrca*n and him to a supper he had prepared for them in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, and sent his servants into that city under pretence of getting all things ready, but in reality to acquaint the officers and garison of that city with *Cassius's* orders. These sallied out accordingly, and having overtaken him, as many as could come at him at once sheathed their daggers into his body (M). *Hyrca*n, upon hearing the news of his death, remained thunderstruck for some time. At length having recovered himself, he asked, by whose orders he had been killed? And *Herod* having calmly answered, by *Cassius's*, he replied, that he could not but highly applaud the deed, since it had rid him of a very dangerous enemy<sup>h</sup>.

*Assassinated.*

<sup>h</sup> Bell. Jud. ubi supra. Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 20.

(M) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* relates this punishment of *Malichus* somewhat differently (19), and says, that *Cassius* being informed of *Antipater's* murder, exhorted *Herod* to revenge it as soon as himself was come to *Tyre*, and *Hyrca*n and *Malichus* were come to pay their respects to him there. These being come accordingly to *Tyre*, as well as *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, *Cassius* commanded his men to do whatever these two last should direct them.

Having therefore invited them all four to a feast, as soon as they had taken their afternoon's nap, as was usual in those countries, *Hyrca*n being seated near *Malichus*, and the two sons of *Antipater*, *Herod* made a sign, upon which some of *Cassius's* officers fell upon *Malichus*, and murdered him. *Hyrca*n, at sight of it fell into a swoon, from which being recovered, he asked, why they had killed the man? *Herod* pleaded ignorance, and *Hyrca*n was glad to hold his peace.

(19) Ch. xlvii.

BUT

BUT *Malichus* had left a brother behind him as turbulent New as himself, who, under the specious pretence of revenging his troubles in death, put *Judæa* again into a flame, whilst *Cassius* was gone *Judæa* to join *Brutus* in *Asia*. *Felix*, who at that time was left at the Year of the Flood 2961. Before Christ, 38. head of some *Roman* forces at *Jerusalem*, seem: also to have been gained on that side. As for *Hyrca*n, he had not courage enough to oppose them, but acquiesced in what they did; so that *Felix* attacked *Phasa*elus on the one hand, whilst *Malichus*'s brother went and took *Massada*, and some other fortresses of *Judæa*. *Herod* was then laid up with sickness at *Damascus*, and unable for a while to give his brother any assistance: but *Phasa*elus, who had still a considerable number of forces, found means to drive *Felix* and all his party out of *Jerusalem*, and from thence into some fortress, out of which he did not suffer him to come but by capitulation. By *Quelled* this time *Herod* being recovered came to his assistance, and drove the remaining part of *Malichus*'s faction out of their fortresses, and forced the brother to surrender *Massada* to him, and to capitulate for his life<sup>i</sup>. The two brothers returned to *Jerusalem*, where they reproved *Hyrca*n's baseness in the severest terms; but were soon after reconciled to him, by the marriage of *Herod* with *Mariamne*, the beautiful granddaughter of that pontiff.

IN the interim another enemy started up on the sudden, *Antigonus* namely *Antigonus*, the younger son of *Aristobulus*, *Hyrca*n's invades *Judæa*. brother. He was upheld by *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chal-* *Judæa*. *cis*, to whom he was related, and on that account had been adopted by him (N). He had likewise gained *Marion* prince

<sup>i</sup> Id. *ibid*.

(N) The reader may remember, that after *Pompey* had caused his father and brother to be put to death, *Mennæus* invited *Alexandra* into *Ghalcis*, where he afterwards married her beauteous daughter, and for her sake took both the mother and her children into his protection (20).

As for that *Marion*, who joined with young *Antigonus*, he had been lately made prince of *Tyre* by *Cassius*; for that general, being in great want of money for the carrying on the war against the triumvirs, had divided the country of *Syria* into small districts, and sold them to the highest bidders, one of whom was this *Marion*, who had bought the principality of *Tyre* of him (21). These petty tyrants, however, were afterwards turned out by *Marc Antony*, upon his coming into that province.

(20) *Conf. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13, & 21.* (21) *Id. ibid.*  
*& bell. Jud. c. 10.*



of *Tyre*, and bribed *Fabius* governor of *Damascus* into his interest; so that having gained a sufficient army, he put himself at the head of it, with an intent of reviving his father's pretensions to the kingdom; but he had scarce entered the frontiers of it, before *Herod* met him with a powerful army, and totally defeated him. This prince acted with his usual generosity towards the *Tyrians*, who had assisted his enemy, not only sparing their lives, but sending some of them home with rich presents, by which he gained the affections of that city; after which he returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, where the people, and among the rest *Hyrchan*, who now looked upon him as one of his family, came and offered him the usual compliments of crowns and congratulations. His nuptials with *Mariamne* were not, however, celebrated till some years after, when he had by her three sons and two daughters, besides his eldest son *Antipater*, whom he had by a former wife of his own country, named *Dores* <sup>k</sup>.

Marc Antony's edict in favour of the Jews.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* having been defeated in the following year by *Marc Antony* and *Octavius*, the latter marched into *Gaul*, and the former into *Syria*, to settle the affairs of that province. Upon his arrival into *Bithynia*, where he was complimented by vast crowds of ambassadors from all the neighbouring states, the *Jews* came and preferred a severe accusation against *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, as having ingrossed all the power and administration of *Judaea*, and left *Hyrchan* only the bare name of a prince. But *Herod*, who was there also, found in that general a steadfast friend, not only on account of former kindnesses which he had received from *Antipater*, whilst he served under *Gabinus* in *Judaea*, but much more on that of a large sum of money, with which he had taken care to bribe him, so that he would not so much as hear their accusers. Upon his coming to *Ephesus*, an embassy came to him from *Hyrchan*, desiring, that the *Jewish* prisoners, whom *Cassius* had formerly sold by auction, contrary to their alliance with *Rome*, might be restored to their liberty and lands. *Antony* readily granted their request, and sent an obliging letter to *Hyrchan*, which was soon followed with an edict to the *Tyrians*, and other neighbouring states, enjoining them to restore all those captives, according to *Hyrchan's* desire and the purport of the edict, which the reader may see in the margin <sup>l</sup> (O).

BUT

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. cap. 21.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. c. 22.

(O) *Marc Antony*, emperor and triumvir, &c. to the magistrates, senate, and people, of *Tyre*, greeting:

Forasmuch

BUT all these favours of the triumvir, though chiefly owing to his friendship to the sons of *Antipater*, were not able to reconcile them to the generality of the *Jews*. For as soon as *Antony* was come so near them as *Daphne* a city near *Antioch* †, he was accosted by a fresh embassy from *Jerusalem*, who preferred the old complaints to him against them. *Mes-sala* undertook their defence, and was backed by *Hyrca*n, who, looking upon them now as part of his family, was come thither to second their defence. After a full hearing, *Antony* asked the pontiff, which of the two parties he thought best qualified for the government, and being answered in favour of the two brothers, he likewise declared for them; and, as a further mark of his friendship, made them both tetrarchs, put *Judea* under their care, and wrote a letter to the sanhedrin in their favour. Fifteen of the most turbulent of their accusers were put into prison, and would have been put to death, had not *Herod* interceded for them. All this

† De hac vid. Vol. VIII. p. 444, (E). *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 25. *Bell. Jud.* l. i. c. 11.

Forasmuch as the gods have declared themselves the dire revengers of the late *Cæsar*'s death, by the total defeat of his most detestable assassins *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and by granting the triumvirate such a signal victory, as promised nothing less than a solid and lasting peace to the *Roman* empire; and forasmuch as the *Jewish* nation, notwithstanding their known and constant attachment to the *Roman* interest, has been greatly oppressed by *Cassius*, and great multitudes of them sold for slaves by him; we order the said *Jews* to be restored to their liberties, lands, and to all the privileges and immunities which had been granted to that allied nation by *Dolabella*, and charge all those cities, in which any such *Jews* are detained, whether bond or free, forthwith to discharge and restore them, pursuant to the strict tenor of this edict.

In another he writes to the *Tyrians*, that *Hyrca*n having complained to him, that they had in the late *Cassius*'s time invaded some of his territories, he expected that they should be restored to him. Nevertheless, that if they had any reasons to offer against such a restitution, they should do it upon his coming into that province, when having heard the allegations of both parties, he should decree in favour of that which had right on their side.

These edicts he ordered to be copied out in *Greek* and *Latin*, and the original to be preserved in their archives, and the copies to be affixed in some public place, where they might be publicly read. He likewise sent some others to the same purport to the *Sidonians*, and to the cities of *Antioch* and *Arad* (22).

(22) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 23.



*A third  
embassy  
sent, and  
severely  
punished.*

did only exasperate that faction the more, and produced a third embassy, which came to meet the triumvir at *Tyre*, and consisted of a thousand persons. But *Antony*, whom fresh presents, and large sums of money, had fastened still more to *Herod's* interest, sent orders to the magistracy of that place to assist him in the punishment of those factious mutineers, as he termed them; whereupon *Herod* met them out of the city, and advised them in a friendly manner not to push the matter further. *Hyrca*n likewise tried in vain to forewarn them of their danger, in case they persisted in their design. They refused all advice, till the *Tyrians*, rushing in upon them, made them repent of their rashness when it was too late. A great number were killed and wounded, and others taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. This put an end indeed to the controversy, but not to the faction, which vented their resentment against *Herod* in such open manner, that *Antony*, in a fit of anger, caused all the prisoners to be put to death <sup>m</sup>.

*Antigonus  
invades  
Judæa.*

*Herod* had no sooner weathered this storm, but another was raised against him by *Antigonus*. *Ptolemy*, the son of *Mena*us, had been succeeded by his son *Ly*sani<sup>a</sup>s, and this last had prevailed upon *Pacor*us, the son of the *Parthian* king, and his general *Bar*zan<sup>e</sup>s, who by this time had made themselves masters of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, to invade *Judæa*, depose *Hyrca*n, and set *Antigonus* on his throne; in consideration of which, the latter was to pay him a hundred talents, and five hundred women (P). *Pacor*us, pursuant to this agreement, sent his cup-bearer, named also *Pacor*us, with part of his cavalry, to invade *Judæa*. *Antigonus*, who had got together by that time a great number of discontented *Jews*, who joined him from mount *Carmel*, had made himself master of the canton of *Dryma* (Q), where a great number of other *Jews* coming still to him, persuaded him to march on to *Jerusalem*, and attack *Phasa*elus and his brother in the

*And Jeru-  
salem.*

<sup>m</sup> Id. *ibid*.

(P) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (23) says, eight hundred women, the fairest and best bred in all the country.

(Q) It is not easy to guess what canton this was, unless it be the same with the *daroma* of *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom*, by which they mean the southern part of the tribe of *Judah*, extending about twenty miles from east to west, from *Beer*sheba to the dead sea, and is called in *Hebrew* *Darom*, which signifies south (24).

(23) *Cap. xlix.*  
c. 32, & *Vol. III. p. 109.*

(24) *Vid. Reland. Palæst. illustrat. l. i.*

royal

royal palace. He marched accordingly thitherward, attended with the *Parthian* cup-bearer; and these two, being met by the two tetrarchs, were so warmly repulsed by them, that they were forced to retire into the temple. *Herod*, for the better security of that place, clapped a guard of soldiers in all the adjacent houses; but these were soon set on fire, and the soldiers burnt in them before any help could be brought. *Herod* did not let this loss go long unrevenge, but gave them a sharp defeat, in which he made a great slaughter of their party. Thus they continued skirmishing one another till the feast of pentecost, which was impatiently wished for by *Antigonus*, in hopes that the great concourse of the *Jews* to that solemnity would join forces with him against the sons of *Antipater*. He judged rightly enough, for great numbers of them resorted unto him; but as the greater part of them had neither arms nor experience, *Herod*, who, with his brother, had retired into the royal palace, and defended it, the former from within, and the other from without, made a vigorous sally upon those of the enemy, who had posted themselves in the suburbs, and drove several thousands of them before him, some into the city, and others into the temple.

THE two parties, being at length tired with shedding so much blood, came to an agreement, that *Pacorus*, who was by that time incamped without the walls of the city, should be admitted to mediate a peace between them. This project, though set on foot by *Antigonus*, who wholly relied on the friendship of the *Parthian* general, was yet agreed to by *Phasaelus*, who went out to meet him, and courteously lodged him in the royal palace. Here *Pacorus*, taking the advantage of the confidence his kind host put in him, persuaded him to go on an embassy to *Barzapharnes*, who was then governor of *Syria* under the *Parthian* king, assuring him, that it was the only means to settle his affair on a firm footing. *Herod*, who justly suspected the treachery of the *Parthians*, was intirely averse to the proposal; but *Phasaelus*, more credulous than he, consented to it; and, taking *Hircan* with him, set on the journey, attended with an escort of two hundred *Parthian* horse, and with *Pacorus*, who accompanied him all the way. Upon their arrival in *Galilee* (R), they were met with a guard of armed men, who were

(R) *Josephus* doth not tell us the place where *Barzapharnes* then was, but only that he was in *Galilee*, near the sea-side; but  
in



*Phasaëlus* were sent to conduct them to *Barzapharnes*, and *Pacorus* betrayed. returned to *Jerusalem*. Their reception in all appearance was very courteous, and *Barzapharnes* lodged them in a house near the sea-side, where *Phasaëlus* was soon after informed by some friends, of the contract which had passed between the *Parthian* king and *Antigonus*; it was then that he first became sensible of their treachery and of his danger. However, though he was earnestly intreated to make his escape, and was offered transport-ships to convey him away, yet he could not be prevailed upon to forsake either *Hyrca*n's or his brother's interest; for here he was likewise told, that *Pacorus* was sent back to *Jerusalem* to surprise *Herod* also. The best expedient therefore he could think on was, to go to *Barzapharnes*, and to expostulate the matter with him; which he did in the severest terms, telling him at the same time, that if money was the motive of his treachery to him, he was able to bribe him higher to be honest, and come over to his interest. The *Parthian* had no other way to come off, but by forswearing the charge, and assuring him, that nothing was falser than such a surmise; but as soon as he thought that *Pacorus* had made sure of *Herod*, he marched directly towards him, and ordered *Hyrca*n and *Phasaëlus* to be seized, and clapt in prison.

*Herod's  
escape.*

*Pacorus*, however, had missed his aim, and *Herod*, having had timely notice of the treachery, had found means to convey himself out of *Jerusalem*, together with his mother, his bethrothed *Mariamne*, her mother *Alexandra*, his brother *Pheroras*, with all his servants, friends, and valuable things, and a numerous escort of his own men of war, and made the best of his way towards *Idumæa*. He met with several stops in his journey (S), being forced to fight his way through the *Parthians* and *Antigonians*, who pursued him; but his va-

in his wars of the *Jews* he says (25), they met him at *Ecdipon*, which place was near the sea-shore, and at a small distance north of *Ptolemais*; but the fourth book of *Maccabees* says, it was at *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria* (26).

(S) One of them was the overturning of the chariot in which his mother sat, by which she was so terribly bruised, that her life was despaired of; which sad accident went so near his heart, that he drew his sword with full intent to kill himself, but was happily prevented by some of his retinue.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (27) says, that *Herod* sent all his family and riches before him, but that himself stayed behind with his guards to prevent their being pursued.

(25) *Ch.* xi.

(26) *Ch.* xlix.

(27) *Ibid.*

lour and that of his guards got him clear of all, and in memory of a signal defeat, which he gave them at a place about fifty stades, or seven miles, from *Jerusalem*, he afterwards built a stately palace, and called it *Herodion* <sup>n</sup>.

WHEN he was come to *Thressa*, or, as *Josephus* calls it elsewhere, *Ressa*, a small town in *Idumea*, his brother *Joseph* met him at the head of a considerable reinforcement; but when they arrived at *Massada*, the place where he designed to retire, it being a very strong and almost impregnable fortress, he found it too small to contain all his men, so that he was forced to dismiss nine thousand of them. Here he left his family and treasure, under the care of his brother *Joseph*, and of a garison of eight hundred men; and, having furnished it with all necessaries, he set out for *Petra*, the metropolis of *Arabia*, where *Malchus* had succeeded his father *Aretas*, a prince who had formerly been highly obliged to him. His design was to borrow as much money of him as would buy his brother *Phasaelus*'s freedom; and to that end he had brought his son with him, who was but seven years old, to leave him there as a pledge to the *Arabian* king. But that ungrateful prince sent him express orders to depart out of his territories, pretending, that he had been forbid by the *Parthians* to receive him; so that he was forced to dismiss some of his attendants, and to make the best of his way into E-  
gypt.

Goes into  
Arabia.

And Egypt

IN the mean while, his flight out of *Jerusalem* having been discovered by the very next morning, the first thing the *Parthians* did was, to plunder his palace, city, and all the country about it. They spared, however, *Hyrca*n's treasure, which amounted to three hundred talents, and some of *Herod*'s riches that were left behind; but they made themselves amends by the plunder of *Marissa*, an opulent city, which they totally destroyed. *Antigonus* was next installed on the *Jewish* throne, according to their agreement, and *Phasaelus* and *Hyrca*n were soon after brought to him in chains. The new king, however, did not think proper to put the high-priest to death, but contented himself with incapacitating him for the pontifical function, by causing his ears to be cut off (T). As for *Hyrca*n's  
*Phasaelus*, ears cut  
off.

<sup>n</sup> Antiq. ubi supra. cap. 25. the reader may see that palace described by *JOSEPH*. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 16.

(T) The *Mosaic* law (28) required, that the high-priest should

(28) Vid. *Levit.* xxi. 16, & Vol. III. p. 235.



Phasaelus's death

*Phasaelus*, he easily foresaw that he could not escape some cruel death; but being bound with chains, and unable to kill himself by any other way, he knocked his brains out against a stone. Our historian adds, that there was a report that his wounds not being mortal, *Antigonus* sent some physicians to him, under pretence of trying to cure, but in reality to poison them, and make sure of him. However, he had the pleasure before his death to hear that his brother was escaped, and got to *Rhinocorura*, and there it was that *Herod* heard of his death. The *Parthians* having thus far performed their contract with *Antigonus*, began their march homeward, and took the unfortunate high-priest with them, to prevent any fresh tumults being raised upon his account.

Herod's success at Rome.

By that time *Herod* was got from *Rhinocorura* to *Pelusium*, he received a message from the *Arabian* king, who was now ashamed of his baseness, with an apology and new offers of his service; but he rejected them, and would have imbarqued for *Rome*, but the sailors obstinately refused to take him in; whereupon he applied himself to the magistrates of the city, who received him with great honour, and provided him another ship. During his stay in *Egypt*, he was courted by *Cleopatra* to continue there longer; the *Maccabite* book often quoted adds, that she offered to make him her prime minister, and general of all her forces; but he was fully bent upon going to *Rome* with all speed, and getting on board a vessel, which was bound to *Pamphylia*, a violent storm forced them to land at *Rhodes*, where he met with some friends and assistance, and passed thence to *Brundisium*, and came at length to *Rome*. Here he addressed himself first to *Antony*, and then to *Octavianus*, to whom he related all that had happened in *Judaea*, and the desperate condition his affairs were in; and partly by his intreaties, and reminding them of his father's friendship to *Julius Cæsar*, and partly by the promise of a large sum of money, did so work upon them, that they resolved to assist him to the utmost of their power. *Antony*, on the score of the old kindnesses of *Antipater*, did even perform more than *Herod* expected or even desired of them. The utmost of his aim was, to have had *Aristobulus*, the brother

° Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11.

be perfect in all his limbs, &c. so that upon the loss of any of them, he was immediately divested of that office, and another was to be chosen in his room.

*Josephus* adds, that *Antigonus* was not able to pay the *Parthian* king the five hundred women, because *Herod* had seized upon them, and carried them off into his place of retreat.

of

of his beloved *Mariamne*, settled on the throne (U), and himself to have been at the head of the *Jewish* affairs under him, as his father had been under *Hyrcau*; whereas the triumvirs did actually resolve to procure him the crown, tho' this was contrary to the *Roman* method, who, in cases of the like nature, did always pay such a due regard to the royal line of their dependent kings, as not to set up a stranger over them; but our triumvirs interest easily over-ruled that good maxim.

THE senate was accordingly convened, and *Herod* introduced to them by *Messala* and *Atratinus*, two noble senators, who there set forth the merits of *Antipater's* family to the *Roman* nation, and represented *Antigonus* as a turbulent and seditious person, and a known enemy to their nation, who had not scrupled to accept of the *Jewish* crown from the hands of the *Parthians*. To this *Antony* added, how advantageous it would be to his expedition against *Parthia*, to have such a steadfast friend as *Herod* to be king of *Judæa*; upon which he was unanimously chosen by the senate, and *Antigonus* voted an enemy to them. As soon as the decree was passed, *Herod* was conducted with great ceremony into the capitol, *Octavianus* and *Antony* marching on each side of him (W), accompanied by the consuls and senators; where, after the usual sacrifices, the decree was deposited among the archives, after which *Antony* gave them a magnificent entertainment. Thus *Herod* became king of *Judæa*, by the friendship and interest of *Antony* and *Augustus*, in the consulship of *Caius Domitius Calvinus* and *Caius Asinius Pollio*. The condition he had left his affairs in *Judæa*, and his family in *Idumea*, not permitting to stay longer than seven days after his inauguration, he set out again from *Brundisium*, and sailed from thence to *Ptolemais*, where he landed about the latter end of the sum-

Created  
king of  
Judæa.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2961.  
Before  
Christ,  
38.

(U) This prince had certainly the best title to the crown, being the son of *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcau*, by *Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus*, the brother of that pontiff; so that the right of those two brothers were united in him.

(W) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* adds (29), that the senate ordered him a golden crown, and to be conducted to and from the capitol on horseback, whilst a herald marched before him, crying, *Long live Herod, king of the Jews, and of the holy city*.

*Antony* having afterwards given the company a sumptuous feast, he and *Herod* imbarqued with a numerous army, and being arrived at *Antioch*, he ordered one half to go with him into *Judæa*, and with the other he marched into *Parthia*.

(29) Cap. 1.



mer, so that he spent but three months in this expedition both by sea and land <sup>P</sup>.

Massada  
besieged by  
Antigonus.

WHILE he was thus successful at Rome, *Antigonus* had so closely besieged the fortress of *Massada*, that though it was well provided with all other necessaries, yet they were much distressed for want of water, insomuch, that *Joseph*, who commanded there, was contriving means to make a desperate sally, and to break through the besiegers, in order to escape into *Arabia* and get some fresh succour from *Malchus*, who, as we hinted before, was highly ashamed of his late treatment of *Herod*. But, happily for him, the very night he intended to sally out, there fell such a heavy rain, as filled all their cisterns again; so that he thought on nothing now but how to make a brave defence, till his brother came and relieved him, whilst he still made some bold sallies, and killed not a few of the besiegers. In the mean time, *Ventidius* the Roman general in Syria, having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, under pretence of relieving *Massada*, but in reality to extort money from *Antigonus*: for as soon as this last had satisfied his greediness with a good round sum, he marched away, leaving, for formality's sake, some part of his men with *Silo*, a pensioner, whom *Antigonus* had been forced to make by dint of money, till he could get himself strengthened by the *Parthians*, whose assistance he was still in hopes of.

Mariamne's character.

*Herod* on the other hand was not idle, his thoughts were wholly bent upon relieving his distressed family; but especially his beloved *Mariamne*, a princess, who was indeed very well worth all his care and concern, whether we consider her as descended from a long series of illustrious kings and high-priests, or a person of exalted virtue and merit, and adorned with the most endearing charms of body and mind. As soon therefore as he was arrived at *Ptolemais*, he got an army together of *Jewish* and other troops, which his generosity still increased as fast as he went, insomuch, that a very little time had brought almost the whole province of *Galilee* into his interest. At the same time his friend *Antony* sent orders by *Dellius* to *Ventidius* to assist him with all his forces; so that he was now strong enough to march against *Antigonus* and to relieve *Massada*. He stopped, however, to lay siege to *Joppa*, a place of too great importance to be left behind in the hands of the enemy. *Silo* took this opportunity to withdraw his forces from him, and was like to have paid dear for his desertion. For *Antigonus* fell upon him, and had infalli-

Joppa  
taken by  
Herod.

<sup>P</sup> Antiq. ibid. c. 26, 27. Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 12.

bly defeated him, had not *Herod* come to his rescue. *Joppa* being soon after surrendered, he marched directly to relieve his besieged friends, and, in spite of the many ambushes which *Antigonus* did lay in his way, and the treachery of *Silo*, who extorted money from both sides, and did all he could to obstruct instead of assisting him; he reached *Massada*, *Massada* forced the enemy to raise the siege (X), and was joyfully relieved. received by all his family <sup>1</sup>.

By this time *Herod's* army was greatly increased, not only by the garison of *Massada*, but by other reinforcements, marches which came voluntary from other parts, and enabled him to go and form the siege of *Jerusalem*. He took *Rheffa* in his way, and being come before the metropolis, he caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed, extending to all, none except-

<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.*

(X) The fourth book of *Maccabees* adds (30), that *Herod* surprised *Antigonus* before the place, and made a vigorous attack on one side of him, whilst *Joseph* sallied out against him on the other; so that he was totally defeated, and forced to flee into *Jerusalem*, whither *Herod* pursued him, and laid close siege to him.

It will not be amiss to close this note with a hint on a more remarkable occurrence out of our learned *Usher* (31), namely the birth of *Saloninus*, (so called by his father *Afinius Pollio*, the then Roman consul, in memory of his taking *Salonæ*, a city in *Dalmatia*) and which gave occasion to the fourth eclogue of *Virgil*, in which that poet has given such a noble description of the golden age, which this child was to restore to the world, that he is justly supposed to have stolen it, not so much out of the pretended sibylline oracles, as from the prophecies concerning the reign of the Messiah, the true prince of peace. For, as they were translated by that time into *Greek*, they may be reasonably supposed to have been read by him, and perhaps further explained to him by the *Jews*, who, if we may believe *Cicero* (32), were very numerous at that time at *Rome*.

That *Virgil* proved a false prophet with respect to his wonderful child, the event has shewn, since he lived but nine days. But that the more miraculous child *Jesus*, who was born forty years after (33), has left us such a divine set of laws, as fully answer the glorious description which the prophets have given us of his reign; and which, duly and universally observed, would easily eclipse all that the poets have sung concerning their fabulous golden age, cannot be denied, our enemies themselves being judges.

(30) *Ibid.*  
Orat. pro Flacc.

(31) *Annal. sub. A. M. 3964.*

(32)

(33) *Prid. Connect. sub an. A. C. 40. Vid.*  
Arch. Chandler's defence of christianity.



ed, that had joined with *Antigonus*, and came over to him within a limited time. To this *Antigonus* answered, addressing himself to *Silo* and the rest of the *Roman* soldiers, who were come to assist *Herod* in the siege ; “ that it was a shameful injustice in the senate to set a private person on the throne, who was an *Idumean*, or half *Jew*, contrary to the *Jewish* laws and right of succession ; that if they resented his receiving the crown from the *Parthians*, there were still enough left of the royal and sacerdotal race, who had deserved, to the full, as well of the *Romans* as *Herod*, and on whom they might more justly bestow it.” The contest between the two rivals rose at length to such a height, that *Antigonus* caused some volleys of arrows to be shot upon the enemy, and forced them to retire. Here arose a fresh mutiny, supposed to have been underhand encouraged by *Silo* ; his soldiers complaining aloud of the want of money, provisions, and better winter-quarters ; *Herod* was forced to send out for fresh supplies for them, which came afterwards in such plenty, that there was not the least pretence left for a revolt. The city of *Jericho* did, however, fall a sacrifice to the *Roman* greediness ; they plundered it of all its riches, which amounted to an immense value ; after which *Herod* was forced to send them into winter-quarters in *Samaria*, *Idumea*, and *Galilee*, whilst *Antigonus*, to curry favour with *Antony*, obtained of *Silo*, as a great favour, that part of the *Roman* army might be sent into *Lydda*, which still held out for him.

THE season by this time being too far advanced to begin the siege of *Jerusalem*, *Herod*, having well glutted and quartered his *Roman* auxiliaries, sent his brother *Joseph* into *Idumea*, with a thousand foot and four hundred horse, whilst he went and secured his family in the city of *Samaria* ; from thence he went and took some fortresses in *Galilee* from *Antigonus*, and among others that of *Sephoris*, which had been abandoned by the garison, and where he found great store of provisions. From thence he sent a detachment into the territories of *Arbela*, which was sadly infested with gangs of banditti ; but as they could not ferret them out of their lurking-places, he marched against them with his whole army, and was as boldly encountered by their whole force. An obstinate fight ensued, in which his left wing began to give way ; but he came so timely to their aid, that he gained a complete victory ; by which he became master of all *Galilee*, except those rocky parts into which the defeated banditti retired. He rewarded his troops with a noble donative of a hundred and fifty drachms to each private

vate man, and so proportionably to those of a higher rank, and then sent them into winter-quarters. *Silo* left him soon after to follow *Ventidius* into *Parthia*, and *Herod*, who could hardly stay for the return of the spring to put himself into action, resolved, if possible, to rid himself and the country of the remaining gangs of banditti. The inaccessibleness of their lurking-holes made it almost impracticable; but *Herod* having caused a number of iron chests to be made and filled with soldiers, which let them down with iron chains, he made great execution amongst them, till night obliged them to withdraw, when he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed to all who should come and surrender themselves. But this having reduced but a few of them, his soldiers by next morning went and set some combustible matter on fire at the mouth of their caverns, put all within in a flame, and smothered those it could not burn; and yet such was their obstinacy, that they chose rather to perish than accept of a pardon. A notable instance of which the reader may see in the margin (Y).

*Herod*, thinking by this time that he had pretty near reduced their gang, left the country under the command of *Ptolemy*, at the head of as many forces as he thought would suffice to keep it in awe; and took the road to *Samaria*, where he had left his family, with a design to go, and either begin the siege of *Jerusalem*, or bring *Antigonus* to a battle. He was no sooner gone, but those whom he had lately drove over *Jordan* returned again, slew *Ptolemy*, and ravaged the country afresh; so that he was forced to come back with fresh forces, with which he so effectually destroyed them and their lurking-places, and fined those towns so severely, which had given them either shelter or relief, that he quite rid the province of that destructive vermine.

Id. ibid.

(Y) Our historian tells us (34), that an old man being hid in one of these caverns, his wife and seven sons, who were with him, did earnestly beseech him to suffer them to surrender themselves; but he, placing himself at the mouth of the cave, stabbed them one after another, as they attempted to pass by him, and cast them down the precipice, and himself next, after having vented some scandalous reflections on the meanness of *Herod's* extraction, who was at the same time making him all the signs of pardon and clemency.

(34) *Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 28. sub fin. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.*

THE



Antigonus's ill  
treatment  
of Machæras.

THE Parthians having been defeated soon after by *Ventidius*, as shall be seen in the next chapter, that general, by order of *Antony*, sent *Machæras* with two legions and a thousand horse to assist *Herod* in his war against *Antigonus*; but this last having gained him over by a large sum, *Machæras* would needs march towards him under pretence of examining the strength of the place. *Herod*, having tried in vain to dissuade him from it, began to suspect him of some treachery; but held his peace for the present. Not so did *Antigonus*, who seeing the *Romans* draw near the walls of *Jerusalem*, conceived such jealousy of them, that he caused his men to let fly some volleys of arrow and stones against them, which so exasperated him, that he returned to *Emmaus*, and turned his arms against the *Jews* there, slaying indiscriminately all that came in his way, and among them a number of *Herod's* friends. *Herod*, who was then on the point of going to pay his respects to *Antony* at the siege of *Samofata*, threatened to complain of it to him; but *Machæras*, hastening after, prevailed upon him to be reconciled, and to leave his brother *Joseph*, and a number of forces with him, to carry on the war during his absence; on this condition, however, that they should undertake nothing that was hazardous till his return. In his march to *Antony's* camp, he was forced to fight his way through some bands of free-booters, or, as the fourth of the *Maccabees* calls them<sup>c</sup>, wild *Arabs*, who had attacked him in the rear, which would have been all cut off, if he had not come back to their assistance and defeated the thievish gang. At his arrival before *Samofata*, he was received with all the marks of honour and esteem by the *Roman* triumvir, and did him many gallant services at that siege. In requital of which, when the city was taken, *Antony* left *Sosius* governor of *Syria* with the command of the *Roman* forces, and orders to assist *Herod* with them whenever he required it.

Joseph de-  
feated and  
killed.

*Herod* on his return found his affairs strangely altered for the worse; his brother *Joseph*, having forgot his orders, had made an incursion against *Jericho*, with his own troops, and five legions, which he received from *Machæras*; but the *Roman* horse being unfit for such rocky ground as he was then incamped upon, the enemy surprised and defeated him, after a noble defence, in which himself was killed by *Pappus* the *Roman* general. *Antigonus* caused his head to be cut off, and carried in triumph with him; but his brother *Pheroras* redeemed it soon after at the price of fifty talents. The con-

<sup>c</sup> Cap. lii.

sequence of this defeat was the total revolt of *Galilee*, where the wealthiest of *Herod's* party were barbarously flung in great numbers into the lake of *Tiberias*. *Idumea* was also on the point of revolting, when *Herod* appeared at the head of a fresh army, and in a little time reduced those two provinces again. At *Jericho*, where he gave an entertainment to his friends, he was twice in danger of his life, the first time by the fall of the banquetting-house, which the guests had but just quitted; and on the next day by a party of six thousand *Antigonians*, who came and assaulted his vanguard, and where he received a wound. His army still increasing, and *Machæras* stoutly defending himself against *Antigonus*, a battle was soon fought between the two antagonists, wherein *Herod* gained a complete victory, and made a horrid slaughter of the enemy: *Pappus* being found among the dead, he ordered his head to be cut off, and sent to *Pheroras*. His eagerness to revenge his brother's death, made him pursue his flying enemy with such uncommon swiftness and cruelty, that, had he not been prevented, by a violent storm, he might have gone strait to *Jerusalem*, and have taken it with ease; *Antigonus* being by that time so reduced, that he was upon the point of abandoning it; but by that time winter coming on, and the soldiers not being able to bear the fatigues of a siege, *Herod* put them into winter-quarters, and set about getting ready all things necessary for beginning it early the following spring<sup>t</sup>.

WHILST these preparations were making, *Herod* went to *Samaria*, and there consummated his marriage with *Mariamne*, whom he had betrothed four years before; but had been hindered from marrying through the many troubles he was intangled in, though he had an extreme desire to see this union once happily accomplished (Z). By this time he had got a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, and *Sosius*, who had been sent to his assistance at the head of eleven legions and six thousand horse, besides some auxiliary troops hired from

<sup>t</sup> Antiq. & bell. Jud. ubi supra.

(Z) We have already given the character and descent of this excellent princess, and *Herod* had great reason to hope that this marriage would effectually reconcile him to the Jewish nation, whom he knew to retain an affectionate zeal for the *Asmonean* family, of which she was descended by the two brothers, *Hyrca*n and *Aristobulus*, as we hinted in a former note. This he thought would likewise facilitate the surrender of *Jerusalem*, by withdrawing numbers of the besieged Jews from the faction of *Antigonus*.

*Syria*,



Jerusalem  
besieged by  
Herod.

*Syria*, was marching through *Phœnice* to join him, and with this numerous army they went and besieged *Jerusalem* (A). The besieged on the other hand were no less numerous and resolute for a vigorous defence, the city being filled with *Jews*, who flocked thither from all parts of the kingdom. But these wanted military experience, and trusted either to their strength and courage, or to the sacredness of the temple, which they seemed confident would be defended by some miraculous providence, against an *Idumean* usurper and an army of idolatrous *Romans*. They did likewise annoy the besiegers by frequent private sallies, in which they spoiled great quantities of their provisions and forage. But on the fortieth day of the siege, the *Romans*, in spite of the stout resistance from within, found means to scale the outward wall, and to make themselves masters of it; and on the fiftieth they got within the second, when some of the galleries about the temple being set on fire, *Herod* threw all the odium of it on *Antigonus*. The lower city being taken, the besieged betook themselves to the higher and to the temple, where they suffered very much through famine, it being the *sabbatic* year \*. However, they built a new wall instead of that which was beaten down, countermined the enemy, and fought sometimes above and sometimes under ground, and with more despair than true courage. At length, after a five months close siege, by so numerous an army (B), *Herod*, finding them as obstinate as ever, ordered a general assault to be made, which both his and the *Roman* troops performed with such vigour, that they forced them at length to surrender. *Antigonus* himself came down from a tower, where he had defended himself as long as he could, threw himself at *Sossus's* feet, and in the most

\* De hoc vid. Vol. III. p. 190.

(A) *Josephus* tells us, that the *Roman* legions did not consist of a certain number, but amounted, some to four thousand, some to five thousand, and some to six thousand; but, however, if we take them at the lowest, and join to them the *Jewish* and *Syrian* forces, this army must have amounted to above sixty thousand men.

(B) All this while *Herod* still behaved with great moderation towards the *Antigonians*, not only promising them his pardon and kind reception, but, at their desire, supplying them with all necessary victims for their daily and other sacrifices, not doubting but that he might in time mollify them into a surrender, but all proved in vain (34).

(34) *Antiq. ubi supra, cap. 28. sub fin. bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.*

abject and submissive guise implored his mercy. But the elated *Roman*, instead of expressing the least concern for that unfortunate prince, upbraided him with cowardice and effeminacy, calling him in the feminine gender *Antigona*, and ordered him to be put under a strong guard. The *Romans* at the same time, having dispersed themselves through all the quarters of the upper city, made a terrible slaughter of the *Jews*, and plundered and ravaged every place they came near, to be revenged, as they expressed it, for the length and fatigue of the siege. The very sanctuary was in danger of undergoing the same fate, had not *Herod* prevented it, partly by fair, partly by threatening words, and even by mere force. He sent at the same time a severe message to *Sosius*, complaining, that if this plunder and butchery were not stopped, the *Romans* would leave him king only of a bare wilderness; and that as for himself, he should look upon his success as the most unhappy thing that could befall him, if it must be attended with the profanation of that sacred place, the access to which was permitted to none but to the *Jewish* priests. To all this *Sosius* answered, that he did not well know how to forbid his troops the plundering of a place that had been taken by assault; so that *Herod* saw himself under a necessity of saving both temple and city from all further devastation, by a large donative out of his own coffers.

THUS was this city taken after a siege of near six months (C), and with its surrender ended the reign of the *Asmoneans*, after it had continued a hundred and twenty nine years, from *Judas Maccabeus* taking the *Jewish* government upon him (D). *Antigonus*, the last male of that race that

*Antigonus*  
put to  
death.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2962.

(C) Reckoning from *Herod's* first setting down before it; for was not till some time after that *Sosius* joined him with his troops and carried on the siege jointly with him.

it Before  
Christ,  
37.

(D) *Josephus* reckons but a hundred and twenty six years (35); but he must be understood only from the time that *Judas* was established in his government by his peace with *Antiochus*, three years after he had taken it into his hands.

It is true, however, his successors did not take the title of kings, as we have seen in the course of this section, till *Aristobulus*, or rather till *Alexander Jannæus*; but that family still enjoyed the peculiar privilege of joining the pontifical with the regal or supreme dignity.

(35) *Ibid.*



bore the regal title, was clapped in irons by *Sofius*, who, having presented a crown of gold to the temple, left *Jerusalem*, and took the unhappy prince with him, and delivered him to *Antony*; by whom he was, at the earnest solicitations of *Herod*, put to a shameful death (E), in the third year of his reign <sup>u</sup>.

## S E C T. V.

*The history of the Jews from Herod to the birth of*  
CHRIST.

Herod's  
cruel be-  
ginning.

THE taking of *Jerusalem* and the death of *Antigonus* having now fixed *Herod* upon the *Jewish* throne, he was soon obliged to bend his thoughts on two important concerns; the one to replenish his coffers exhausted,

<sup>u</sup> Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13. Vid. & USSER. sub A. M. 3967.

(E) The *Jewish* historian observes, that *Antony* would willingly have reserved *Antigonus* for his future triumph, but that *Herod*, who feared every thing from his rival, if he should ever have an opportunity to plead his own cause before the senate, ceased not to importune that general to put him to death, and obtained it at last by a large sum of money. But he caused that unhappy prince to be executed in so shameful a manner, as has given just occasion to several antient authors to condemn it, as a piece of injustice and cruelty, never till then allowed of by the *Romans* (36).

For having caused him to be condemned as a private criminal, and without regard to his illustrious descent, the sentence was executed accordingly at *Antioch*, where, having been first tied and whipped at a stake, his head was cut off, after having been all along flattered with promises of life. This punishment, *Strabo* in the place above quoted observes, had never been inflicted on any crowned head; but *Antony* thought it necessary by such an ignominious death to render him contemptible to the *Jews*, to prevent their raising any new tumults against his generous friend *Herod* (37).

(36) Vid. int. al. *Plutarch. in Anton. Dion. lib. xlix Strab. ap Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 1.* (37) *Ibid.*

partly

partly by the large sums with which he had been forced to buy the friendship of the *Roman* generals, and even *Antony* himself; and partly by the profuseness with which he rewarded his own and the *Roman* troops for their past services, and especially for saving the city and temple from plunder and ruin: the other was to suppress the opposite *Jewish* faction, which, in spite of his rival's ignominious death, retained an invincible attachment to the *Asmonean* family, and an irreconcilable hatred to his own. These two points, which could not be gained, the one without a great deal of oppression, and the other without much cruelty and blood-shed, we must look upon as the two main springs of all his actions, and the causes of his uneasy reign. Accordingly, upon his having got possession of that metropolis, he caused all the gold, silver, and other valuable things he found in it; to be carried into his own palace, by which he amassed immediately an immense treasure; but as a great part of it had been already promised to the *Romans*, and was actually given to them, he reimbursed himself by the forfeiture of the estates of the *Antigonian* faction, causing the wealthiest of them to be seized, and forty five of the principal of them to be put to death (A). And such was his jealousy in this respect, that

(A) We took notice in the last section, that *Herod* spared that very *Sameas*, who had appeared the most intrepid against him, at his trial before the sanhedrin; as well as *Pollio*, another learned and valuable *Jew*, who had been a great stickler for *Hyrca*n against him; and these were not the only two instances of *Herod's* clemency. We have elsewhere seen other marks of his generous forgiveness; and it is likely, that if he could have supported his new regal dignity without those violent means, which the obstinacy of the *Jews* and the emptiness of his coffers forced him to, it would have been much more agreeable to his temper, which was really generous even to profuseness.

However, we must own, that these two great men, whom he not only spared above all the rest, but took into his special favour and confidence, had, notwithstanding all the incense which the rabbies give them for their courage and intrepidity, taken care to make their peace with him during the siege, by exhorting the besieged to open their gates to him.

For whilst the *Antigonian* faction were encouraging the superstitious *Jews* with crying the temple of the Lord, and making them expect some miraculous deliverance, these two politicians, foreseeing that the city could not hold out much longer against such a vigorous siege, and under the excessive want of all provisions, did with a kind of prophetic confidence assure them, that all resistance was vain, since the thing was from the Lord, who for their sins was now bringing them in subjection to this foreigner.



that he caused guards to be planted at their gates, to examine, as they were carrying them to their graves, whether they were really dead, and whether any riches were conveyed off with their bodies ; in which case they were seized upon and sent into his treasury. Upon the whole, his necessities and profuseness were so great, that he spared no extortion to supply them ; insomuch, that this being the *sabbatic* year, in which there was neither planting nor sowing, and all the country round about having been so terribly plundered and ravaged, both before and during the siege, nothing less than a grievous famine was expected to have filled the whole land <sup>a</sup>.

*Herod* had still another rival left, who, though at a great distance from him, and kept as it were, a prisoner in *Parthia*, did

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. l. xv. c. 1. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 13.

(38). So that had *Herod* been of a more vindictive temper than he really was, yet this piece of service could not have failed of reconciling them to his favour.

There was indeed some ground for what they affirmed in favour of *Herod*, if what *Josephus* (39) says be true, that one *Menabem*, a cotemporary of theirs and an *Essenian*, endowed with the spirit of prophecy, had long before foretold his rise to the crown ; the story runs thus :

*Herod* being met one day by this *Menabem*, then a boy, whilst himself was amongst his school-fellows, was accosted by him in a serious manner, with a *Hail, king of the Jews* ; and was assured by him, that providence had determined to raise him from his *Plebeian* extraction to that supreme dignity. The young prophet at the same time bid him remember, when he was come to it, that it was his duty to govern with justice and equity, though, added he in the conclusion, I foresee, that you will take quite different methods, and thereby bring a miserable end upon your head.

*Herod*, however, did not think any more of it till he had got the crown ; but then calling to mind his prediction, he sent for him, to inquire how long he should reign, not doubting but that he, who had foretold him the one, might as easily tell him the other. *Menabem*, not answering directly to the question, was asked again, whether he thought that he should reign ten years ; Yes, yes, answered the *Essene*, twenty or thirty, and there he stopped ; and *Herod*, being satisfied with that number, urged him no further.

(38) *Id. ibid. Vid. & l. xiv. c. 17.*  
c 13.

(39) *Antiq. l. xv.*

did not suffer his mind to be at ease, till he had quite rid himself of him. This was *Hyrca*, the deposed king and high-priest, whom *Pacorus* had carried thither with him in chains. But when *Pbraartes* came to be informed of his high birth and dignity, he generously took off his chains, and permitted him to live in *Babylon*, where he was highly respected, not only by the great numbers of *Jews* who dwelt in that city, but likewise by all those that lived beyond the *Euphrates*, who all looked upon him as their rightful prince and high-priest. Their veneration for him was raised still higher, when they understood, that *Herod* had filled the pontifical chair with an old acquaintance of his own, named *Ananel*, a descendant of one of those priestly families that settled at *Babylon* after the captivity, and whom that politic prince caused to be fetched from thence, merely on the score of his meanness and obscurity; that being without friends or interest in *Judæa*, he might be contented with his sacerdotal function, without interfering with the regal prerogative.

*Hyrca* might then have thought himself happy in his exile, *Hyrca-* being thus respected by the *Parthian* king, and by all the *Jews* of the dispersion: yet such was his love for his country, *nus's be- pine's in* or rather his fatal confidence in the new *Jewish* monarch, *Parthia*. that, as soon as he heard of his being on the throne, he conceived a great desire of spending the remainder of his life with him. His friends, to whom he communicated his thoughts, tried in vain to dissuade him from it, by representing to him the folly and hazard of putting himself in that monarch's power, especially since he could hardly expect either greater honour or happiness at *Jerusalem*, than he enjoyed at *Babylon*. But could arguments have prevailed with him, *Herod* would have left no means untried to have frustrated them, and made sure of him. He began, however, with sending him a kind invitation to come and bear a partnership with him of his power and grandeur, and reap *Perfueded to return into Ju- dæa.*

*Menabem* was then, it seems (40), vice president of the sanhedrin, under *Hillel*, the same, as is supposed, whom *Josephus* calls *Pollio*; but *Herod*, having drawn him into his service, appointed *Sameas*, to succeed him in that office. From that time, not only *Menabem*, but his whole sect, grew in great favour with that monarch. We shall find a proper place to speak more fully of the *Essenes*, when we come to describe the different sects which reigned in our Saviour's time among the *Jews*.

{40} *Vid. Prid. Connect. part. 2. lib. viii sub A. ant. Christ.* 37  
*usc*



the fruits of his gratitude to him for his former kindness. But lest this invitation should fail, he backed it with an embassy to *Phraartes*, in which he begged of him to give the pontiff leave to return to *Judæa*. *Santacalla*, who was charged with this embassy, was ordered to make some considerable presents to the *Parthian* king and court, and succeeded so well in his negotiation, that *Hyrca*n, in spite of all the remonstrances of his friends to the contrary, left his safe asylum for *Jerusalem*, where *Herod* at first received him with great friendship and magnificence, and forgot nothing that could possibly conceal the treacherous design he was hatching against his life <sup>b</sup>.

WHILST this was doing, *Herod* was not a little disturbed with domestic jars. *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrca*n and mother of *Aristobulus* and *Mariamne*, a woman of a haughty spirit, could not bear, with any patience, to see an obscure *Babylonish* priest preferred before her son to the pontifical dignity, from which *Hyrca*n was now disabled by the loss of his ears. She was ever expostulating with him the injury done to her son, and insisting, that the pontifical dignity belonging in right of succession to him alone, as being descended by father and mother from *Alexander Jannæus* (B), none but he ought in justice to be invested with it. But *Herod*, who was conscious that the young prince had an equal right likewise to the regal dignity, which he now usurped from him, was afraid to grant her the one, lest she should find some means in time of seizing upon the other. This obliged her to write to *Cleopatra*, not doubting but her interest with *Antony* might greatly influence that general in favour of her son. It was impossible for her to carry on that correspondence so closely, but *Herod* had some intimation of it; and fearing the worst from those two intriguing princesses, he was forc-

<sup>b</sup> A ntiqu. ubi supra, cap. 2.

(B) *Aristobulus*, as the son of *Alexander*, and grandson of *Hyrca*n and of *Aristobulus*, the sons of *Alexander Jannæus*, had the right both to the regal and pontifical dignity united in him. For he was grandson to the former by his mother *Alexandra*, who was his only child; and by his father *Alexander*, he was grandson to *Aristobulus*. By his descent from the latter, he had a right to the high-priesthood, which was fixed to the male line; and by his descent from both, he would have had the only title to the crown also, had not the *Romans* transferred it to *Herod* (41).

(41) *Antiq.* l. xv. cap. 2, § 3.

ed

ed for the present to consent to have *Ananel* deposed, and *Aristobulus* invested with that dignity, pretending, that he had only given it to the former, till the latter was come to be of an age fit for it (C).

THIS condescension of *Herod*, backed with so plausible an excuse, wrought a kind of reconciliation between them, but which was nothing less than sincere on either side, especially on *Herod's*, who still suspected the intrigues of the mother, and the merit of the son, whose high birth and blooming vir-

(C) This is the third person that had hitherto been deposed from the pontifical dignity since the *Jews* return from the *Babylonish* captivity; and *Herod* was so sensible of the illegality of it, that when *Antony* sent to desire him to put *Aristobulus* into *Ananel's* room, he excused himself from it at first, by remonstrating to him, that such depositions were contrary to the *Mosaic* law; according to which, it is certain, that dignity could not end but with the death of its possessor, unless some illegal defect happened to disqualify him †.

The first instance we read of this irregular proceeding is, that of *Jason's* or *Jesus's* supplanting his brother *Onias*, and by a larger sum of money buying that dignity from *Antiochus*, in prejudice of the incumbent (42). The other was that of *Hyrca*n by his nephew *Aristobulus*, who wrested that dignity from him by main force. But these depositions became afterwards so frequent, that there was hardly any other way of coming into that office, but by the expulsion of the incumbent.

The fourth book of the *Maccabees* says, that *Antony* having sent a pressing command to *Herod* to send *Aristobulus* to him, *Herod*, not daring to venture that young prince out of his sight, hastened to make him high-priest before he read that general's orders; and then sent him word, that, he being now invested with the pontifical dignity, it was unlawful for him to stir out of the *Jewish* dominions (43).

*Josephus* agrees in part with that author (44), but adds, that *Antony* having received the pictures of *Mariamne* and *Aristobulus*, which their mother, by the advice of *Cleopatra*, had sent to him, that their extreme beauty might make a favourable impression on that effeminate general; *Antony*, not daring to send for *Mariamne*, desired only *Aristobulus* to be sent to him. But *Herod*, not daring to trust so beautiful a young person, who was then but sixteen years old, with one so infamous for his incontinency, was forced to excuse his refusal, with pretending, that the young prince was so great a darling of the *Jewish* nation, that it would infallibly involve it in a civil war, should he comply with his request.

† *De hoc. vid. Vol. III p. 234, & seq. (42) See Vol. IX. p. 596. (43) Cap. lv. (44) ubi supra, cap. 2.*



Herod  
plagued  
with  
domestic  
wars.

tues, joined to a graceful person, attracted the eyes and hearts of the *Jewish* nation. Upon some pretence therefore or other, he quarrelled with *Alexandra*, forbade her to meddle with any public affairs, and at last caused her to be confined to her palace and to be closely watched. In the mean time, *Cleopatra* having sent her and her son an invitation to come to her, she was easily persuaded to accept it, since she could now only look upon herself as *Herod's* prisoner, from whose jealousy she had every thing to fear. The difficulty was how to conceal their flight from his watchful spies: she intrusted her design only to two faithful servants, one of whom was to procure her a ship to carry them off, and the other to provide two coffins, one for her son, and the other for herself, to convey them in that manner to the ship. But unfortunately one of the two servants inadvertently mentioned the matter to a third, whom he thought to have been in the secret, who immediately took hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself to *Herod*, and made a full discovery of the design. *Herod* stayed only till the mother and son were conveyed some part of the way in their coffins, and then caused them to be arrested, and brought back. His fear, however, of *Cleopatra's* resentment, prevented his expressing his own against them; and since he found it unsafe to punish them, he put on the mask of clemency, and was outwardly reconciled to them, but from that moment resolved to get rid of the young prince.

AN accident happened soon after, which determined him to hasten his death. The feast of the tabernacles, one of the three grand festivals, was come, which was usually solemnized with the greatest magnificence †; when the new high-priest, who was then about seventeen years of age, appeared at the altar in his pontifical ornaments, and officiated with such majesty and grace, that the people thought they beheld all the merit and grandeur of his ancestors revived in him. They could not forbear filling the temple and city with their praises, which raised the tyrant's jealousy to such a height, as made him resolve to put his murdering design in execution with utmost speed. Accordingly, as soon as the solemnity was over, he went with him to *Jericho*, where *Alexandra* had invited them to a sumptuous entertainment. The weather being hot, *Aristobulus* was invited to bathe in a fine fish-pond in that neighbourhood, where some of *Herod's* hired creatures were swimming; and where, as soon as they had him in their hands, they kept him still under water till he was dead.

† De hac vid. Vol. III. p. 178, & seq.

This bloody deed was glossed over with the specious pretence of its being done in sport, by accident, and without any design on the pontiff's life; and *Herod* not only seemed to believe it, but took all the pains he could to have it thought so by the rest, by putting himself into the deepest mourning for him, ordering a stately monument to be erected to his memory, and his funeral obsequies to be performed with utmost magnificence. This was the end of young *Aristobulus*, which filled the city and kingdom with inexpressible grief; he died in the eighteenth year of his age, having scarce enjoyed his dignity one whole year, which upon his death returned to *Ananel*.

ALL these grimaces of *Herod* to disculpate himself of the murder were easily seen through by the people, and only rendered him more odious to them, and much more so to his own family. *Alexandra*, at the first news of her son's death, could scarcely be kept from laying violent hands on herself; but, upon cooler thoughts, she prevailed on herself to conceal her resentment against the tyrant, that she might the more easily compass his ruin. She wrote to acquaint *Alexandra Cleopatra* with his treachery, and that princess, moved rather by her ambition and avarice, than by a sense of pity or of horror for the crime, ceased not to solicit *Antony* to punish the murderer, in hopes that, after his death, she might easily obtain his kingdom for herself. *Antony*, being at length prevailed upon, sent orders to *Herod* to come and clear himself before him at *Laodicea*, whither he was then coming, and *Cleopatra* along with him. *Herod* was obliged to obey, though much against his will; but took care to bribe his judge so high, that, upon his appearing before him, he was most basely absolved, and *Cleopatra's* avarice compensated with the province of *Cæle-Syria*, instead of that of *Judæa*.

*Herod*, however, not knowing how it would go with him in *Syria*, had before his departure given express orders to his uncle *Joseph*, whom he left governor during his absence, that in case he was cast for his life, he should put his beloved *Mariamne* to death. The violence of his passion for that princess extorted this inhuman command from him. He knew that the fame of her beauty had long since captivated the *Roman* triumvir, and the thoughts of leaving her in the possession of such a rival, even after his death, were more dreadful to him, than any death he could inflict on

\* *Antiq. ubi supra. c. 3.*



him; and his uncle was forced to rid him of that anguish by the promise of a punctual obedience. When he was gone, *Joseph*, who waited daily on her, either on affairs of state, or to pay his respects to her, took all opportunities of extolling *Herod's* extreme passion for her, and at length was indiscreet enough to disclose the fatal orders he had left with him, as an irrefragable proof of the greatness and sincerity of it. But the queen, looking upon it rather as an argument of his jealousy and inhumanity, conceived from it a more invincible hatred against him. In the mean time, there was a rumour spread through the city, whether by *Herod's* enemies, or by some of his subtil agents, that *Antony* had put him to a cruel death; which cast the whole court, but especially *Alexandra* and *Mariamne*, into a great consternation. *Alexandra* had by this time been informed with the bloody orders left with *Joseph*; to prevent the execution of which, she went to him, and strove with all her eloquence to persuade him to leave *Jerusalem*, and to go and put themselves under the protection of the *Roman* eagles, that were planted in the neighbourhood of the city (D). Their deliberations were quickly broken off by letters from *Herod*, which informed her, that he had not only gained his cause, but that *Antony* was daily heaping fresh marks of his affection upon him, and that he should soon return to *Jerusalem*, more strengthened than ever in his kingdom. This news made them lay aside their design; but as they had not carried it on so closely, but *Salome* had received some intimation of it, she failed not to inform her brother of it upon his arrival. Some injurious reflections, which *Mariamne* had cast on the meanness of her birth, had exasperated her so far, that she had vowed a most dreadful revenge; and she took this opportunity of compleating it, by accusing her of having held too great a familiarity with *Joseph* during his absence, though he was both her own uncle and husband (E).

*Mariamne*  
falsely ac-  
cused.

*Mariamne*

(D) The eagles were the principal standards of the *Roman* legions; they used to be set up in some eminent place of their camp to receive the adoration of the army, and to protect those who took sanctuary under them, they being allowed an inviolable asylum to such.

The *Romans* had left a legion in the neighbourhood of that metropolis, under the command of one *Julius*, and it was under his standards that *Alexandra* proposed to take refuge, when the news of her son-in-law's death came to her ears.

(E) We have had occasion to shew in a former volume †,

† Vol. III. p 321. Vid. & Levit. xviii. 12, & seq. xx. 10.

how

*Mariamne* did easily clear her innocence upon her first interview with the king ; but whilst he was entertaining her with the protestations of his love to her, she could not forbear at length mentioning the orders he had left with his uncle, as rather a token of his barbarity to her. These words, which stabbed that jealous monarch to the heart, made him conclude, that nothing less than the criminal conversation, with which *Salome* had accused her, could have induced his uncle to disclose the fatal secret. In the first sally of his fury, he was on the point of sacrificing her with his own hand, had not his love prevailed over his resentment. But *Joseph* and *Alexandra* fell the unhappy victims of his rage ; the first of whom he caused to be put to immediate death, refusing even *Joseph* <sup>put</sup> to see him, or hear what could be urged in his defence ; the <sup>to death.</sup> latter he caused to be put in chains, and confined to a close prison under a strong guard, as the main cause of all this mischief.

His fury was soon after diverted by the coming of *Cleo- Cleopatra* *patra* into *Judæa*, in her return from the *Euphrates*, whither she had accompanied *Antony*. That princess, whose <sup>comes to</sup> *Jerusalem.* avarice was as insatiable as her lust, had disoblinded him sensibly by both these passions. On the one hand, she had obtained from her paramour all the fertile territories of *Jericho*, which were by far the richest and pleasanter of all *Judæa*, especially upon the score of the balm (F) and the great quantity

how far it was lawful, according to the law of *Moses*, for an uncle to marry his niece, tho' not for an aunt to marry her nephew. We refer the reader to what has been further said upon that head by a late learned writer (45).

(F) This precious plant, so famous for its balsam, the most valuable of all ointments, is affirmed by *Pliny* (46) to have grown only in two gardens belonging to the *Jewish* monarchs, one of them containing only twenty acres, and the other still somewhat less. But *Cleopatra* caused a number of them to be carried into *Egypt*, where it is said to grow in great quantity at this very day (47):

But it is plain beyond all controversy, that this plant is the natural growth of *Arabia*, especially in the neighbourhoods of *Mecca* and *Medina*, where it grows wild even in sandy grounds, though that which is cultivated in gardens is reckoned the finest (48). We have taken notice in a former volume of some that grew near

(45) *Prid. Connect. sub. A. ant. Christ. 187.* (46) *Nat. Hist. l. xii. c. 15.* (47) *Vid. Dapper. Descr. of Egypt.* (48) *Id. ibid.*



tity of palm-trees which grew in it, and brought *Herod* a considerable revenue <sup>d</sup>. On the other, she was soliciting that monarch to an amour all the time she stayed with him. *Herod*, who had conceived a great aversion to her, was consulting, all the time he entertained her with utmost magnificence, of some means of putting her to death, whilst he had her in his power; but his friends, dreading the consequences of such a fact, did not only dissuade him from it, but prevailed on him to glut at least her avarice with costly presents, which he did with surprizing profuseness. However, as he had refused to gratify her other predominant passion, he feared lest her resentment on that score, joining with the invincible hatred which the *Jews* had conceived against him, should one day prove fatal to him. To prevent which, after he had accompanied her as far as *Pelusium*, he went and fortified the castle of *Massada*, and furnished it with arms and provisions for ten thousand men, that at all events he might have a sure place of refuge to flee to. At the same time he took constant care to send that princess the revenues of those territories which *Antony* had given from him to her, that she might have no pretence to fall out with him upon that score <sup>e</sup>.

BUT this was not sufficient to prevent the effects of that base princess's resentment; and she soon after laid such a

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. c. 4. Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 13. & vii. c. 28. <sup>e</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 28.

the lake *Asphaltites*, and which brought a considerable revenue to the owners <sup>†</sup>.

The balm was gathered from the shrub in the months of *July* and *August*, and in some warmer grounds even in *June*. It either drops of itself, or is made to do so by incision, with a sharp knife, made, not of iron or steel, which they say is death to the plant, but either of glass, flint, or ivory. The liquor that distils from the plant is whitish at the first, then by degrees turns greenish, yellowish, and when very old, almost of the colour of honey. It is at first thin, and by degrees contracts a density like our terebinth, and is of so light a body, that it swims on the surface of water, and when beaten with it, will turn white. There is so little that is brought genuine into *England*, that it is rarely used, though its virtues have been cried up by many antient and modern authors; but even that which is least adulterated has a very ill quality amongst its excellent ones, namely, that the frequent use of it will in time dissolve the solid parts of the blood.

Besides what comes from the countries abovementioned, there are some sorts of it brought from *America*, the most esteemed of which are those of *Peru* and *Tholu*.

plot against him, that all his strength and courage were hardly sufficient to save him from ruin. We have elsewhere taken notice, that she had obtained a great many provinces from *Antony*, in *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Arabia*. The latter of these had paid tribute to her constantly enough, whilst *Antony* was in power; but after his defeat, at the battle of *Actium*, of which we shall speak in a more proper place, *Malchus*, then king of that country, refused all further payment to her. *Herod*, who had got a complete army, with which he designed to assist his friend *Antony* against *Octavianus*, received orders from him to turn his forces against the *Arabians*. This was *Cleopatra's* plot; who, by bringing these two kings to a battle, proposed to get the territories of the conquered, let the victory fall on which side it would. But as her spite against *Herod* was most prevailing, she sent one of her generals, named *Athenion*, who equally hated him, at the head of an army, under pretence of assisting him, but in reality to betray and ruin him, because she foresaw that he was like to have the better of his enemy. For *Herod* upon the first encounter had given them a great overthrow, and obliged them to get a fresh army together, which *Malchus* brought into *Cæle-Syria*. Here a second battle was fought near *Cana* (G), in which *Herod* was on the point of getting a new victory; when *Athenion*, who had stood neuterall the time of the engagement, fell upon his troops, before they could rally themselves, and, in spite of *Herod's* speedy assistance and bravery, cut the greatest part of the *Jews* in pieces, and plundered their camp, *Herod* himself escaping with great difficulty, with a small number of his men. The *Maccabite* book adds, that *Athenion* was ordered to surround that monarch with his troops, as soon as he had engaged those of the *Arabians*. However that be, *Herod* from that time forbore coming to an engagement with them, and contented himself with making frequent incursions against them, incamping always on the mountains; by which he got this double advantage, that he harassed the enemy, and inured his own troops to the trade of war.

*Cleopatra's plot against Herod.*

*He is betrayed by Athenion.*

*Herod* was by this time got into the seventh year of his reign<sup>h</sup>, when *Judæa* was shaken with such an earthquake,

*Judæa greatly damaged by an earthquake. Year of the Flood, 2963. Before Christ,*

<sup>f</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6. <sup>g</sup> Cap. lvi. <sup>h</sup> Vid. UssER. Annal. sub. A. M. 3973.

(G) Probably *Canna* in *Syria*, on the other side of the *Libanus*, or *Cannath* on the other side *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Bostra* in *Arabia* (49).

(49) Euseb. Loc. Hebr. Vid. Steph. Byz. sub. voc. *Cannath*.



as had never been felt before, and which destroyed great numbers of cattle and many thousand persons, who perished under the ruins of their houses (H). His troops indeed escaped the common ruin, because he kept them incamped in the open field; nevertheless, the great loss, which the kingdom sustained by this calamity, obliged him to send an embassy to sue to the *Arabians* for peace. But by this time the account of his loss having been greatly magnified to them, they not only rejected his offers, but slew the ambassadors that brought them, and invaded *Judæa* with utmost speed, expecting to have found it destitute of defence. It was with the greatest difficulty that *Herod* kept his men from abandoning him; but having at length dispelled their fears, and offered the usual sacrifices, he went to meet the enemy on the other side of the *Jordan*, and there gave them two such signal defeats, that he forced them in their turn to sue for peace, and to accept it on his own conditions; after which he returned in triumph to *Jerusalem*<sup>1</sup> (I).

Antony's  
defeat at  
Actium.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2969.  
Before  
Christ,  
30.

BUT his happiness was soon after troubled by the defeat of Antony by *Augustus* at the battle of *Actium*, by which he saw himself deprived of a most powerful, as well as steady, friend, and on the brink of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror's resentment. The best expedient he could think on, under this consternation, was to send advice to *Antony* to put *Cleopatra* to death, and to seize on her kingdom and treasures; by

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 8, & 9. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 14.

(H) Our historian in one place mentions but ten thousand slain (50), but in another he makes them to amount to three myriads, or thirty thousand men (1); which last is the more likely of the two, and agrees much better with the description he gives of that calamity.

(I) The first of these battles was fought near *Philadelphia*, in which five thousand *Arabians* were either killed on the spot, or trod to death in their flight. *Herod* having afterwards closely besieged them in their camp, where they were ready to perish for want of water, they offered him at first fifty talents for their freedom, which being rejected, they in great numbers came to surrender themselves till the fifth day, on which the rest in despair, and without hopes or prospect of success, attacked him, and had seven thousand killed. Upon which they submitted to his conditions, one of which was, that he was declared by them governor or protector of their nation (2).

(50) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 7. (1) Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 14. (2) Ibid. ad fin. Antiq. ubi supra.

which

which he might be enabled to raise new forces, and either make a fresh push for the empire, or, at the worst, obtain easier conditions of peace. He promised him on those terms to stick fast to his interest, and to furnish him with money, troops, and strong-holds, and all other assistance to carry on the war against his rival <sup>k</sup>. But *Antony* was still too great a slave to that prince, to consent to such an expedient; which when *Herod* perceived, he thought no more but how to make his peace with the conqueror, on the best terms he could. He had still another dread upon him, as great as the displeasure of *Cæsar*. *Hyrca*n, the only surviving male of the *Asmonean* race, had been formerly acknowledged king of *Judæa*, and, as such had entered into alliances with the *Roman* senate. *Herod*, on the other hand, had been chiefly upheld in his throne by the interest of *Antony*; and *Alexandra*, ever watchful for all opportunities of being revenged on the usurper, had begun to try to gain some advantage from the late change of affairs against him. *Herod* therefore, who had his spies about him, thought it unsafe to go to *Augustus*, till he had drawn the father and the daughter into a snare, which might afford him a pretence for putting the former to death, which he did, by causing him to be beheaded in the eightieth year of his age (K).

<sup>k</sup> See his speech to *Augustus*, Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 15.

(K) So says the fourth book of the *Maccabees* (3). The trap into which he was drawn was a master-piece of his politic rival, who corrupted some of his and his daughter's confidants, to set on foot a kind of treasonable correspondence, whether real or counterfeited, with *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, wherein *Hyrca*n desired to put himself again under his protection, and begged of him to send him some horsemen to conduct him from a private place near *Jerusalem*, to the lake *Asphaltites*, which was about ninety miles distant from that metropolis.

*Dositheus*, the agent of this correspondence, betrayed to *Herod* both this letter and the answer, in which the *Arabian* king promised him a safe escort to convey him away; *Herod* summoned the pontiff before his council, and having taxed him with it, and, upon his denial, shewed him the very letter, caused him to be condemned to die.

This last article *Josephus* tells us (4), he took as he found it in the commentary which *Herod* left behind him; but at the same time he relates the matter somewhat differently from other hands. We refer the reader for it to the place last quoted.

(3) *Cap.* 54.

(4) *Antiq.* ubi supra, cap. 9.



THIS was the dismal end of that unfortunate prince, after a long series of unhappy vicissitudes. He was at first raised to the pontifical dignity by his mother *Alexandra*, and succeeded her soon after in the kingdom also; three months after which, he was deprived of both by his brother *Aristobulus*. He was restored to both by *Pompey*, and enjoyed them near forty years, till deposed again and disqualified by *Antigonus*, who cut off his ears, and sent him prisoner into *Parthia*, from whence he unfortunately returned at the pressing invitation of *Herod*, who owed his life, crown, and all his greatness to him, and who repaid all his kindnesses with a violent death<sup>1</sup>.

Herod  
goes to  
Augustus.

*Herod's* next care, before he departed, was, to secure his family the best he could, in case he should miscarry in his address to *Augustus*. To that end he committed his mother *Cyprius* and his sister *Salome* to the care of his brother *Pheroras*, whom he sent into the castle of *Alexandria*, with orders to this last to seize on the Jewish crown, and defend it to the last, in case he heard that it went ill with him. As for his wife *Miriamne* and her mother *Alexandra*, he sent them into the strong fortress of *Massada*, and put them under the care of his treasurer, named *Joseph*, and of *Sohemus*, one of his chief confidants, with express orders to put those two princesses to death, as soon as he received the news of his ill success at the emperor's court; and then to go and assist his brother with all his power. He imbarqued soon after for *Rhodes*, where *Augustus* then was; and having obtained an audience from him, appeared before that prince in all his royal ornaments, except his diadem, and spoke to him with such a seeming confidence, as if he was sure before-hand to obtain what he came for. He made no difficulty to own his former attachment to *Antony's* interest, his assisting him with men, arms, money, and other necessaries for the war; and even the counsel he had given him, after his defeat, of killing *Cleopatra* and seizing on her kingdom and immense treasure, in order to obtain a more advantageous peace. All this, said he, concluding his speech, I thought myself bound in honour, gratitude and friendship, to do for *Antony*; but since he has rejected my last advice, and left me at liberty to make you a tender of my future services, if you think them worth your acceptance, and can but forget what is past, you shall find me henceforth as sincere and steadfast a friend to you, as I have been hitherto to your rival. An earnest of which he had already given to the emperor in the timely succour he had sent

His speech  
to him.

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 9

to *Q. Didius*, his governor in *Syria*, against *Antony's* gladiators (L). *Augustus* was very much taken both with his speech and gallant behaviour: he had likewise been acquainted with the succour he had sent to *Didius*, and thanked him for it, assuring him, that he readily accepted of his friendship, and confirmed the kingdom to him; in token of which, he ordered him to take up his diadem, and wear it before him. *Herod*, pleased with his good success, made some presents to *Augustus* and his favourites, according to his usual profuseness, and was from that time in greater esteem with him than any other tributary prince; so that he returned to *Jerusalem* highly satisfied with these additions of honour and power; but all this was soon soured by the ill reception he met with from his favourite *Mariamne* and her exasperated mother <sup>m</sup>.

*Is well received by him.*

FOR these two princesses, looking upon their confinement at *Massada* only as a more honourable imprisonment, and remembering with horror the bloody orders he had formerly left with his uncle *Joseph* concerning them, did not doubt, but he had given the same to their two new guardians. To be satisfied of it, they spared neither presents nor caresses, till they got the fatal secret from *Sohemus*, so that when *Herod* came to *Massada*, and was going to embrace the queen with his usual tenderness, and to acquaint her with his success, he was surprized to find all his caresses answered with sighs, and tears, and all other marks of grief and disdain. His resentment rose to such a height, that it extorted from him the bitterest reproaches, accompanied with such threatenings, as would have alarmed any woman but her. But his love, which was no less violent, seldom suffered those sallies of anger to be long-lived; till his mother and sister, tired and affrighted to see him still floating between those opposite passions, found out a way to work her effectual ruin, by raising the vilest surmises and calumnies against her unspotted character.

*Troubled with domestic jars.*

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. c. 10.

(L) These were an abject race, whom *Antony* had brought up at *Cyzicum* to exhibit triumphant sports; and these, when they heard of his defeat, determined to go into *Egypt* to his assistance. They had fought their way through several provinces in their march thither, *Didius* was the first who put a stop to their progress, being privately assisted by *Herod* with some troops; and at length prevailed upon them to quit their gladiatorial employment, after they had waited a long time in vain for *Antony's* joining them (5).

(5) *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 10.*



His magnificent reception of Augustus.

Mariamne's aversion to him

She is falsely accused.

IN the mean time, *Augustus* passing through *Syria* in his way to *Egypt*, *Herod*, who went to meet him as far as *Ptolemais*, entertained him and his army with incredible magnificence, and, besides a present that he made to him of eight hundred talents, took care to furnish his army with bread, wine, and other provisions, as they marched through some barren deserts, where they might have been otherwise in danger of wanting even bread and water. He accompanied him as far as *Pelusium*, and that emperor was so charmed with his politeness and generosity, that he made him ride by his side, whenever he went to review his troops, or upon any diversion. He gave him the same magnificent reception upon his return from *Egypt*, as he passed through *Syria*; in return of which, *Augustus* made him a present of the four thousand *Gauls* which had served as life-guards to *Cleopatra*, and restored to him the territories and revenues of *Jericho*, *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Samaria*, in the inland, and those of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and the tower of *Straton* on the sea-side, which made a considerable enlargement both to his kingdom and revenues. But, upon his return to *Jerusalem*, he relapsed into his former discontent and jealousies, on account of his beloved queen, whose aversion to him did daily increase, insomuch, that she came at last to treat him with such contempt, and accompanied it with such bitter reflections, as easily convinced him, that she had conceived an irreconcilable hatred against him. She gave him a mortifying instance of it soon after, and such a one as hastened her death, by giving her enemies an opportunity of taking the blackest means for pushing his fury against her to the highest pitch.

*Herod*, who had by this time floated near a year between the most violent affection and resentment, had withdrawn himself into his chamber to rest himself during the heat of the day; he sent for her, and in the kindest manner invited her to lie down by him; but she, instead of complying with this last request, returned his caresses with invincible scorn, upbraided him with all the other wrongs he had done to her and her family, and particularly the death of her father and brother, which so exasperated that fierce monarch, that he was on the point of killing her with his own hands. *Salome* did not let this opportunity slip of putting her hellish engines at work against that unfortunate princess: she had corrupted the king's cup-bearer before-hand to be ready on the first call with one of the blackest accusations against her; and now she sent him to *Herod*, with a poisoned cup in one hand, and a sum of money in the other, to acquaint him, that *Mariamne* had bribed him with the one to administer the other to him.

The

The rage this new accusation threw him in, made him order one of her favourite eunuchs and confidants to be put to the rack; but all the confession he could extort from him was, that he believed the cruel orders, he had lately left with *Sobemus*, had exasperated that princefs against him (M). *Herod*, enraged that a person, in whom he reposed so great confidence, should dare, in spite of his exprefs commands to the contrary, to disclose so important a secret, was easily persuaded that there must have been some criminal conversation between them, and therefore ordered that favourite to be put to immediate death. As for *Mariamne*, he resolved to have her publicly tried, and having packed up a set of judges of his own creatures, he himself carried on the prosecution with such violence, that they easily understood they must condemn her to death, though they all hoped and begged that he would not precipitate their sentence, but confine her to some castle, till he had more maturely consulted with his own heart. But *Salome*, who knew how apt her brother was to relapse, and fearing some discovery might come out of her treachery to her, if her death should be delayed, did at length obtain an order from him for her execution, under pretence, that the nation would rise up in arms for her, if he suffered her to live any longer.

*Tried and  
condemned  
to die.*

*Mariamne* received the fatal summons with an heroic courage, becoming her exalted virtue and quality, and marched to the place of execution with incredible serenity, till an accident befel her, which put her constancy to the severest tryal. Her mother, the turbulent and intriguing *Alexandra*, who expected nothing but to follow her in a short time, could think on no better expedient to avert the impending storm, than by trying to ingratiate herself to *Herod*, by insulting her unfortunate daughter all the way she was led to

(M) The fourth book of the *Maccabees* (6) says, it was *Joseph*, and not *Sobemus* that betrayed the secret, and that it was not the eunuch, but *Mariamne* herself, who in a fit of resentment upbraided the brutal king with it. But it is hardly probable, considering the punishment that she had seen inflicted on *Herod's* uncle for the like discovery, that *Mariamne* would have exposed either of these to the effects of his fury.

Besides, we cannot suppose, that either *Joseph* or *Sobemus* would have ventured to disclose the matter to her without some previous promise of secrecy, and *Mariamne* was a princefs of too strict virtue and honour to have broke it upon any account.

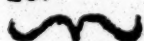


the fatal place; and not contented to load her with the bitterness of reproaches, for her ingratitude and faithlessness to the best of husbands, she made several offers to strike her and pull her by her hair. *Mariamne* bore all her pretended resentment without betraying any other change in her countenance, than an inward shame at so base an artifice, which proved, however, far enough from succeeding, as the sequel will presently shew. *Mariamne* submitted to her death with the same constancy and intrepidity as she had lived <sup>n</sup>, and with her ended all the happiness of her tyrannic husband.

*Her death.*

*Herod's  
remorse.*

*Agrievous  
plague.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2971.  
Before  
Christ,  
28.*



*Herod's* rage being soon quenched with the blood of that amiable princess, his love broke out the more fiercely, and filled him with such pungent remorse, that his life became a burthen to him. He tried in vain to divert his grief with feasts and other diversions; *Mariamne* was still uppermost in his thoughts, he called aloud after her, and sometimes would order those of his attendance to fetch her to him. A grievous pestilence, which happened soon after and swept away multitudes of people of all ranks, added a fresh load to his misery, because it was universally looked upon as a just judgment on him for all the blood he had shed, and especially that of his injured queen. At first he withdrew himself into some of the neighbouring deserts, under pretence of hunting, but really to avoid the sight of men. At length being seized with a violent distemper in his bowels, he returned to *Samaria*, where his physicians tried in vain to give him some ease; their medicines did but increase his pain, through his wilfulness and irregular living. His constitution did, however, get the better of his disease, but never could of his sour and brutish humour, to which he abandoned himself more and more, as he recovered his health and strength. He grew up at length to such a height of cruelty, that he spared neither friend nor foe in his fits of rage, and went on sacrificing numbers of his relations and best friends to his passion, even to the day of his death.

*Alexandra*, the base and unnatural mother of the late virtuous *Mariamne*, was one of the very first that fell a victim to his rage after her injured daughter. The hopes of *Herod's* death, while he lay sick at *Samaria*, had made her set her wits to work to corrupt the governors of the two principal fortresses of *Judaea*, the one called *Antonia* near the temple, and the other in the city of *Jerusalem*, to deliver them up in-

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. c. 11.

to her hands (N), together with *Herod's* children, pretending thereby to secure the kingdom for his sons by *Mariamne* in case of their father's death. But her restless and intriguing genius was so well known to those governors, that instead of complying with her request, they informed the king of it, who sent orders back to have her immediately put to death, which was accordingly done without further trial. The next was his brother-in-law *Costobares*, who was an *Idumaean* and had married *Salome*, after *Herod* had put her first husband to death, as we have related above. This man, whom *Herod* had raised from an inferior rank (O) to the government of *Idumæa*, had justly incurred his displeasure, by endeavouring to make himself and that province independent from him, and applying to *Gleopatra* for assistance. *Herod* would have put him to immediate death, had not *Salome* interposed; but she, being since fallen out with, and willing to get rid of him, first sent him a bill of divorce; and to justify that unlawful action to her brother (P), told him, that she had discovered a treasonable design, which was carried on by her husband in conjunction with *Lyfimachus*, *Dositheus*, and *Antipater*; and as a proof of it, told him, that he privately kept the sons of

Salome

divorces

her hus-

band.

Year of

the Flood

2973.

Before

Christ,

26.

(N) These two fortresses were justly looked upon as the two main keys of the kingdom, the one commanding the temple, and the other the city; so that it was of utmost consequence to the candidates for the crown to be masters of them, or at least of the first of them; for the Jews had such an invincible attachment to the worship of the temple, that there was scarce any thing, even life itself, which they would not sacrifice to the liberty of coming to that sacred place, at all proper times and solemnities.

(O) He was descended from the antient priests of *Chose* a deity of the *Idumeans*, before they were forced by *Hyrcaan I.* to embrace the *Jewish* religion.

This deity is not unrightly supposed to be the *יְהוָה* or *seer*, prophet or law-giver of the *Hebrews* (7); for if we may believe *Epiphanius* (8), both the *Idumeans* and *Arabs* of *Arabia Petrea* did worship *Moses*, and paid divine honours to his statue.

(P) According to the *Mosaic* law the husbands alone were permitted to divorce their wives, but not the wife the husband (9). However, *Salome*, relying on her brother's friendship and her own politic head, assumed that prerogative, which no *Jewish* woman, that we know of, had ever done before.

(7) *Calmet. Hist. vet. test. sub A M 3976.*

(8) *Hæres. 55.*

(9) *Vid Deuter. xxiv. 1, & seq. Matt. xix. 3, & seq. Mark x. 2, & seq. Maimon de repud.*



*Babas* (Q) under his protection, contrary to his express commands; all which *Herod* having found true, he ordered them all to be put to death.

*Herod*, having by this time rid himself of the *Asmonean* race, and of their most considerable partisans, began now to shew a greater disregard to the *Jewish* religion than he had hitherto ventured to do, by abolishing several of its ceremonies, and introducing some foreign customs, which were forbidden by it. He began with building a stately theatre in the city, and a spacious amphitheatre in its suburbs, and ordered public games to be celebrated in them every fifth year, in honour of *Augustus*; and, to draw the greater concourse to them, he caused them to be proclaimed, not only in the neighbouring provinces, but in the most distant kingdoms, and promised magnificent prizes to those that should gain the victory. Besides great numbers of the most expert musicians, players, coursers, gladiators, &c. which he had sent for thither, he caused also some of the fiercest wild beasts to be brought, and fought upon the stage; all which did not a little displease the zealous *Jews*, who thought it unlawful and inhuman to expose men to the fury of wild beasts. But what exasperated them most were, the trophies with which he had caused those sumptuous places to be adorned, and which they, mistaking for statues, thought contrary to their law, which forbids all kinds of imagery, whether carved or even painted. They therefore cried out against him, that he had profaned their city, and that they would never tamely bear such idolatrous monuments to be set up in it. *Herod* tried in vain to undeceive them by fair speeches; he was forced at length to lead some of the principal of them to the place, and to order the armour of the trophies to be taken down, and thereby to convince them, that there was nothing under them but bare posts. This demonstration did indeed satisfy them as to this one point, and turned their outcries into laughter; but the generality of the nation retained such an aversion against him, upon the account of his other heathenish

(Q) These had been great sticklers for the *Asmonean* race, and, at the siege of *Jerusalem*, had strenuously opposed the opening of the gates to *Herod*. for which that prince, upon his taking of the city, had given charge to *Cassabares* to secure them; but he had let them escape and had excused the matter to him; but *Herod* finding now that he had sent them into an asylum and maintained them there, he put their protector, and as many of them as he could find, to death.

novelties,

novelties, that they looked no longer upon him as a *Jewish* king, but as a heathen and a tyrant.

TEN of the boldest of them took it at last into their heads to enter the theatre with daggers hid under their cloaths, and either to stab the king or some of his retinue, not doubting but even their perishing in the attempt would render the tyrant still more odious. They were not mistaken; for *Herod* being informed of their design by one of his spies, and causing the assassins to be put to a most excruciating death, the people were so exasperated against the informer, that they cut and tore him to pieces, and cast his flesh to the dogs. *Herod* tried in vain to discover the authors of this affront; he was at last forced to order some women to be put to the rack, and to extort from them the names of the principal of them, whom he caused likewise to be hurried to death, together with their innocent families. This last act of cruelty drove the *Jews* into such desperate hatred against him, that he expected nothing less than a general revolt; to prevent which he set about fortifying *Jerusalem*, rebuilding *Samaria* (R), and garisoning several other fortresses in *Judæa*, whose situation

*Samaria*  
rebuilt.  
Year of  
the flood,  
2976.  
Before  
Christ,  
23.

(R) We took notice in a former section, that this city, which had been destroyed by *Hyrca*n, had been in part rebuilt by *Gabinus* governor of *Syria*, and called from him *Gabiniana*; but, he being soon after turned out, it advanced no higher than a good large village. *Herod* therefore chose to finish that work, and to restore that place to its pristine splendor; because, being but one day's journey, or thirty five miles distant from *Jerusalem*, he could easily make it a place of retreat in case of necessity.

He adorned it with magnificent buildings, fortified it with walls and towers, and invited six thousand foreigners to come and settle there, who, finding the soil very fertile, became very rich in a short time. He gave it the name of *Sebaste*, which signifies the same in *Greek* as doth *Augustus* in *Latin*.

The other places which he fortified and garisoned were, the tower of *Straton*, which he called *Cæsarea*, in honour of the emperor, and made it so strong, that it seemed to command the whole country. He built likewise another strong fortress in the midst of a plain, and put in it a garison of horse. A third he built in *Galilee*, named *Gabala*; and a fourth in *Esbmonitis* in *Perea*; all which, being also well stored with arms and provisions, were a great check to the whole kingdom (11).

But he bestowed the most cost on his new *Sebaste*, to which he allowed a circuit of twenty stades, or two miles and a half. In the centre of it was a spacious square of about a stade and a half,

(11) *Ilen, ibid.*



situation was most likely to keep the country in awe<sup>a</sup>, and whose names the reader may find at the end of the last note.

*Judæa visited with famine and pestilence.*

*Relieved by Herod's generosity.*

ABOUT the same time, which was the thirteenth year of his reign, *Judæa* was visited with a grievous drought, which brought on a famine, and ended in a raging pestilence, of which great multitudes died daily for want of proper help and sustenance. *Herod*, whose treasury was exhausted, by building so many cities and fortresses, and whose finances were reduced to the lowest ebb, through the famine and death of his subjects, was forced to melt down all his plate, and to send it down into *Egypt*, to procure a fresh supply of provisions, in order to stop the mouths of the people, who, as is usual in such calamities, threw all the odium of them upon him. The drought having likewise killed such numbers of their cattle, that they had not wool sufficient left to cloath themselves against the approaching winter, he took care also to procure a sufficient supply of it betimes; and *Petronius*, the *Roman* prefect then in *Egypt*, notwithstanding the multitudes of people who applied to him from other provinces for the same things, did so far befriend him, as to send him a sufficient quantity of them; which *Herod* caused to be immediately distributed among his subjects, but to the *Jews* preferably to any of the rest. This generosity did, for the present, change their hatred into admiration, and his praises were for a while the main subject of their discourse; but as he soon relapsed into his cruel and savage humour, so their love was soon turned into hatred again, which continued to his death. However, his prudent liberality having stored the country with plenty of corn, and the long drought being succeeded by more refreshing seasons, they began to cultivate their lands again, and found them, to their great comfort, restored to their former fecundity<sup>o</sup>.

As soon as the land had recovered itself from the late calamity, *Herod* went on with his building (S), particularly his  
stately

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 11.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. c. 12.

and in the middle a stately temp'le. In a word, he spared no cost to render it one of the richest and most beautiful cities of his realm, and looked upon it as his favourite master piece (12).

S) Amongst them, that of *Cesarea* mentioned in the last note, was the most magnificent next to *Sebaste*. He bestowed twelve years in the finishing and adorning of it. It stood on the coast of

(12) Antiq. l. xv c. 13.

stately palace near the temple of *Jerusalem*, in which the gold, marble, cedar, and other precious materials, seemed to outvie one another. There were in it, among other apartments, two magnificent ones, to the one of which he gave the name of *Augustus*, and to the other that of *Agrippa*. At the same time he was not unmindful to ingratiate himself to the emperor, by more substantial services than building of places to his honour; for *Gellius* having been sent with an army to attempt the conquest of *Arabia*, *Herod* failed not to send him very considerable succours, and, among the rest, five hundred of the stoutest of his guards; and though that enterprize proved unsuccessful to the *Romans*, in a country where the air, water, and aliments were as contrary to them as the temper of the people \*, yet *Herod's* assistance proved so useful and seasonable to them, that *Cæsar* could not chuse being highly pleased with it †.

THIS very year also he married another *Mariamne*, who was the daughter of a *Jewish* priest of *Alexandria*, named *Simon*, the son of *Boethus*, and a woman of extraordinary beauty. To raise her father up to a condition fit for such an alliance, he placed him upon the pontifical chair, after having dispossessed *Jesus*, the son of *Phabæus*, of that dignity. Soon after these nuptials he went and built the magnificent palace of *Herodion*, on the place where he had formerly defeated the *Antigonians*. The situation of it was so inviting (T), that the *Jews* and other people gladly came and built round it; so that from a palace it soon became a considerable

\* De hoc bell. vide STRABO, l. xvi.  
bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16.

† Ant. ubi supra, &

*Phœnice*, and was very convenient for trade, but had till then a very dangerous harbour, so that no ships could be safe in it when the wind was at south-west. *Herod* remedied this inconvenience at an immense labour and charge, and made it one of the most convenient havens on that coast. He beautified also the place with stately buildings. The reader may see in *Josephus* (13) a full account of this immense work, and of many others, in other places, erected by that prince; which, joined to his profuse munificence, justly gained him the surname of *Great*.

(T) This stately building stood on a pleasant hill, about seven miles from *Jerusalem*, and had the prospect as well as command of all the country round about. The gradual declivity of it was no less beautiful. The reader may see it described, as well as the city, by the authors quoted above.

(13) *Idem, ibid.*



city<sup>4</sup>. In a word, he spared no cost to leave every-where some monuments of his unmeasured magnificence, as well in *Judæa* as out of it; but with this difference, that those in *Judæa* were not adorned, as the rest were, with temples and other buildings, with statues and other carvings, which he knew the *Jews* would never have borne with any patience; but as for those which he built out of it, he gave himself all the scope which either his pride, or desire of pleasing the *Romans*, could inspire him with; for all which he had a salvo ready, namely, that he did in all this only obey, and even much against his will, the orders of the emperor, who had a right to command him.

Herod  
sends his  
two sons to  
Rome.

By this time *Herod* seemed to be at the height of all his wishes; his being in such high esteem with *Augustus* made him either loved or feared by his subjects and neighbours; and therefore, that he might cultivate that prince's favour still more, he sent his two favourite sons, whom he had by *Mariamne*, and who were grown up by this time, to be educated under his eye. *Pollio*, his intimate friend, was ordered to provide a stately house at *Rome*; but the emperor took that care off his hands, and assigned them apartments in his own palace; and so well pleased was he with the confidence which their father put in him, that he gave him full power to name which of them he pleased to be his successor. He likewise added several provinces to his kingdom, whose names, as well as the occasion of the gift, the reader will find in the margin (V). *Zenodorus*, from whom they had been taken, having

Accused by  
*Zenodorus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiq. ubi supra, & l. xviii. c. 7. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11, & 16. Vide & PLIN. hist. l. v. c. 14.*

(V) These were the three districts of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, or *Iturea*, and *Batanea*, which were situate between *Libanus* and *Perea*, on the other side *Jordan* (14).

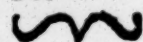
They were given to him on this occasion; *Zenodorus*, tetrarch of a small toparchy, had farmed these from *Varro* the then president of *Syria*, and suffered the inhabitants of it, who lived chiefly in rocks and caves, to make excursions into all the neighbouring countries impunely. A complaint of this had been sent by *Varro* to *Augustus*; upon which orders were brought back to him at any rate to extirpate those robbers; and for the more effectual doing of it, the emperor commanded him to take those three toparchies from *Zenodorus*, and to put them under *Herod*, who with his usual

(14) *De his conf. Luc. iii. 1. Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7. St. Jerom. & Euseb. loc. Hebr. & al.*

success,

having tried in vain several ways to regain them from him, took the opportunity of the emperor's coming into *Syria*, to bring a deputation from the *Gadarenes* with him to *Antioch*, there to renew their complaints against *Herod*, and to accuse him of oppression, tyranny, and other such crimes; and *Augustus* did seem to comply so far with their request, that he set a day for *Herod*, who was there also, to make his defence before them; but, when he came to do it, the emperor betrayed such visible favour and partiality towards him, that his accusers, fearing to be delivered up to his resentment, chose to dispatch themselves out of the world that very night; which they did, some by drowning, some by hanging themselves, and other such desperate ways. *Zenodorus* in particular was so terrified by it, that he took a strong dose of poison, which quite corroded his bowels, and ended his life by the next morning<sup>r</sup>.

*And acquitted.*  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2978.  
Before  
Christ,  
21.



*Augustus*, however, stopped not his kindness here, but, looking upon the desperate exit of *Herod's* accusers, as a proof of his innocence and merit, appointed him his procurator in *Syria*, and forbid his governor there to undertake any thing without his knowledge and advice. At the same time

<sup>r</sup> *Antiq. l. xv. c. 13.*

success, soon ferretted them out, and cleared the country of them.

*Zenodorus*, however, went to *Rome* to complain of the injustice done him in taking those districts from him; but the emperor, who had reason to suspect that he had made a gain by protecting a vermin which he ought to have suppressed, would not so much as hear him.

*Agrippa* being soon after sent into *Syria*, *Herod* went to meet him at *Mitylene*; and, soon after his return, *Zenodorus*, in hopes of meeting with better success with him, stirred up the *Gadarenes* to come and proffer sundry grievous complaints against him. But he found the new governor too well rooted in *Herod's* interest to hear any accusation against him; on the contrary, he sent them bound to *Jerusalem*, where *Herod*, hoping to gain them by fair usage, ordered them to be set at liberty.

*Zenodorus*, thus disappointed again, went and sold the territories of *Auranitis* to the *Arabs* for fifty talents; so that a war was like to have ensued between *Herod* and them, they being deaf to all his offers for ending the dispute in an amicable way (15), when *Augustus's* coming in a lucky time decided the controversy in his favour as has been seen above.

(15) *Vide Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13.*



*Herod* took this favourable opportunity to obtain a tetrachy for his brother *Pheroras*, that he might live according to his birth, and without depending on his successor's favour after his death (W). In acknowledgment for all these gifts, *Herod*, having accompanied the emperor to the sea-port, built a sumptuous temple in honour of him, all of fine white marble; near the *Panium*, or place whence the *Jordan* has its origin †. The vast number of edifices he built, and adorned with carvings and other imagery, which the *Jews* looked upon as destructive of religion and good manners, did so exasperate them against him, that he was forced to remit them a third part of their yearly tribute. His pretence indeed was, that the last grievous dearth, which had greatly impoverished the land, required this largess from him; but, at the bottom, it was the murmurs and private meetings of the people, which were now more frequent than ever, that extorted it from him, in hopes that it would in some measure allay the sourness of their spirits. However, to let them see, that he was neither insensible of their mutinous cabals, nor afraid to put a stop to them, he issued out an edict, expressly forbidding all public and private assemblies, whether on account of feasts, or any other pretence, under the severest penalties. But as he not only had his spies every-where, but did sometimes mix himself among them in disguise, he quickly found all these precautions were like to prove to little purpose to keep the people in obedience. This made him bethink himself of exacting an oath of fidelity from them; but this new imposition was so strenuously refused by *Pollio*, or *Hillel*, and *Shamai*, at the head of the whole sect of *Essenians*, and by all the chiefs of the *Pharisees*, that he was forced to set it aside, without venturing to shew any resentment against those that had opposed him in it, for fear of exasperating the whole nation against him<sup>c</sup>.

Proposes  
therebuild-  
ing of the

HE fell soon after upon a much better expedient to quiet them, and at the same time to satisfy his invincible itch of eternising his memory, by the number and magnificence of his buildings. The great attachment which they had for their

† De hoc vide supra, Vol. III. p. 115, (S), & 116. <sup>c</sup> Antiq. ubi supra.

(W) *Josephus* does not tell us where this tetrarchy was situate; but, by what we find in another place (16), it seems to have been beyond *Jordan*, and at some distance from *Jerusalem*.

(16) *Ibid.* l. xvii. c. 5.

temple made him conceive the hopes, that his rebuilding of it; in a more stately manner, would not fail to recommend him, not only to the present *Jews*, but also to posterity. The difficulty was, to convince them of his being both willing and able to rear such a costly edifice, after he had pulled down the old one; and this he did in a set speech, which he made to their assembly, wherein, with his usual eloquence, he failed not to display his zeal for the glory of God and for the promoting of his religion. Among other things he reminded them how vastly inferior that sacred place now was to that which had been formerly built by *Solomon* (X); but this, he told them, was rather to be imputed to the want of ability in those that returned from *Babylon*, than to their want of zeal: but now that God was pleased not only to raise him to the *Jewish* throne, but to bless him with peace, plenty, and affluence, and with the friendship of the *Romans*, he thought himself bound to make some signal acknowledgment to him for all these blessings, and hoped, that the rebuilding of his temple in the manner he proposed, could not but be acceptable both to him and them; but as he found them very much hesitating at the difficulty, length, and expensiveness of such a work, he was forced to engage not to move a stone from the old edifice, till he had prepared all the materials for the new. As soon as he had gained their consent (Y), he set immediately ten thousand workmen to work, under

(X) *Josephus* makes him say here (17), that the present temple was lower by sixty cubits than that of *Solomon*; which cannot be understood of the holy place, which we are told (18), was but thirty cubits high; whereas that built after the captivity, was by *Cyrus's* own grant, sixty cubits high (19). If therefore there be no mistake crept into the text both *Herod* and the *Jewish* historians must probably speak of some of the galleries which might be so much higher in the first than in the second temple. The reader may recur to what we have said on the subject at the close of the last †, and in the appendix to the third volume.

(V) This assembly seems to have been held about the time of the *Easter* solemnity, when there was the greatest concourse of *Jews* at *Jerusalem*; for *Josephus* says it was in the eighteenth year of *Herod's* reign; that is, as the learned *Usher* observes, reckoning from the death of *Antigonus* (20), which happened not till about the *Midsummer* after his imprisonment; according to which, reckon-

(17) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 14. (18) 1 *Kings* vi. 2. (19) *Ezra* vi. 3. † p. 506. (K). (20) *Annal. sab. A. M.* 3987.



*The building finished with wonderful speed and magnificence.*

under the direction of a thousand priests, the best skilled in carving; masonry, &c. all whom he kept under his pay. One thousand carts were likewise employed in fetching all the materials; and, in a word, such a number of hands was employed and such expedition used, that he got every thing ready within the space of two years, after which they set about pulling down the old building, and with the same dispatch rearing the new one; so that the holy place, or temple properly so called, was finished in a year and a half's time; during which, we are told<sup>t</sup>, it never rained in the day-time, but only in the night. The remainder took up a little above eight years, by which time it was, if not wholly finished (Z), yet made fit for divine service,

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. c. ult.

ing the nineteenth year of *Herod* not beginning till the nineteenth year before Christ, the six first months must have belonged to the eighteenth year of his reign, which brings it to the passover feast above-mentioned (21). We must not, however, look upon this building as a new temple, as distinct from that of *Zerubbabel* as that was from that of *Solomon*, but rather as the same rebuilt, enlarged, and adorned, upon the old foundation and with the same materials, as far as they could go. The very *Jews* themselves still looked upon it as the second temple, and that which was to exceed that of *Solomon* in glory, by the presence of the Messiah, according to the prophecy of *Haggai*; but, as we cannot enlarge on this subject, we shall refer the curious reader to the elaborate preface of *Constantine l' Empereur*, prefixed to his comment on the book of *Middoth*, where he will find that point discussed to his satisfaction.

(Z) *Josephus* shews us in another place (22), that the whole was still continued till the beginning of the *Jewish* war under *Gellius Florus*, when eighteen thousand workmen being dismissed and like to be idle, the *Jews*, unwilling their treasure should be laid up to become a prey to the *Romans*, petitioned the king (*Agrippa*) to build the eastern porch, which inclosed the most outward parts of the temple; but the king having refused their suit, those men, for want of work, began to raise those seditions which hastened the destruction both of the city and temple; so that it is plain, some part of that building had been still carried on till this time.

And hence that saying of the *Jews* to Christ, Forty and six years hath this temple been hitherto in building; for so the text ought to be read, according to the import of the aorist there used by the evangelist (23); and indeed so long a time had elapsed, from the beginning of the building to the first passover after Christ

(21) Vide *Prid. connect. sub. A.C.* 19.  
l. xx. c. 8.

(23) *John* ii. 20.

(22) Vide *Antiq.*

I.

in  
y.  
ne  
as  
ng  
et  
ch  
ly  
h,  
ht.  
me  
er-  
ce,

nth  
the  
east  
this  
as  
in-  
ame  
still  
ceed  
ding  
this  
eface  
ok of  
tion.  
s still  
lorus,  
to be  
come  
l the  
nple;  
nt of  
uction  
f that

nd fix  
ne text  
e used  
apsed,  
Christ

*Antiq.*

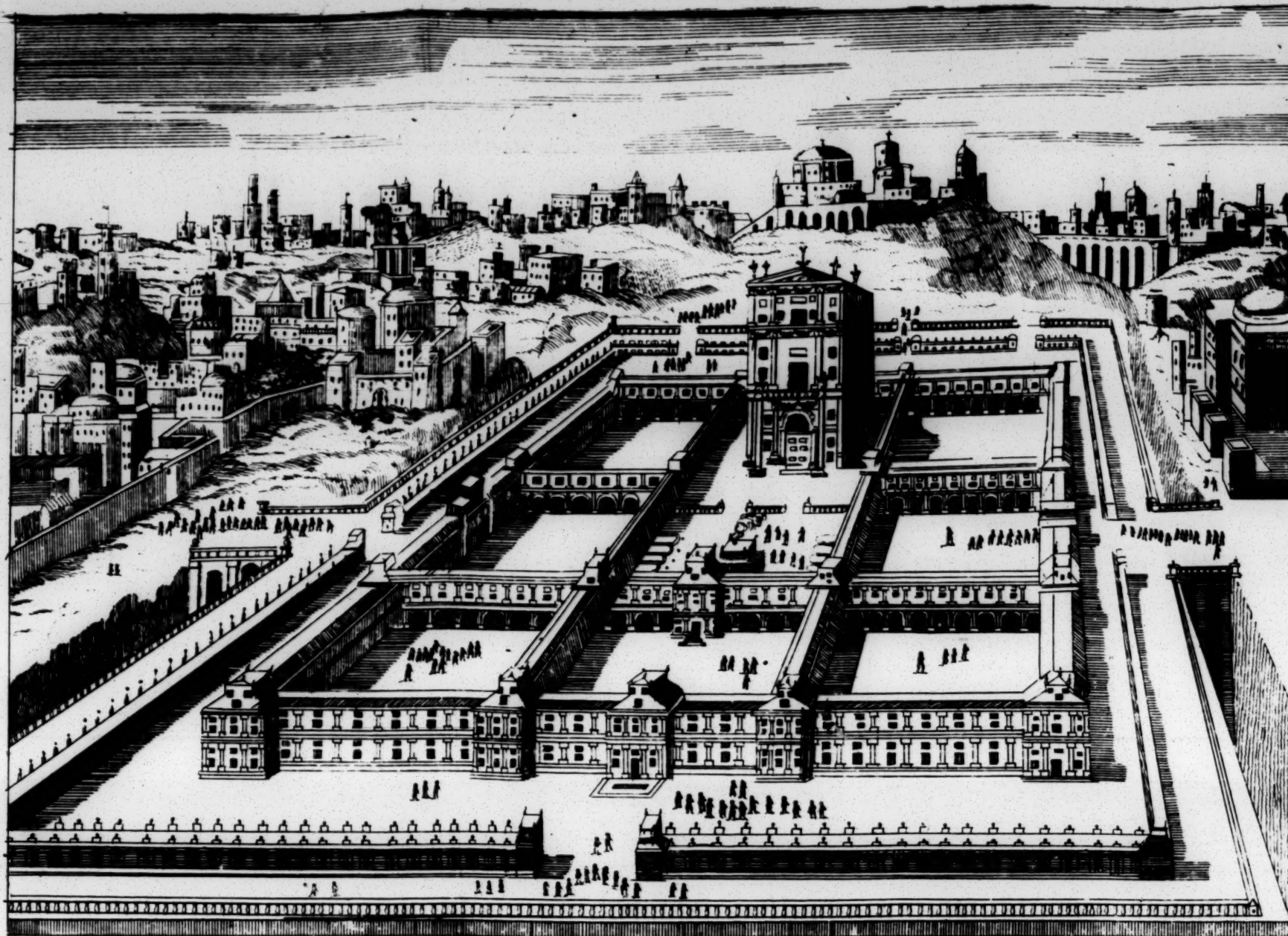
had







THE JEWISH PRIEST ON THE  
DAY OF EXPIATION.



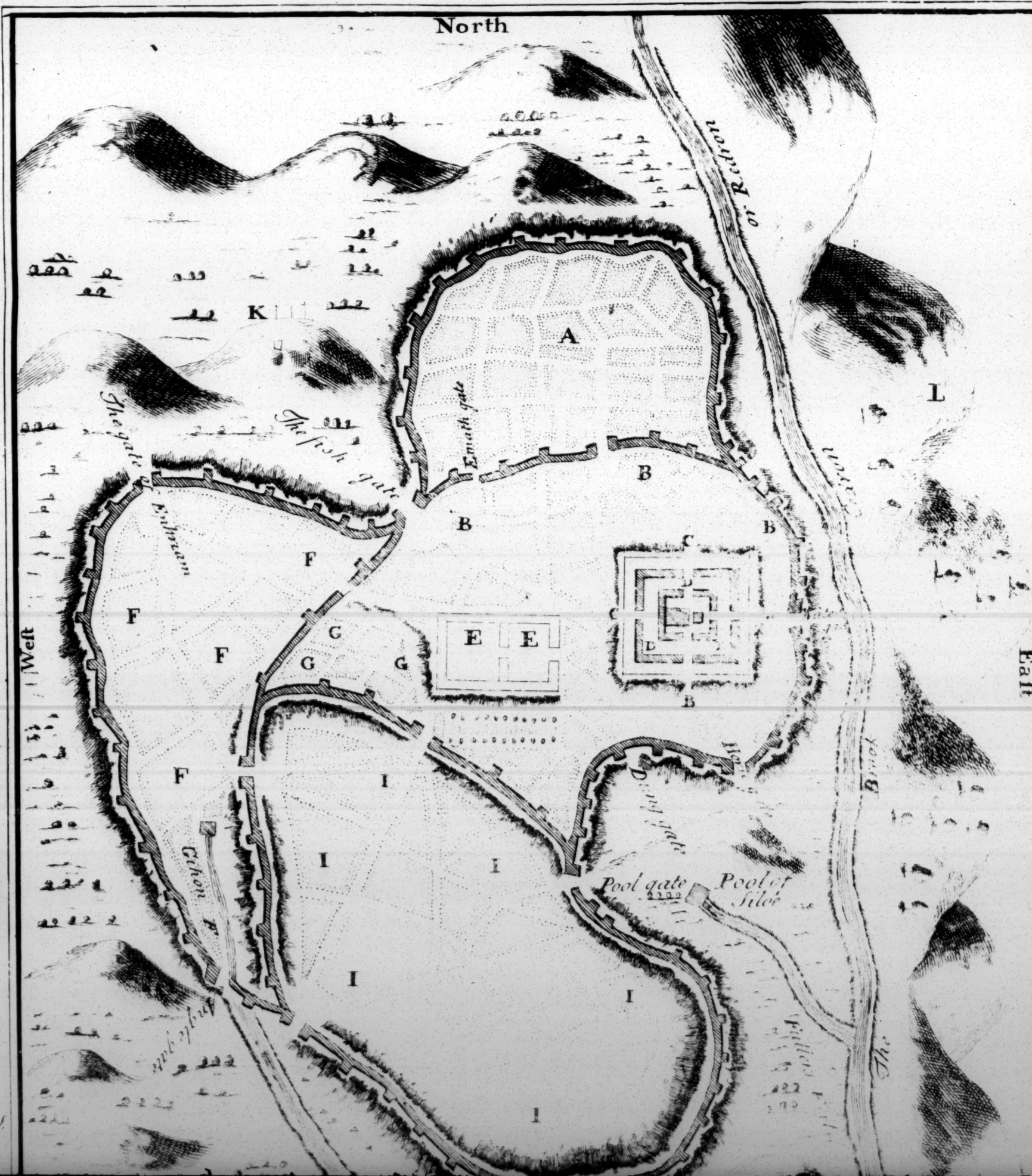
THE ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM



THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN  
HIS PONTIFICAL HABIT.



THE GOLDEN CANDLESSTICK  
A. The new City built by the Maccabees  
B. The City of David.



THE BRASEN LAVER.

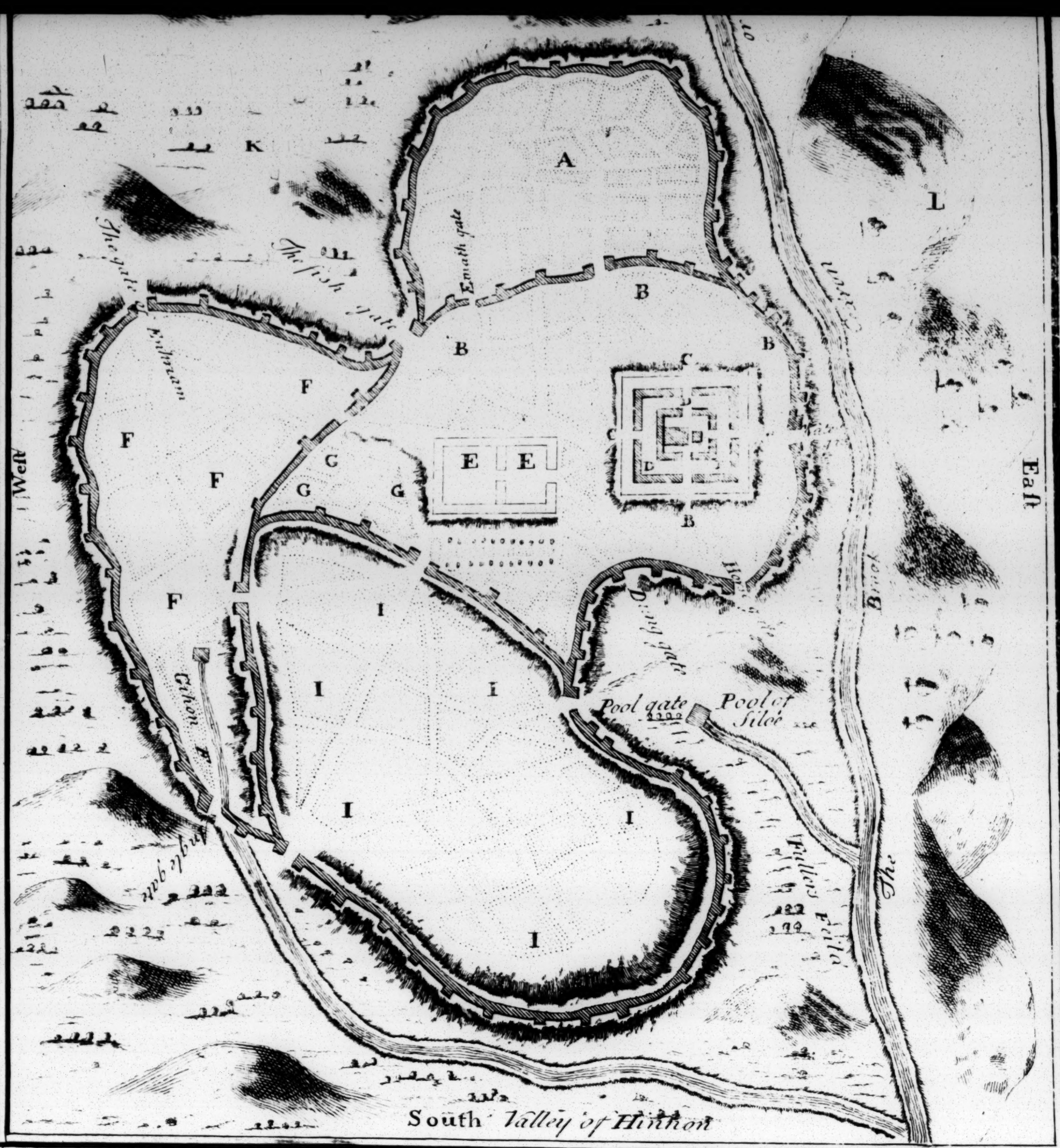
GG. The Fortress of the Temple.





### THE GOLDEN CANDLESTIC

A. The new City built by the Maccabees.  
 B. The City of David.  
 CC. Mount Moriah.  
 DD. The Temple.  
 EE. The royal Palace.  
 FF. A new part of City built since Manasse.

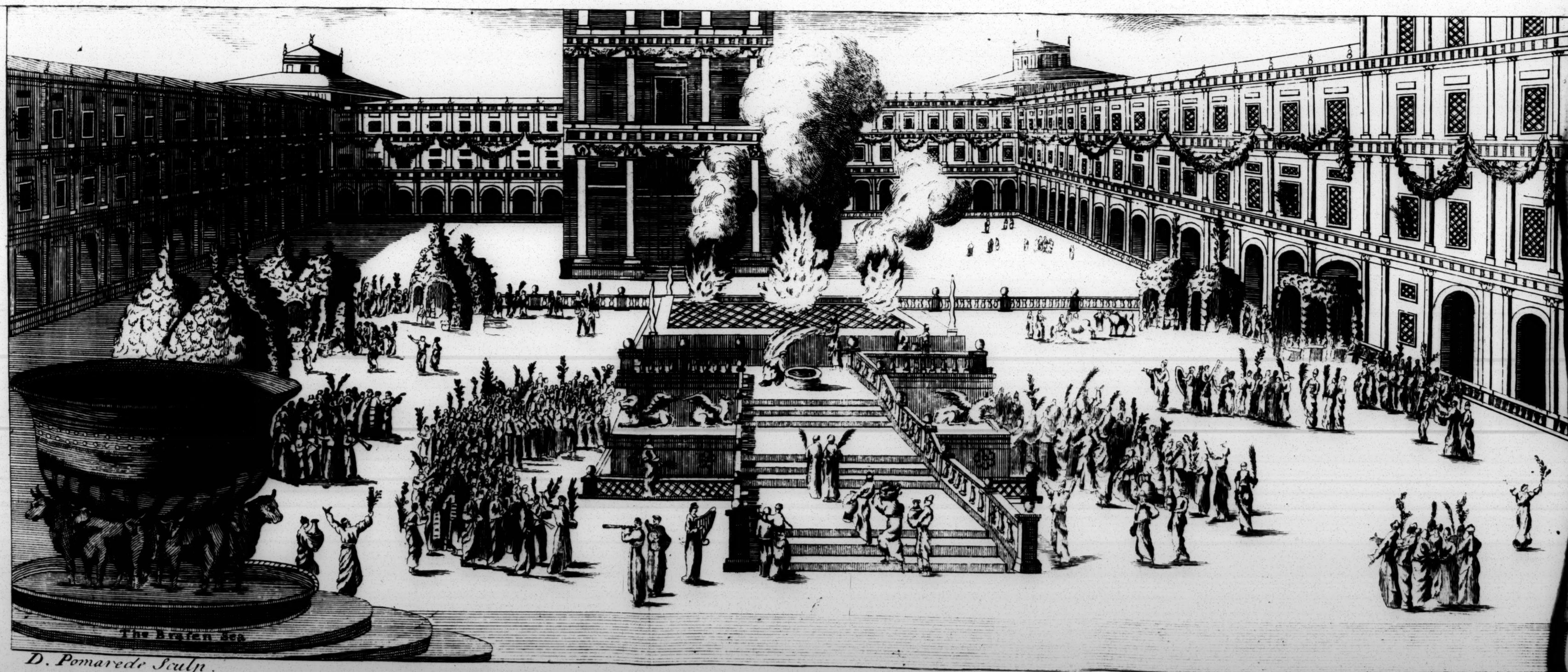


A PLAN OF JERUSALEM according to JOSEPHUS and  $\gamma$  RABBIES.



### THE BRASEN LAVER.

GG The Fortrefs Millo.  
 II The old City anciently called Jebus.  
 K. Mount Calvary.  
 L The Mount of Olives.



D. Pomarede Sculp.

A VIEW OF THE INNER PORCH ALTER &c. ON THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES. de quo vid. pag. 90.



CH  
vice  
per  
as r  
sho  
wh  
len  
big  
Th  
two  
ed  
lac  
mit  
dift  
of  
wit  
thi  
we  
har  
& a  
this  
em  
wit

had  
ing  
(  
fou  
us  
tha  
wa  
tim  
(  
dat  
the  
anc  
all  
aga  
lqu  
we  
the  
dit

†  
&

vice, according to the king's first design. The temple, properly so called, or holy place, was but sixty cubits high, and as many in breadth; but in the front he added two wings or shoulders, which projected twenty cubits more on each side; which made a front of one hundred and twenty cubits in length, and as many in height, with a gate seventy cubits high and twenty in breadth, but open and without any doors<sup>u</sup>. The stones were white marble, twenty five cubits in length, twelve in height, and nine in breadth, all wrought and polished with exquisite beauty, the whole resembling a stately palace, whose middle being considerably raised above the extremities of each face, made it afford a beautiful view at a great distance to those that came to that metropolis (A). Instead of doors, the gates closed with very costly veils, enriched with variety of flowering of gold, silver, purple, and every thing that was rich and curious; and on each side of the gates were planted two stately columns, from whose cornishes did hang gold festoons, and vines, with their clusters of grapes, leaves, &c. curiously wrought. As for the galleries that surrounded this sacred place, the porticoes, towers, courts, and other embellishments of it, we do not design to swell this section with them, but give a short sketch of them in the margin (B), and

<sup>u</sup> Bell. Judaic. l. vi. c. 6.

had entered into his ministry, at which time the *Jews* were objecting this to him (24).

(A) This superstructure, which was probably reared on the old foundation without sufficient additions to it, proved, as *Josephus* tells us (25), too heavy for it, and sunk down about twenty cubits; so that it was reduced to the height of one hundred. A project was set on foot for raising it again to its former height in *Nero's* time; but, upon some account or other, it was set aside.

(B) We have already spoken in a former volume † of the foundations of this stupendous work, some of whose walls were raised from the deep valley beneath, to the height of three hundred cubits and upwards, and some of the stones of it forty cubits long, all fastened to each other with lead and iron, to be proof against time, wind, and weather. The platform was a regular square of a stade or furlong on each side; and in that description we gave of the superstructure \*, we confined ourselves to what the sacred writers had said of it, without introducing the vast additions that had been made since by *Herod* and his successors.

(24) *Vide Usser. sub. A. M. 3987.* (25) *Antiq. ubi supra.*

† *Vol. III. p. 557, (I).*

\* *Appen. to Vol. III. p. 560.*

& seq.



and refer our readers for a fuller account to *Josephus*, the *Talmud*, and to such other writers, as have been at the pains of compiling their several descriptions from them.

WHILST

Since then we have two accounts of *Herod's* temple, the one written by *Josephus* (26), who had been a curious viewer of it; the other by *Jebudah Hakkodesh* (27), the compiler of the *Talmud*, above one hundred and twenty years after its destruction by the *Romans*. From these the authors quoted in the margin (28) have reared each their separate edifices, disposed, beautified, and adorned them more by the strength of their imagination than by any superior knowledge they had of the authors they copied from; though, with respect to even these, whoever considers their swollen style, will be apt to look upon their accounts of that building, rather as panegyrics, than historical descriptions of it. However, if either is to be preferred to the other, *Josephus*, who had both seen it and described it soon after, if not before, its destruction, when he might have been contradicted by numbers, who had viewed it as well as he, is certainly more to be credited than the *Talmudists*, who wrote so long after, and when they were sure there was none left to gain-say them. From him therefore we shall endeavour to give the best and shortest sketch and plan of that stately work, which is as follows:

Each front of this square, which, as we hinted above, was a furlong long, had a spacious gate or entrance, enriched with suitable ornaments; but that on the west had four gates, the one of which led to the palace, the next to the city, and the two others to the suburbs and fields. This inclosure was surrounded on the outside with a strong and high wall of large stones, well cemented; and on the inside had, on each front, a stately piazza or gallery, supported by columns of such bigness, that three men could but just embrace them, their circumference being about twenty seven feet. There were in all, one hundred and sixty two of them, which supported a cedar ceiling of exquisite workmanship, and formed three galleries, the middlemost of which was the largest and highest, it being forty five feet in breadth and one hundred in height; whereas those on each side were but thirty feet wide and fifty in height.

The piazzas and court were paved with marble of various colours; and at a small distance from the galleries was a second inclosure, surrounded with a flight of beautiful marble rails, with stately columns at proper distances, on which were engraven certain admonitions in *Greek* and *Latin*, to forbid strangers, and those *Jews* that

(26) *Ibid* & *bell. Judaic.* l. vi. c. 6 & *alib. pass.*

*Mishna Jeph Middoth.*

(28) *Villalpand Capell. L'empereur*

*Grot. Le Clerc, Lamy, Prideaux, Whiston, Calmet & al. mult.*

were

WHILST the work of the temple was carrying on with Herod<sup>ges</sup>, such surprizing expedition, as raised the admiration of the *to Rome*. *Jews*, Herod made a voyage to *Rome*, to pay his compliments

were not purified, to proceed further under pain of death. This inclosure had but one gate on the east side, none on the west, but on the north and south it had three, placed at equal distances from each other.

A third inclosure surrounded the temple, properly so called, and the altar of burnt offerings, and made what they called the court of the *Hebrews* or *Israelites*. It was square like the rest; but the wall on the outside was surrounded by a flight of fourteen steps, which hid a considerable part of it; and on the top was a terrace of about twelve cubits in breadth, which went quite round the whole cincture. The east side had but one gate, the west none, and the north and south four, at equal distances. Each gate was ascended to by five steps more before one could reach the level of the inward court; so that the wall which inclosed it appeared within to be but twenty five cubits high, tho' considerably higher on the outside. On the inside of each of those gates were raised a couple of spacious square chambers, in form of a pavilion, thirty cubits wide and forty in height, each supported by columns of twelve cubits circumference.

This inclosure had likewise a double flight of galleries on the inside, supported by a double row of columns; but the western side was only one continued wall, without gates or galleries. The women had likewise their particular courts separate from that of the men, and one of the gates on the north and south leading to it.

The altar of burnt-offerings was likewise high and spacious, being forty cubits in breadth and fifteen in height. The ascent to it was, according to the *Mosaic* law †, smooth and without steps, and the altar of unhewn stones. It was surrounded at a convenient distance round about with a low wall or rail, not above a cubit in height, which divided the court of the priests from that of the lay *Israelites*; so that these last were allowed to come thus far to bring their offerings and sacrifices; but none but the priests were allowed to come within that inclosure. The reader will more easily understand this description by the plan here subjoined, to which we have referred all the particulars under each paragraph by proper references.

All that needs be added here is, that *Herod* caused a new dedication of the whole to be performed with the utmost magnificence, and presented to it many rich trophies of his former victories, after the custom of the *Jewish* monarchs (29).

† *Exod* xx, 25, 26. (29) *Antiq* l. xv c. ult. *Bell. Judaic* l. i. c. 16. l. vi. c. 6. & *pass. alib.*



Makes a  
severe law  
against  
robbers.

to the emperor, and apaternal visit to his two sons. Perhaps also he did chuse this time to be out of the hearing of some of the murmurings, which the *Jews* raised against a law which he had lately made, to suppress the frequent incurfions and robberies which were committed in *Judæa*. By this law, it seems, he condemned every man that was found breaking through the walls of any house, to be sold for a slave into foreign countries; and this had greatly displeased the nation, because, contrary to that of *Moses*, it made their slavery perpetual; whereas, had they been only sold among their brethren, the sabbatic or the jubilee year would have put an end to it. Another objection raised against that law was, that those slaves would, in all likelihood, be tempted to forsake the *Jewish* religion and turn idolaters; upon which account it was still more universally exclaimed against\*. It is therefore likely, that *Herod*, who resolved at any rate to suppress those robbers, got out of the way, that he might not be importuned to repeal it. On his arrival at *Rome* (C), *Augustus* received him with all the marks of friendship, entertained him in the most sumptuous manner, and delivered his sons to him. *Herod* could not but be highly pleased to behold them so greatly improved under the care of that emperor. He acknowledged the favour in terms, and by presents, answerable to the high sense he had of the obligation, and, after a short stay, took the two young princes with him back into *Judæa*. Here they were received with the loudest acclamations of the people, who could not forbear admiring their majestic port and behaviour, which, joined to the excellent education they had received in *Italy*, had rendered them in all respects truly accomplished princes. He married them soon after to suitable matches; *Alexander* to *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*

Marries  
his two  
sons.

\* Antiq. l. xvi. c. 1.

(C) *Josephus* adds, that, in his way to *Rome*, he had the curiosity to stop at *Elis* to see the solemnity of the CXCI<sup>st</sup> olympiad; and that the poverty of the *Elians* having sunk the pomp and splendor of those games, he settled a constant revenue on them, in order to restore them to their antient lustre (30).

The like piece of generosity he shewed to the *Chians*, for whom he paid a large sum, which they were indebted to *Cæsar's* receivers; after which he gave them another sum to rebuild their porticoes, which had been demolished in the wars (31).

(30) *Antiq. l. xvi. c. 9. Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16.*

*Antiq. l. xvi. c. 3.*

(31)

king

king of *Cappadocia*, and *Aristobulus* to *Berenice*, the daughter of his sister *Salome* <sup>1</sup>.

BUT the admiration and love which the people expressed for those two excellent princes, failed not to raise the envy and jealousy of the restless *Salome*, and of those of her accomplices, who had forwarded the death of *Mariamne*, as they had reason more than enough to fear their avenging that princess's death. To prevent so just and sad a catastrophe, they had recourse to their vile artifices, which had succeeded so well against that innocent princess. They began with spreading reports abroad, that the two young princes could not endure their father, whom they looked upon as still reeking with the blood of their mother; not doubting, but when the rumour reached that jealous monarch's ears, it would inevitably render them obnoxious to him, and hasten their ruin. In the mean time *Agrippa* being come to *Asia Proper*, *Herod* went to invite him into *Judæa*, where having shewed him his new-built cities of *Sebaste*, *Alexandriæ*, *Cæsarea*, &c. he thence led him to *Jerusalem*. There the people met them at some distance from that metropolis, in their festival dress, and conducted them with loud acclamations into the city, where his reception was suitable to the magnificence of his host. *Agrippa*, having sacrificed a whole hecatomb at the temple, was forced to depart sooner than he would otherwise have done, by reason of the approaching winter, and *Herod* failed not to load him and his retinue with suitable presents, whilst the people accompanied him with loud huzzas, and strewed the way with flowers and odoriferous herbs where-ever he passed; insomuch, that that prince did ever after take a particular delight in expressing the pleasure of that journey, and extolling the magnificence of the temple and royal palace, and of the priestly ornaments, the stately buildings, and generosity of *Herod*. *Philo* adds, that he made the *Jews* some considerable presents, and did every thing he could to oblige them, without hurting the interest of their king. On the spring following, *Agrippa* sailing with his fleet to the *Bosporus*, was agreeably surprized with *Herod*'s coming to meet him with another at *Lesbos*, wherein he had brought him some considerable reinforcements of men, arms, and provisions; all which did so endear him to that prince, that he never undertook any thing without his knowledge and advice, nor scarce any party of pleasure without his company <sup>2</sup>.

*Agrippa's*  
*splendid*  
*reception in*  
*Judæa.*  
Year of  
the Flood  
2984.  
Before  
Christ  
15.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. c. 2.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. & c. 3. Vide & *PHILO*. legat. ad Cai. P. 1033.



ON his return to *Jerusalem*, he assembled the *Jews*, and acquainted them with the success of his arms and those of *Agrippa* against the *Bosporans*. He added, in order to lessen their discontent, that he remitted the nation a fourth part of their tribute; which made them some satisfaction for the late murmurings, which his law against robbers had occasioned<sup>a</sup>. But whilst things went thus smoothly on in his kingdom, his family was plagued with intestine jars, occasioned by the hatred which *Salome* bore to his two worthy sons. The truth is, they spake both of her and of her brother *Pheroras* in such resenting terms, as made them dread something worse from them. They even ventured to complain sometimes of the injustice done to their mother, and in their behaviour shewed so little tenderness towards their father, that *Salome* found it an easy matter to alienate his affection from them. To suppress in some measure the presumption of the two brothers, *Herod* caused *Antipater*, another of his sons (D), whom he had till then educated in a private manner, to be brought to court, where he heaped such caresses on him, as only rendered him more obnoxious to them, and them more indiscreet in their speeches against their father, all which were still carried back to him, and very often aggravated; whilst *Antipater*, wholly employed to cultivate a good understanding with him, was careful never to let a word slip even against his two brothers, tho' he had taken care to place such about him as should do it more effectually.

AMONG many other marks of *Herod's* affection to this new favourite son (E), he obtained of *Agrippa* the favour of his accompanying him to *Rome*, and of his being presented by him to the emperor; so that by this time every one began to look upon him as his father's successor. *Antipater* set out accordingly; but, to prevent his two rivals regaining their father's favour during his absence, he ceased not, both by his letters and by his agents, to turn his heart against them, till at length he began to look upon them as his enemies, and re-

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(D) This last son he had by another wife, whom *Josephus* calls *Doris* (32), and the fourth book of *Maccabees* (33) *Dosithea*.

(E) One of which was, that he recalled his mother, whom he had repudiated to marry *Mariamne*, the high priest's daughter.

(32) *Ibid.* c. 4.

(33) *Cap. ult.*

loved to take them with him to *Rome*, and there to try them at *Cæsar's* tribunal <sup>b</sup>. *Cæsar* being gone by that time to *Aquileia*, *Herod* came to him and there accused his two sons *Herod* <sup>accuses his</sup> of high treason, and required justice against them in such strong terms, as extorted a flood of tears from them; after <sup>two sons</sup> which *Alexander* pleaded his own and his brother's cause with <sup>of high</sup> such becoming modesty, as easily convinced both the emperor <sup>treason be-</sup> and the audience of their innocence. *Augustus* did, in a gentle <sup>fore Au-</sup> manner, reprove *Herod* for his too rash belief, and reconciled them together; but it was not likely this peace should be long-lived. *Herod* was too jealous, his sons too indiscreet, and their enemies too cunning and indefatigable, not to give cause for fresh dissensions. *Herod* himself laid the <sup>Returns to</sup> foundation for a new and dangerous one, by a speech which <sup>Jerusalem.</sup> he made to the *Jewish* assembly upon his being returned with his sons to *Jerusalem*; for there having acquainted them with his success at *Rome*, he declared to them that it was indeed his intention that his sons should reign after his death, and not till then, *Antipater* first, and then *Alexander*, and lastly *Aristobulus* (F); but that, whilst he lived, he did not think fit to part with the reins of government. This was indeed casting a bone of discord among his sons, and so it proved in the sequel <sup>c</sup>.

By this time the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been twelve years in building, being finished, *Herod* caused the dedication of it to be performed with the greatest pomp and splendor, and appointed games to be performed in it with the utmost solemnity every fifth year. *Julia*, the emperor's wife, <sup>Cæsarea finished.</sup> or as the *Jewish* historian always calls her, *Livia*, contributed <sup>Year of the Flood,</sup> towards the splendour of those sports five hundred talents <sup>2989.</sup> out of her own coffers; and *Herod* entertained his guests <sup>Before Christ,</sup> 10.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. c. 6 & 7.<sup>c</sup> Ibid. c. 8.

(F) During his stay at *Rome*, *Augustus* had, it seems, not only renewed his former grant to him of appointing any of his sons to be his successor, but had likewise given him the further liberty of dividing the kingdom amongst them in what proportion he should think fit.

He had likewise granted him one half of the revenue of the mines of *Cyprus*, and had appointed him his overseer of the other half. Several other rich presents were also interchanged between those two monarchs, which shewed their great intimacy to each other (34).

(34) *Antiq. ubi supra*, c. 8.

there,



there, who were very considerable both in quality and number, with surprising magnificence; insomuch, that *Augustus* said of him, That his soul was too great for his kingdom; and that he deserved to have been king of all *Syria* and *Egypt*. Besides the city of *Cæsarea*, which, by reason of its beauty, pleasant situation, and commodious harbour, became in time the residence of the *Roman* procurators, he built also those of *Antipatris*, in honour of his father; of *Cypron*, in honour of his mother, and *Phasaelis*, in honour of his brother: besides several other towers and castles of prodigious size and strength<sup>d</sup>. On the next year the *Jews* of *Asia* and *Cyrene*, having been greatly oppressed by the *Greeks*, especially on account of their religion and customs, sent a deputation to *Augustus*, and obtained an effectual redress from that emperor. The purport of his decree in their favour the reader may see in the margin (G).

*Herod* might have viewed, with no small pleasure, both himself and the whole *Jewish* nation respected and protected by the emperor and senate on the one hand, and by his friend *Agrippa* on the other; but his domestic jars, which daily increased by the hellish machinations of his brother and sister, and the emptiness of his coffers, which he had exhausted by his profuseness in buildings and feasts, made him too wretched to taste any pleasure in other things. To remove these two

<sup>d</sup> *Antiq. ibid. c. 9. & seq.*

(G) That they should be allowed to live according to their laws; and with the same privileges as they had enjoyed under the late *Cæsar* and *Hyrca*n; that their temple at *Jerusalem* should still receive their yearly tribute towards the repairs and worship of it; that the *Jews* should not be obliged to appear at the courts of judicature on the eve of the sabbath after the ninth hour, (answering to three after noon) nor on the sabbath; lastly, that whosoever should lay hands either on the temple tribute, or on any of the sacred books of the *Jews*, should be punished as a sacrilege, and all his goods, should be confiscated to the *Roman* commonwealth.

This decree was ordered to be set up in a public place at *Ancyra*, which had been dedicated by the whole people of *Asia* to the honour of that monarch (35).

King *Agrippa* made much such another decree in their favour, and ordered, that whoever stole any of the sacred treasure, or *Jewish* books, and took sanctuary in any temple or asylum, should be torn thence, and delivered up to the *Jews*, to be punished by them (36).

(35) *Ibid. c. 10.*

(36) *Idem ibid.*

corroding

corroding sores, he betook himself to remedies more desperate than the disease. To supply his present necessities, he cast his eyes on the tombs of *David* and *Solomon*, out of *Herod* which he had heard, or pretended to have heard, that *Hyr-plunders* *can* had formerly drawn some large sums; and those places, *David's* he thought, would prove a lasting fund for his extravagant *sepulchre.* expences. We shall not repeat what we have observed heretofore concerning this pretended theft of the *Maccabite* pontiff †. All we shall add with respect to *Herod* is, that he executed his design with the utmost privacy, and went to the place in the night, accompanied only with some few confidants, where, instead of the coined gold and silver he expected, he found only some quantity of rich vessels, curiously wrought, which he caused to be carried off. Not content with these, he ventured farther, to search into the very coffins of the dead monarchs; but some sudden damp, or, as *Josephus* calls it, a miraculous flame, which consumed two of his guards, having scared him and his retinue, put a stop to his further search. *Herod*, to make some satisfaction for his sacrilege, caused a stately monument of white marble to be erected at the entrance of the sepulchre; but this was looked upon by the *Jews* rather as a monument of his crime, than an expiation of it.

BUT his cruelty to his sons and their friends rendered him still more abhorred. His vile sister (H) had raised his jealousy *His cruelty to his sons.*

† Vide supra, p. 72, (M).

• Antiq. ibid. c. 11.

(H) One of her hellish projects, and which cost her dear, was, to get *Pheroras* to tell young *Alexander*, that the king was become so desperately in love with his wife *Glaphyra*, that nothing but his forcing her from him could satisfy his unruly passion. *Alexander* taking it for granted, went to his father, and, in the humblest manner, mixed with a flood of tears, expostulated the matter with him. *Herod*, surprized at such a black accusation, of which he was wholly innocent, sent for his brother, and asked him, How he could lay such a black perfidy to his charge?

*Pheroras* threw all the blame on his sister, and pretended she was the person who had whispered the thing to him. *Salome*, being sent for, denied the whole with her usual assurance; but the king reading her guilt in her looks, in spite of her protestations to the contrary, caused her and her brother to be banished the court, and highly commended his son's moderation; but all this good understanding was soon after dashed by a more hellish accusation, which they brought against that young prince, and which we are going to relate.

against



Alexander's desperate confession.

against them to such a height, that he acted more like a furious tyrant, than a father or king, filling the city with blood, and turning his own palace into a slaughter-house. *Alexander* had been accused to him of having corrupted, by dint of presents and promises, two of his favourite confidants, namely, his high-steward and cup-bearer. *Herod* ordered them immediately to be put to the rack; whereon they confessed their having indeed received some presents from that prince; but denied his having betrayed to them any ill design against the king. This confession not satisfying his jealousy, they were tortured afresh, and again, till he had extorted enough from them to justify his sending his son to prison and loading him with irons. Here the young prince being grown desperate, sent his father four different confessions, in which he owned all, and more, than the torture had extorted from the other two, and at the same time accused *Salome* and *Pheroras*, with two of the king's prime ministers and favourites, of being all alike concerned in the plot; and particularly that *Salome* had even ventured to come to him in the dead of night, and, lying down by him, had used many cogent arguments to convince him, that they must expect neither peace nor happiness, till they had rid themselves of the tyrant<sup>t</sup>.

THIS accusation, which was only calculated to set all on fire, had the desired effect; and the jealous king, not knowing whom to trust to, flew into the greatest excesses of cruelty. There was now nothing to be heard of but racks, imprisonments, and dreadful executions abroad, whilst the tyrant was so tormented with fears at home, that he often started out of his bed, as if pursued sword in hand by his sons and their accomplices. Thus it was hourly expected, when these fits of rage and dread would have run him mad, or hastened his son's execution, when *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* came in a lucky minute (I), and, by his interposition, settled a

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. c. 12.

(I) We have already taken notice, that he was the father of *Glaphyra*, whom *Alexander* had married. This prince, who was of a prudent and cool temper had received *Herod* and his sons in their return from *Rome*, where they had been acquitted by the emperor, and, by his wise counsels, had finished that reconciliation which *Augustus* had begun.

But being now informed to what height of cruelty things were carried at *Jerusalem*, he thought himself obliged to come thither, and to use his best endeavours to settle peace in that monarch's family.

calm.

calm again, at least for a time. This discreet prince, who knew the violence of *Herod's* temper, began at first with pitying his sad condition, and condemning the unnatural perfidy of his son, threatening to take his daughter from him, and to leave him to his father's just resentment; but, in the end, he had the address, by degrees, to explode all these malicious accusations and extorted confessions, and not only to persuade him that his son was innocent of any design upon his life or kingdom, but even to make him turn intercessor in his behalf. *Pheroras*, hearing of this reconciliation, found no better expedient to obtain *Herod's* pardon, than by coming in a mourning dress, and, at his feet, confessing himself the author of all the slanders raised against the two princes. *Herod*, thus reconciled to his sons, set out with them for *Rome*, to acquaint the emperor with the whole affair, after having accompanied *Archelaus* as far as *Antioch* in his way homewards<sup>8</sup>. He was indeed under an obligation to go and clear his son at the *Roman* court, because he had, after their second falling out, exhibited several grievous complaints against him to the emperor.

Reconciled  
to Herod.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
2991.  
Before  
Christ,  
8.

DURING this and his last journey to *Rome*, the bands of robbers, whom he had driven out of *Trachonitis*, having taken shelter in *Arabia Petrea*, under the protection of *Obodas* the king of it (K), had made such terrible inroads into *Judæa*, that *Herod*, on his return, not being able to come at them there, put all their relations and friends to death which he could lay his hands on; which made them more cruel and desperate than ever. By this time the temple being finished, as was hinted above, *Herod* caused the dedication of it to be performed with his usual magnificence, and, on the following spring, set about the suppressing of the *Trachonitish* robbers. He began with a law-suit against *Syllæus* for sixty

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. c. 13.

(K) This prince had a favourite minister named *Syllæus*, who had formerly made his addresses to *Salome*; but *Herod* refusing to give her to him, unless he turned Jew, and *Syllæus* not daring to consent to it, she had been given to *Alexas*, one of *Herod's* confidants. Hence arose a mutual hatred between them, which *Syllæus* improved, by persuading *Obodas* to protect those banditti, who did accordingly assign them the fortress of *Repta* for a place of retreat, from which they sallied out, and committed innumerable outrages and cruelties, both in *Palestine* and in *Cæle-Syria* (37).



Herod out  
of favour  
with Au-  
gustus.

Reconciled  
to him.

talents which he had lent him ; and having gained his cause before the prefects of Syria, *Saturnius* and *Volumnius*, *Syllæus*, instead of paying the money, slipped away to *Rome* ; whereupon *Herod*, having got leave of those two governors to right himself by arms, marched into *Arabia*, and there defeated the robbers, demolished their castle, and returned to *Jerusalem*, without taking any further revenge. But this expedition was like to have cost him dear, through the treachery of *Syllæus*, who, upon the first hearing of it, wen and complained to the emperor, and aggravated the wrongs done to the *Arabians* to such a degree, that *Augustus* sent him a very sharp reproof, and would have wholly cast him off, had not he been better informed soon after. *Herod* had sent two embassies to that prince, and neither of them had been able to get an audience. At length he sent *Nicolas Damascen* thither, who, finding how prejudiced the emperor was against his master, bethought himself of an happy expedient to explode all the accusations of *Syllæus*, by means of the ambassadors of the *Nabathean Arabs*, without discovering his errand, till they had cleared the way for him (L). *Augustus*, being now satisfied of *Herod's* innocence and of his own too great credulity, was thinking to have taken the *Nabathean* kingdom from *Aretas*, and to have made him a present of it ; but whilst he was deliberating about it, fresh complaints came to him from that unhappy monarch against his sons, which diverted the emperor from pursuing his design.

FOR whilst these things had been agitating, *Salome* and *Pheroras* had again filled *Herod's* head with new plots and assassinations intended against him by his sons ; and tho', upon inquiry, nothing could be proved against them, but a design

(L) These were come to demand justice against *Syllæus*, who had by that time caused *Obodas* to be poisoned, and was there soliciting the emperor for that kingdom ; but the *Nabatheans*, having set up a king of their own, sent this embassy to *Rome*, to have him confirmed there, and to have the assassin punished.

*Damascen* therefore having privately gained them, directed them how to manage their audience in such a manner, as to clear *Herod* of all that was laid to his charge, without betraying any other design than that of accusing *Syllæus*. The thing succeeded to his wish, and *Damascen* putting himself at the head of their embassy, managed his accusation with such address, backing it with the suffrages of his *Nabathean* colleagues, that *Syllæus*, who was then present, could not disprove one single point ; but was condemned to pay *Herod's* debt, and then to lose his head (38).

(38) *Conf. Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13. & l. xvii. c. 4. Strab. c. 16.*

of retiring into some other country, where they might peaceably outlive their father's tyranny; yet the jealous king took all the rest for granted upon this single evidence, and sent *Prefers* two of his ministers to *Rome*, with orders, that, if they found *new com-* the emperor reconciled to him, they should deliver his letter *plaints a-* to him, and obtain justice against the two young princes. *Aug-* *gainst his* *sons.* *gustus* having read the letter, and finding *Herod* desperately bent upon the ruin of his unfortunate sons, sent immediately orders to have them tried at *Berytus*, before the governors of *Syria* and other neighbouring provinces, and in particular before *Archelaus*; and, if they were found guilty, he gave their father leave to punish them as he should think fit. *Herod* convened them all accordingly, except the *Cappadocian* king, whom he suspected of too great partiality to his sons; and having left these two unfortunate princes under a strong guard at *Platone*, a small town of the *Sidonians*, under pretence that they might be easily brought thence, if the judges did think it necessary, he pleaded his own cause before an assembly of above five hundred persons; but with such violence and brutish resentment, as rather raised their indignation against, than pity for, him. He spared for neither evidence nor arguments to have them condemned to die, and concluded with telling them, that being a king, he might have done it by his own authority, according to the laws of *Judea*; but that he rather chose to have them tried before such an assembly, to avoid the imputation of injustice or cruelty. After a full hearing, *Saturnius*, who had been formerly consul, voted, that they should be punished indeed, but not with death, and was seconded by his three sons, who were then his lieutenants; but they were over-ruled by *Volumnius*, who condemned them to death, and drew the rest of the judges after him. Only they left it to *Herod* to execute the sentence, when and how he thought fit. *Gets them condemned.*

*Damascen*, on his return from *Rome*, did try in vain to dissuade him from too rashly depriving himself of two such sons, and leaving himself in his old age to the mercy of the ambitious *Antipater*. *Tyro*, another old experienced soldier, came likewise to beg of him, that he might be admitted to speak to him on the same subject; and, upon his permission, freely told him the danger he was in from that young prince, who, he assured him, entertained some treasonable designs against him, whilst the chiefs of the *Jewish* nation, to whom he was grown odious on that account, did highly pity his two condemned sons, as less guilty than that brother. *Herod* stopped him short there, to make him name these chiefs,



Puts them  
to death.

Year of  
the Flood,  
2994.  
Before  
Christ,

§

and, upon his so doing, caused them to be imprisoned. *Tyro* himself was, by the subtlety of *Salome*, accused by *Herod's* barber, of having hired him to cut his throat. *Herod* had recourse to the rack, which he caused to be given to the accuser, and to *Tyro* and his son, a youth of about the age of *Alexander*; and the latter, to save his father from the torture, confessed that himself alone, without his father's privity, had resolved to kill him, and to save *Alexander*. Scarce any body believed his confession but *Herod*, who thereupon caused his two sons to be conveyed to *Sebaste*, and there strangled, or, as the fourth book of the *Maccabees* has it, hanged on a post or gallows. Their bodies were afterwards buried at *Alexandriou*, among their *Asmonean* ancestors <sup>h</sup>.

*Antipater* having now no rival left, but his father, and *Pheroras*, though highly obliged to his brother, having lately fallen out with him (M), these two entered into a plot to take him off as soon as possible. *Herod* had about this time sent *Glaphyra*, *Alexander's* widow, back into *Cappadocia*, and returned her dowry out of his own coffers. There were still two sons left of hers, and two which *Aristobulus* had had by *Berenice*, all whom the king had caused to be carefully educated. He had likewise expressed an uncommon concern for them, as well as a remorse for the untimely death of their fathers; and, as he found himself upon the decline, he was contriving how to have those young princes so advantageously married, that he might see them safely and happily settled before he died. But *Antipater*, who looked upon them in another view, found means to break all his measures, and to persuade him to change the disposition of his family, contrary to his first design<sup>i</sup>. It will not be amiss here to give an account of that monarch's wives, and of

<sup>h</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 17, & 4 MACCAB. c. ult. <sup>i</sup> Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2, & 3.

(M) The occasion of this rupture, *Josephus* tells us (39), was, that *Herod* had formerly offered his brother his daughter in marriage, whom he had refused for the sake of a favourite servant, with whom he was deeply in love, and did soon after marry. *Herod* hereupon insisted upon his divorcing her, and marrying another of his daughters. *Pheroras* bound himself in the most solemn manner to perform it within a month; but when the time came, he absolutely refused; and *Antipater*, taking the advantage of this breach, easily drew him into his treasonable design.

(39) Antiq. l. xvi. c. 11, & l. xvii. c. 3.

their

their issue, in order to understand the sequel of this history. The reader will find both in the margin (N).

IN the mean time another thing happened, which rendered *Herod* more odious to the *Jews*, and more irreconcilable to his brother. An edict lately issued out, commanding the

(N) *Herod* had nine wives, the first of whom, named *Doris*, was the mother of *Antipater*. The second was *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, by whom he had a son named *Herod*, called also *Philip*, who had married *Herodias*, on whose account the baptist was afterwards beheaded. The third was his brother's daughter. The fourth his first cousin. He had no children by these two last.

The fifth was called *Martac*, a *Samaritan*, by whom he had *Archelaus* and *Antipas*, the former of whom succeeded him in the half of the kingdom under the name of *Tetrarch*, and the latter, called also *Philip*, married *Salome*, the dancing daughter of *Herodias* above-mentioned.

The sixth, named *Cleopatra*, was a native of *Jerusalem*, by whom he had two sons, *Herod*, called also *Antipas*, and *Philip*. *Herod* having married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip's* wife, during his life, was reprov'd for it by *John* the baptist, and caused him to be put to death.

*Pallas* was his seventh wife, by whom he had a son named *Phasaelus*. The eighth was *Phædra*, by whom he had only one daughter, named *Roxana*; and by the last, called *Elpis*, he had another daughter called *Salome* (40).

As to his grandsons, by his beloved *Mariamne*, mother of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, lately put to death, they make likewise a considerable figure in history, and especially those of the latter in the gospel, and deserve here a particular mention.

*Aristobulus* left two sons and a daughter, whom he had by *Berenice* his wife, as we have seen a little higher, namely *Agrippa*, *Herod*, and *Herodias*. *Agrippa*, at first clapt into prison by *Tiberius*, and afterwards made king of *Judæa* by *Caligula* (41), was he who put *James* the brother of *John* to death, imprisoned *Peter*, and was smitten with death at *Cæsarea* (42). *Herod* was made king of *Chalcis*, and is only known in *St. Luke* for his marriage with the dancing daughter of *Herodias*, as we hinted above.

As for *Agrippa*, he left a son of the same name, before whom and his sister *Berenice* *St. Paul* was admitted to plead his cause at *Cæsarea* (43), and another daughter, named *Drusilla*, married to *Felix*, governor of *Judæa* (44).

(40) *De his vide bell. Jud. l. i. c. 18. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. Vid. & Matth. xiv. 1, & seq. Mark vi. 14, & seq. Luke ix. 7, & seq.*  
 (41) *Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.* (42) *Acts xii. 1, & seq. ad fin.* (43) *Acts xxv. in fin. xxvi. Ptol.* (44) *Ibid. xxiv. 24.*



New troubles in Judaea.

*Jewish* nation to swear allegiance to *Augustus* and to the king, had been strenuously opposed by the *Pharisees*, to the number of seven thousand, as contrary to the *Mosaic law*<sup>k</sup>; for which contumacy *Herod* had condemned them to a severe fine, which had been paid by *Pheroras*'s new wife. This generous deed of hers had therefore so ingratiated her to that sect, that they scrupled not to persuade the people, from a pretended prophetic spirit, that God was going to transfer the crown from the line of *Herod* to the posterity of his brother's wife. *Salome* failed not to acquaint *Herod* with it, who, having put several of the ring-leaders to death, commanded his brother to put his wife away, as the cause of this new sedition. *Pheroras*, upon his obstinate refusal to comply with his command, was forbid the court, and the rest of *Herod*'s family to have any further conversation with him. *Pheroras* was glad to take this opportunity of retiring into his tetrarchy, and took an oath never to return to court again whilst *Herod* lived. His being at that distance from the metropolis was indeed a likely expedient to prevent his being suspected of having a hand in what he was then hatching against the king's life; and for the same reason *Antipater* procured himself to be sent for to *Rome* to attend upon *Augustus*. Thus had these two politic persons contrived to screen themselves from discovery, whilst their instruments were on work to bring about their treacherous design; but an accident soon after happened, which brought their whole treason to light.

*Herod falls sick.*

*Herod*, who was fallen sick, and still retained a great love for his brother, had sent for him to communicate some private orders to him, and *Pheroras* had refused it, on pretence that he dared not violate his oath. He fell sick soon after, and *Herod* recovered, and was so far from resenting his late refusal, that he paid him an affectionate visit, without staying for an invitation from him. *Pheroras* dying two days after his arrival, he caused him to be magnificently buried at *Jerusalem*. But his death proved the beginning of *Antipater*'s disgrace: for two of the deceased's freed-men came and demanded justice against his wife, whom they accused of having dispatched him with some poison, which she had given him on that very evening on which he was taken ill. *Herod* had recourse to his old way of extorting the truth by the rack; in particular, the women of *Pheroras*'s family suffered it at first with a surprising constancy; but one of them was at length forced, by the excess of the torture, to cry out, that she

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Deut. xvii, 15.

prayed to God, that *Doris*, *Antipater's* mother, might bear Antipa-  
 her share of the torments, which she had been the cause of. *ter's plot*  
 At these words *Herod* having caused them to be more cruelly *against him*  
 tortured, as well as one *Antipater*, an officer under his trea- *discovered.*  
 cherous son, the whole plot was unravelled; and, upon com-  
 paring their several depositions, and the intelligence which  
*Salome* had already given to the king, it was found, that the  
 poison, of which *Pheroras* died, had been procured from  
*Alexandria* by a friend of *Antipater*, from whom it was con-  
 veyed by *Antipater's* mother to *Pheroras*, in order to be given  
 to the king upon the first opportunity. All which was upon  
 further examination acknowledged by *Pheroras's* wife, who  
 added, that she would go and fetch it to him; and, instead  
 of doing so, flung herself down from a high gallery; but her  
 fall not proving mortal, she, upon *Herod's* promise of a ge-  
 neral pardon, deposed further, that her husband, being stung  
 with remorse at his receiving this last visit from him, had or-  
 dered her to fetch the poison, and to burn it before his face,  
 which she had accordingly done, except a small dose that she  
 had reserved for herself in case of necessity. The box, and  
 rest of the poison, being produced and acknowledged by o-  
 ther witnesses, convinced *Herod* of his son's perfidy; not on-  
 ly to himself, but to the two sons of his favourite *Mariam-*  
*ne*. His other wife of that name was likewise accused of be-  
 ing in the same plot, and though nothing was proved against  
 her, yet was she banished, her son *Herod* disinherited, and  
 her father deposed from the high-priesthood (O). *Doris* was  
 likewise stripped of all her costly ornaments, which amounted to  
 a large sum, and banished the court<sup>1</sup>.

BUT it is now time to leave for a while *Herod* in his sad *John the*  
 distracted condition, and the nation in their feuds and resent- *baptist*  
 ments against him, and turn our eyes on more important *born.*  
 matters; those great and inestimable blessings which heaven

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 4, 5, & 6.

(O) *Simon* was succeeded in that dignity by one *Matthias* the  
 son of *Theophilus*, a native of *Jerusalem*. But this pontiff having,  
 on the following expiation-eve, contracted some pollution †, which  
 incapacitated him from officiating on that grand solemnity, a near  
 relation of his, named *Joseph*, the son of *Ellemus*, was substituted  
 in his room. *Matthias* enjoyed his dignity but one year, after  
 which he was deposed for being privy to an insurrection raised  
 at *Jerusalem*, and succeeded by *Joazar* his brother-in-law (45).

† Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6. Vid. & Vol. III. p. 201, 235, & seq.  
 (45) Antiq. ubi supra, c. 8.



was then ready to shower down, not only on the *Jews*, had they not rendered themselves unworthy of them, but on the whole world, who, we are told, were then in an universal expectation of them under the promised Messiah. For about this time the angel *Gabriel*, who had been formerly sent to manifest to *Daniel* the precise time of his coming, by a determinate number of weeks <sup>m</sup> (P), was again sent to *Zachary*,

<sup>m</sup> Dan. ix. 24, & seq.

(P) This is justly allowed one of the noblest prophecies in the whole *Old Testament*, and one of the strongest proofs of christianity against the *Jews*, since it determines the very time on which Christ was to come into the world, enter into his ministry, and be cut off for the sins of the people; soon after which was to follow the destruction of the *Jews*, or, as the prophet words it, their ceasing to be a nation or people, and the promulgation of the gospel, or of the new covenant, in and by that Messiah.

The whole prophecy runs as follows (46): *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city to finish (or restrain) the transgression, and make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy one. Know therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah, the prince, shall be seven weeks; and threescore and two weeks the streets shall be built again, and the wall, even in anxious or (perilous) times; and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end of it shall be with (or like) an inundation, and unto the end of the war desolation is determined; and he shall confirm the covenant with many during one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and he shall make it desolate on account of the over spreading of abominations, until the determined extermination be poured on the land, or people, that is become liable to that desolation.*

It will not be expected, that we should here enter into a comment on this prophecy, much less into a dissertation on the various ways of computing the seventy weeks here mentioned, and the various times which interpreters, both *Jewish* and christians, have assigned for the beginning and ending of that prophetic epocha. And yet, as the subject is of no small moment, the reader will doubtless be glad to hear at least, how it is best calculated and made

(49) Dan. ix. 24. & seq.



out

ry, a pious and upright priest of the course of *Abiah*, whilst he stood offering the sacred incense in the temple, according to the priestly office <sup>n</sup>, to foretel him the birth of a son, the  
miraculous

<sup>n</sup> Vid. EXOD. xxx. 7, 8, & Vol. III. p. 224, & seq.

out by the latter, and by what subterfuges the former endeavour to evade the force of it.

The generality of the *Jews* do agree with us, that those prophetic weeks are weeks of years, or of a day for a year, according to the prophetic style. Though some of them, in order to puzzle the cause, have pretended to understand them of weeks of jubilees, or of seven sabbatic <sup>\*</sup>, that is, forty nine weeks each, amounting in all to 3430 years (47). A good long epoch, and very proper to keep up the drooping hopes of the *Jews* about the Messiah's coming. Others stretch it still farther, to seven thousand years, that is, by allowing a hundred years to every week; but the generality understand those weeks of seven lunar or *Jewish* years, as we do, according to which seventy weeks will make four hundred and ninety years. But here they finding themselves closely pinched by that computation, have had recourse to various pitiful shifts to explode it. We shall give our readers a sketch of some of the best of them, by which he may guess at the rest.

Some of them pretend, that the words of the prophet, *from the going forth of the command to restore and to build*, are not to be understood from the issuing out of *Cyrus* or *Darius's* decree; but from the time of those words being prophetically pronounced by *Jeremiah* to *Zedekiah* king of *Judah* (48) some years before the captivity (49); and to shew their wretched skill in chronology, conclude the epocha with us at the destruction of the temple. Others, *St Jerom* tells us (50), began at *Darius the Mede*, and ended it with those above-mentioned at the destruction of *Jerusalem*; only they allowed the eight remaining weeks for the total dispersion of the *Jewish* nation completed under the emperor *Adrian*.

A third sort begin the seventy weeks at the destruction of the first temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and end it at the destruction of the second by *Titus Vespasian* (1). Shrinking thereby an epoch of six hundred and sixty years into this of four hundred and ninety, to make it agree with the seventy weeks, and thereby betraying still more their ignorance of chronology. This devastation of the

<sup>\*</sup> Concerning those jubilees and sabbatic years, see before Vol. III. p. 195, & seq. 190, & (L). (47) Vid. N. De Lyra in Daniel. ix. (48) Jerom. xxiv. 8. & seq. xxxv. 1. & seq. alib. pass. (49) Vid. Munster. in Dan. ix. Note g. (50) In Daniel. ix. (1) Rabbin. plurim. Vid. int. ab. Abrabanel, Solomon Jarchi, & de Lyra in loc. sup. citat.



miraculous child of old age and barrenness ; a son whom he should shortly have by his virtuous wife *Elizabeth*, and who should be a *Nazarite*, and the fore-runner and great harbinger of the world's redeemer °. Here the good old priest, surprized at the vision, and conscious of his and his spouse's extreme old age, could not forbear desiring to have his faith confirmed by some further miraculous token ; and the angel granted his request, and in such a manner, as might at once

° LUKE i. 5, & seq.

city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, is according to this latter system to last till the overthrow of *Gog* and *Magog* by the Messiah ; but when that will happen, they do not pretend to guess. For these reasons they are altogether at a loss how to explain this prophecy, so as to evade the consequences drawn from it by the christians against them. and have fallen into various hypotheses, equally absurd and ridiculous, about the Messiah. Some think, that the sins of the nation have retarded his coming ; others, that he came at the appointed time, but did not appear publicly ; others, that he is still hid in some obscure part of the world, waiting till they are fit to receive him ; others have imagined two Messiahs, one humble, obscure, and rejected ; and another as yet to come, glorious, warlike, victorious, and universally acknowledged. Lastly, and to name no more, from a sense of the manifest deficiency of all these evasory shifts, they have agreed to leave the dispute about the Messiah *in suspendio* till better times, and have prohibited all further enquiries and calculations about it under a severe anathema (2).

The christians are not exactly agreed either in the placing the beginning and end of these weeks, or in the calculations of those lunar or *Jewish* years. Both differences, however, are inconsiderable, if duly attended to ; the former is intirely owing to our imperfect knowledge of the chronology of those times. Had we a sure guide in it, the point would not be long unsettled. But whilst in this uncertainty one author will place the beginning at the decree of *Cyrus*, another at that of *Darius*, a third at that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and each of them endeavours to stretch or shorten the chronology of each interval, as best suits with his hypothesis ; it is no wonder there is so little agreement among them, and so little certainty to be gathered from the whole dispute.

The difference arising from the various computations of the *Jewish* years is still more inconsiderable, since it can amount at most but to nine or ten years between those who make it longest, and those who make it shortest ; and who can wonder at it, or urge it as an objection against this prophecy, that considers the variety of

(2) *Vid. ant. al. Basnag. Dissert. de 70 hebdomad.*

computations,

once be a reproof to his diffidence, and a confirmation of the message he had delivered to him. *Zacharias* was accordingly struck dumb on that instant, and continued so, till the promised child was actually born.

SIX

computations, of either the *Jews*, of which we have formerly spoken more fully \*, or of other nations, from which this epoch is to be calculated and rectified? Upon the whole then, these difficulties duly considered, an impartial reader will doubtless rest satisfied with that system, which best adjusts the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, of the prophecy to the chronology of that epoch, according to the best light that can be had of it from the sacred and profane historians.

Waving therefore some minute differences between the authors that have written on that subject, the system most universally received by protestants, as well as *Roman* catholics, is that of *Julius Africanus* (3), as it has been amended by some late eminent chronologers (4), who place the beginning of it, expressed in the words of the prophecy, *From the going forth of the commandment to rebuild, &c.* at the beginning of its execution, which was not done till *Nehemiah's* coming to *Jerusalem* to see it punctually performed, and the end of it at the death of the Messiah; which interval makes up the four hundred and ninetyeth year here foretold. For as to the first, it is plain, that *Nehemiah* found the work quite obstructed and set aside, at his first arrival there, and that he sat immediately about and finished it (5). This command, which was given in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes* (6), is not, however, to be understood, according to them, of the twentieth year of his reigning alone, which would make the whole period too long by ten years; but of the twentieth of his reigning in partnership with his father (on a supposition that he was admitted into it by him ten years before his death) which will be the tenth of his reigning alone.

This system, which seems clearly to remove all difficulties, is attended with only one, viz. the silence of historians and the unlikelihood of *Artaxerxes* being admitted so early into partnership with his father; and this objection, small as it is, has been, however, thought weighty enough to oblige the learned *Prideaux* (7) to steer a new course, which our readers will perhaps better approve than the former. But as he has treated the subject in such a full and prolix manner, as would swell this note beyond due bounds, and the book itself is in every body's hands, and in our

\* See. Vol. I. p. 250, (N), & Vol. III. p. 189, & (K), & alib.  
 (3) *Apud Hieron. in Daniel. ubi supra.* (4) *Petav. de Doctr. Temp. lib. xii. cap. 32, & Seq. Ration. Tempor. part. 2. l. iii. c. 10. Uffer. sub A. M. 3550.* (5) *Conf. Nebem. i, ii, & iii. pass. See also Vol. IX. p. 540, & seq.* (6) *Nebem. i. 1.* (7) *Connect. part 1 Book 5. sub an. 458.*



Six months after this vision, the same heavenly messenger was sent to an obscure young virgin, named *Mary*, who dwelt then at *Nazareth*, with, and under the guardianship of, her espoused husband *Joseph*, both of them of the house and lineage of

own language, we shall refer the readers to it for the further clearing of this noble prophecy.

In the conclusion the prophet is told, that after the cutting off of the Messiah, the temple and city shall be destroyed by a strange nation, that shall come like an inundation against it, and that the desolation of the land shall be preceded by an overflowing of abominations; all which sufficiently prefigures the *Roman* eagles set up in the temple, prophetically also alluded to by Christ himself (8), followed by the prophanation, plundering, and firing of that holy place. In the middle of the week, the sacrifices, oblations, &c. were to cease, not actually, for they did not do so till the destruction of the city, about forty years after; but they lost their efficacy, and became useless and insignificant after the grand sacrifice of the Saviour of the world, which they were to prefigure, and from which alone they received their efficacy. Lastly, those who had thus rejected and put to death the Messiah, were to cease to be a people, be dispersed, desolate, &c. all which the *Jews* have sufficiently felt to their cost.

The destruction and lasting desolation of the city, but more particularly of the temple, was indeed to be the finishing stroke of the christian evidence against the *Jews*. We have shewn in a former volume †, how these evade the pregnant prophecies of *Jacob*, that the sceptre should not depart from Judah, &c. (9), and the reader has now seen what wretched shifts they make to elude this of *Daniel's* week, at the expence of sense and chronology. There seemed therefore still wanting a more irrefragable proof, if not to convince, at least to silence, that insatuated nation, with respect to this important article of the Messiah's being come at the appointed time, and of the vanity of those that still expect him; and this was the prophecy of his coming during the standing of the second temple, and rendering it more glorious by his presence than that of *Solomon*, notwithstanding its great disparity in other respects, concerning which the reader may look back to what has been said at the beginning of this chapter \*. When therefore this temple was destroyed, it ought to have convinced them that he was really come, as his apostles and disciples affirmed, though there had been a new one immediately built; how much more when all attempts for the rebuilding it have been hitherto frustrated? But of this we shall have a proper occasion to speak more fully in the sequel.

We beg leave here only to observe further, that if the total de-

(8) *Matth.* xxiv. 15, & *alib.* † *Vol. II.* p. 441, G (9) *Genesis* xlix. 10. \* See *Vol. IX* p. 506, & K.

of *David* † (Q), with the glad tidings, that she was chosen; by the special favour of heaven, to be the happy mother of the

† MATTH. i. 18. LUKE i. 26, & seq. iii. 23, & seq.

struction of the city and temple, and the dispersion of the *Jews*, did not immediately follow the crucifixion of the Messiah, they became obnoxious to it from that time; and God seems only to have protracted the sentence during those forty years, to give them time to repent of that atrocious fact, which, as St. *Peter* observes (10), they had committed through ignorance. Accordingly we find, that vast numbers of them prevented it by a timely conversion (11), whilst the more obdurate sort, refusing to acknowledge that crime (12), and embrace the proffered mercy, were thereupon dispersed throughout the world, to be, against their will, a standing evidence of the truth of the scriptures and prophecies, and of their own judicial blindness and punishment.

(Q) We have taken notice in a former volume, that the *Jews* had a law which expressly forbade heiresses to marry out of their own tribes (13). It is true, the virgin *Mary* seems to have been far enough from being one of that sort, at least in possession, whatever she might be in reversion, or by virtue of the jubilee laws, according to which all lands and inheritances were to revolve to the original owner, or his next heir or heiress †. But there was still a much greater tie, which kept the virgins of the tribe of *Judah*, but especially those of the house of *David*, from marrying into another tribe or family, namely, the sure expectation they had, that the Messiah was to be of that lineage, and to be born in *Bethlehem*, the city and patrimony of that monarch; and how careful every family was to preserve their genealogy, needs not be repeated.

It is therefore in vain, that the *Jews* exclaim against the uncertainty of Christ's being of the seed of *David*, because *Joseph*'s and not *Mary*'s genealogy is deduced from him by the two evangelists, who is yet affirmed by them to have had no share in his conception. The certainty of the virgin's descent from that house is rendered evident enough by what we observed above, especially if we add the testimony of the evangelists themselves, who call her miraculous child the son or descendant of *David*. If it be asked, why they chose rather to give us that of her husband? it may be answered, that they conformed in it to the custom of the *Hebrews*, and even of the sacred writers, who deduce their genealogies from the male rather than the female line; for if Christ the son of *Mary* was the son or descendant of *David*, it must follow that his mother must be so too.

(10) *Acts* iii. 17. (11) *Ibid.* ii. 36, & seq. iii. pass. (12) *Ibid.* v. 28. (13) *De hac vid.* *Numb.* xxxvi. pass. & *Vol.* III. p. 29. † *De hac vid.* *ibid.* p. 195, & seq. & 200.



the promised favour of the world, to whom she should therefore give the significant name of *Jesus* or *Saviour*, according to

But the greater difficulty is, to reconcile the variations of the two genealogies of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, and we much question whether the greater part of our readers would care to have all repeated that has been said on that subject, tho' in ever so succinct an epitome, especially considering that the point has not been so sufficiently cleared hitherto, as to leave no room for fresh cavils and objections. Yet that our silence might not be interpreted for a giving up of the cause, we shall subjoin a few observations we have been able to make, some of which, tho' intirely new, may yet furnish the curious inquirers into these abstruse matters, with a better key to reconcile those two genealogies, if not to clear and confirm the one by the help of the other, than they have as yet met with ; and as we design the following remarks chiefly for such of our studious readers, we shall content ourselves with giving them as hints for them to exert their talents upon, without confining ourselves so much to method, as we do in other notes.

First, then, we beg leave to observe, that the titles of father and son, as well as the terms *to beget* and *be begotten*, in the language of scripture, do not always imply an immediate, but frequently a remote succession. Hence the phrase often used by *Moses*, *when thou shalt hereafter beget children and childrens children* (14) and the name of father or son given to a predecessor or successor at the distance of two, three, or more generations, as will more fully appear by the sequel. This being premised will serve as a basis to the following remarks on the subject of those two gospel genealogies.

1st, St. *Matthew* gives one genealogy, and St. *Luke* another, and both in some names vary from the *Old Testament*.

2dly, St. *Matthew*, who begins his from *Abraham*, divides it into forty two successions, called by him generations ; that is,

|                 |   |                       |
|-----------------|---|-----------------------|
| fourteen before | } | the regal government. |
| fourteen under  |   |                       |
| fourteen after  |   |                       |

3dly, The first fourteen are the same with those in the *Old Testament*, and in St. *Luke*.

4thly, The next fourteen in St. *Matthew* contain the legal succession of the line of *Solomon*, untill its extinction in *Jechoniah*, *al. Coniah* and *Jeboiachim* (15) when the line of *Nathan*, the son of *David* and brother of *Solomon*, took place.

5thly, The inheritance in the *Jewish* polity being unalienable farther than the jubilee, as was before hinted, and then revolving to the next surviving heir, the latter, tho' at some distance from the former, was called the son, that is, properly the successor of the former. Thus *Salathiel*, who by St. *Luke's* genealogy appears

(14) *Deut. pass.* (15) *Conf. Jerem. xxii. 24. ad fin. 2 Kings xxiv. 8. & seq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, & seq.*

to the prophecies long since written of him. Those that relate to this particular head, are as follow : *Behold a virgin shall*

to have been the descendant of *Nathan* the son of *David*, is by St. *Matthew* said to be begotten by *Jechoniah* (16), the last of the *Solomonic* line, because he was the next surviving heir of the house of *David* after *Jechoniah's* death. Had not therefore *Solomon's* line been set down, and the end thereof noted, it could not have appeared from St. *Luke*, how *Salathiel* came by his title of succession ; for the line of *Nathan* could not have any claim to it, whilst that of *Solomon* subsisted, unless in an uncertain reversion ; and this will account for the difference between St. *Luke* and St. *Matthew*, in these middle fourteen generations.

6thly, But there is likewise in this latter succession a manifest variation as to the number from the books of the *Old Testament*. It has indeed been solved by saying that the evangelist aiming only at the three round numbers of fourteen generations abovementioned, had overlooked or purposely past by some of the redundant ones ; and this answer has hitherto past for current.

But the difference seems to arise from something more material, than the bare aim at an equality of numbers. The historical books set down all the kings in general that had reigned from *David* to *Jechoniah* ; but St. *Matthew*, as a genealogist, seems to take notice only of those who had a legal title, and to omit the others. Of this latter sort we take *Abaziah* the son of *Jehoram* by *Ataliah* to have been, who is said to have been made king by the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* upon his father's death, because his elder brother had been killed by *Philistines* (17), which seems to intimate, that they had chosen him in lieu of some infant son of his deceased brother. For had not this been the case, he would have succeeded of course without the people's choice. In the same class we may put *Joash*, who succeeded his father *Abaziah*, and *Amaziah* the son of *Joash*, all who might succeed each other in prejudice of the elder branch, till this being extinct, made way for the younger in *Ufiah* or *Osias*, the son of *Amaziah*, who is therefore called by the evangelist, the son (18), that is, as we have hinted above, the successor of *Jehoram*, though at the distance of three generations above-mentioned.

Thus again *Zedekiah*, who was set up by the king of *Babylon*, in prejudice of his elder brother *Jechoniah*, is likewise omitted by the evangelist. Now when these irregular successions are taken away, there will remain but the same fourteen which are mentioned in his genealogy.

7thly, The next variation between the two evangelists is in the last fourteen generations, and arises from the one's constant

(16) *Conf. Luke* iii. 27, ad 31, & *Matth.* i. 12. (17) *Vid. 2 Chron.* xxii. 1. & *2 Kings* viii. 24, & *Jeq.* (18) *Matth.* ubi *supra*, ver. 8.



*shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emanuel,*  
*&c.*

care of pointing out the passing of the inheritance as far as it goes in the elder branch. They both agree as far as *Zerubbabel*, after which *St. Matthew* goes on with *Abiud* and his heirs, down to *E-leazar*, where the line of *Abiud* ends; and then descends down as his son and successor *Matthan* (19), who is by *St. Luke* mentioned under the name of *Matthat*, and was of the line of *Rhesa* (20) the son of *Zerubbabel*. So that he entered into the regular succession after the extinction of that of *Abiud*.

Thus again *Matthat* or *Matthan* dying childless, *Eli* was obliged, according to the *Mosaic* law, to take his wife, and raise up seed to him, and by him begot *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, who, according to the same law, was still reputed as the son of the dead elder brother. For this reason *St. Matthew* rightly calls him the son of *Jacob*; whereas *St. Luke*, who did not proceed on the same method, calls him the son of *Eli*. The first gives us the name of his legal, the other of his natural father.

*St. Matthew* might in all probability have fetched his genealogy from the records of *Bethlehem*, the patrimony of *David*, and wherein therefore none were entered, but such as by a regular lineal descent were in actual possession of it, and where the younger branch, though in actual possession of the crown, could not be regularly inrolled, as long as there was any heir of the elder left alive, or till such a time as this latter failed. *St. Luke*, on the other hand, who, as he tells us in the preface to his gospel, proposed to supply such defects as he found in those who had writ the history of *Jesus Christ* before him, fearing lest their omissions should cause some confusion, for want of pointing out when the younger succeeded the elder branch, had recourse to the book of chronicles, where the series of the successions, both regular and irregular, legal and illegal, are exhibited. So that both had their genealogies from the most authentic, though different, records, and scrupulously adhered each to his own, according to the scheme they had in view, and consequently, instead of clashing, do more probably clear and confirm each other.

There is still one difficulty left with respect to *St. Luke's* genealogy, viz. his introducing of *Cainan* in the line of *Shem*, adding thereto one generation, contrary to the *Hebrew* text in *Genesis* and the *Chronicles*, and all the versions of it, except the *septuagint*, contrary to the concurring testimony of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and other *Jewish* doctors, as well as to that of the antient fathers; all who not only omit *Cainan's* name, but reckon only ten generations from *Noah* to *Abraham*, whereas with this there would be eleven.

This difference has given commentators more pains to reconcile, than we think it deserved, considering the likelihood there is of its

(19) *Ubi supra*, vers. 15.

(20) *Ubi supra*, vers. 27.

having

Ec. 9 (R). ----- Unto us a child is born ; unto us a son is given ; and the government shall be upon his shoulder ; and his

9 ISAIAH vii. 14.

having been jumbled into St. *Luke's* text by the carelessness of the transcribers, there being another *Cainan* mentioned in the verse immediately following, which might be also, according to the old close way of writing, in the very next line. But allowing it to have been originally in St. *Luke*, it is plain, he must have had it out of the septuagint, which version both he and the other sacred writers his cotemporaries used, and the copy which he then had might have been corrupted after the same careless manner ; for it doth not appear that all the copies of that version had this name, else it would be found in all the *Latin* versions of it, as well as in *Josephus*, *Philo*, and the fathers ; and then they must have reckoned eleven instead of ten generations.

The same may be said even on the supposition, that it was originally put in by the seventy interpreters ; for as neither they, nor the transcribers of the *Hebrew* copy, which they took with them into *Egypt*, were infallible (at least we think we have made it appear they were not, when we spoke of their version) how easily might that word have crept into the text by their inadvertency !

But if all this will not satisfy the scrupulous, what we have observed above of the distinction of natural and legal parents, will easily remove the difficulty ; so that *Arphaxad* might be the natural father of *Sala*, and the legal one of *Cainan*, or *vice versa*. There is therefore no need of having recourse, as some have done, to injurious suppositions against the *Jews*, as if they had purposely scratched out the name of *Cainan* in their *Hebrew* copies, that they might take occasion to cry down the septuagint version ; much less to other more violent means, to account for so small a variation, which, for ought appears to the contrary, was occasioned by the mere oversight of a transcriber, and the more probably, of St. *Luke's* own copy, than of either original or *Greek* version.

(R) This prophecy has been very much canvassed of late by our modern sceptics, and as learnedly answered by several eminent hands. Those disputes are so recent, that we need not refer our readers to the authors who have wrote on either side. As for the difficulty that is raised, how the prophecy of a child thus miraculously born, could be a satisfaction to *Abaz*, to whom it was addressed, unless it was fulfilled in his time, we have answered it in a former volume, to which the reader may, if he pleases, have recourse †.

† Vol IV. p. 70, Ec (K).



name shall be called *Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace*<sup>r</sup> (S); with some others of the same nature, which are not quite so manifest,

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. ix. 6.

(S) Our readers may perhaps be willing to know what answer or evasion the *Jews* make use of against such pregnant prophecies; and it will not be amiss here to give them a specimen of them out of one of their subtlest and boldest champions (21), by which he may guess at the rest.

First then, to the former of these prophecies, where the miraculous child is called *Jesus* or *Saviour*, because he was to save his people from their sins, they in general, and this in particular, answer to this effect: Who has told you that the sin of *Adam* has intailed any guilt on his posterity? Was not that of his son *Cain*, who murdered his brother, a thousand times greater than the biting of an apple? and yet no such thing is said of his posterity being tainted with it. Besides, where is there any mention made that the *Messiah* was to save his people from their sins? and if there was, how did *Jesus* save us from them, when you own he made us commit one infinitely heavier in crucifying him? In vain do you tell us of a redeemer of souls, we expect none but a redeemer of bodies, a *Messiah* that shall deliver us from slavery, and make us again a flourishing victorious nation and kingdom.

To the second prophecy, the sarcastic author above quoted gives the following answer in a kind of triumphing tone. We will join issue with you, tho' according to your interpretation, it should have been written *his names* (instead of *his name shall be called*) but waving that, how can his (*Jesus's*) name be called *wonderful, Counsellor*? Did not *Judas* rather defeat his counsel, when he betrayed him unknown to him? He could not be the *gibbor*, or *mighty one*, seeing he was put to death: He could not be the *Abbi*, the *everlasting father*, or *father of eternity*, because he was cut off in the midst of his days. Lastly, he could not be called the *prince of peace*, because he enjoyed none himself, neither have wars ever ceased since his time; yea, himself says, that he did not come to bring peace, but war upon earth.

Others endeavour to elude the force of the prophecy, by pretending that the impersonal וְיִקְרָא *vajicra*, *he shall call*, refers to God; and consequently that all those titles there mentioned refer to him, and not to the child there spoken of. But this evasion is so ungrammatical and contrary to the plain import, in a vast number of parallel places, that others of them have disowned it.

(21) *Auctor. libr. Nitzabon. vid. Munster. in loc. & not. in vers. Hebr. Evang. S. Matth. c. i.*

nor so universally agreed on (T). But the surpris'd virgin was so far from calling to mind those prophecies, that she looked on her virginity, which it is most likely she had resolv'd to preserve under the guardianship of an aged religious husband, as an obstacle to the accomplishment of the angel's word, till, assured at length by him of the miraculous conception of that divine child, with an humble confidence she wholly submitted herself to the will of heaven. The angel having at the same time acquainted her with the pregnancy of her cousin *Elizabeth* in her old age, she went up into the mountainous country to congratulate her and her husband upon it. At the first embracing of these three holy persons, whose ecstatic joy can only be guessed from the pathetic account which the evangelist has left us of it<sup>c</sup>; *Elizabeth*, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, felt her child give a leap in her womb, from which she began to conceive a higher notion of her visitor, and which she expressed in terms of the

<sup>c</sup> LUKE i. 43, & seq.

(T) Of this kind is that of *Jeremiah* (22); *The Lord will create a new thing upon the earth, a female (or woman) shall compass a man*; which the context plainly shews to allude to the days of the Messiah, and most probably, from the natural sense of the words, to the miraculous pregnancy of this virgin. However, the *Jews* not only take them in a very different sense, but exclaim against us for urging this text to them.

Especially the *Jewish* author above quoted, who here, as everywhere else, rather exposes his inveterate rancour against the *Christians*, than his skill in the prophetic writings. It would doubtless offend our reader's ears, to tell him what a filthy word this vile wretch has found for the blessed mother of Christ, by the alteration of the first letter of her name, or the blasphemies which most of their other writers vent against him and his religion. It shall suffice to have given this hint of it once for all. We shall spare them for the future, since their distorting the obvious sense of the sacred writings, whilst they acknowledge the divine authority of them, doth but the more evince the truth of the one, and the invincible obstinacy of the other.

Another text hitherto misunderstood and worse translated, and which we think to be prophetic of the birth of Christ of a virgin, is that of the *Proverbs*, chap. xxx. verse 19 *The way of the man, not with the maid, as our version renders it, but in the virgin*; but this we have had occasion to explain in a former volume, to which we refer the reader\*.

(22) *Cap. xxxi. 22.*

\* *Vol. III p. 325, (P).*



deepest respect and gratitude. *Mary*, on her part, being filled with rapturous joy at what she had heard, testified her humble sense for all the divine favours she saw herself blest with, in that most heavenly canticle, which the same evangelist has preserved to us; and, after three months abode, returned to her homely habitation at *Nazareth*. During her stay there, *Elizabeth* being delivered of the promised son, gave him the name of *John* (U), as his father had been commanded by the angel; and *Zacharias*, having testified his consent to it in writing, found his tongue immediately loosed, and his heart filled with the Holy Ghost; and broke out into an eucharistic and prophetic hymn, which inspired the wondering bystanders with singular hopes concerning this new-born child<sup>t</sup>.

The Trachonitish robbers suppressed.

DURING this time, that part of *Judæa*, which is called *Trachonitis* (W), and which was very rocky and mountainous, had been the receptacle of a great number of banditti and free-booters, who, as we have already hinted, lived chiefly upon the plunder which they got by their constant excursions, sometimes towards *Judæa*, sometimes towards *Arabia*. What was still worse, they infested the roads that led from the *Babylonish* territories to *Jerusalem*, and hindered the concourse of the *Jews* of those quarters to the annual feasts. *Herod*, who had already been at a vast deal of pains to ferret them out of their dens and lurking-holes, bethought himself at length of a way of suppressing them effectually. He began with enlarging and fortifying a village, which was conveniently situated in the heart of the country, and became

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. v. 67 ad fin.

(U) In the *Hebrew* יוחנן *jochannan*, a name very expressive of that gracious dispensation, which heaven was going to display by the gospel, of which this child was appointed the harbinger.

(W) This region, which had *Arabia Deserta* on the east, *Batanea* on the west, the land of *Damascus* on the north, and *Iturea* on the south, seems to have had its name from two famous mountains, which an antient geographer calls *Trachones* (23). The greatest part indeed of it, according to *Josephus*, who places it between *Palestine* and *Cæle Syria*, had such ridges of rocks and mountains, especially on the sides of *Arabia* and *Iturea*, that some of them had caverns large enough to lodge a thousand men (24).

(23) *Strab. Geogr. l. xvi.* (14) *Vid. Joseph ubi supra, l. i. c. 7.* *Euseb. in loc. sub voc. Hanath.* *Hieron. loc. Hebr.*

in time a considerable town. Hither he invited a certain *Jewish* captain, named *Zamaris*, who was gone at the head of five hundred well-armed men to settle in a castle in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*; and gave him and his men so many encouragements and immunities, that they came and fixed their abode there, and soon cleared all that country of that plundering vermin <sup>w</sup>. *Zamaris*, who was both valiant and religious, did not only signalize himself in this province, but left a noble off-spring like himself, whose very names were sufficient to deter the rest of that gang from settling there any more.

THE virgin *Mary*, who was returned, from her visit to *Christ the Zacharias*, to *Nazareth* the place of her abode, began now <sup>saviour of the world</sup> to give such signs of her pregnancy, as made her aged spouse, <sup>born.</sup> who had wholly abstained from matrimonial converse with her, to conceive some strong suspicion of her incontinency. He was thereupon contriving some means to give her a private divorce, without exposing her to the rigour of the law; when he was apprised by an angel, that her conception was altogether miraculous, and that he ought not to hesitate one moment to take her and her child under his patronage, since that miraculous son was appointed by heaven to be the saviour of his people. *Joseph* immediately obeyed, and took her to his home, but lived in perfect continence with her till the time of her delivery <sup>w</sup>, if not of his death (X). In the mean time,

<sup>w</sup> Antiq. l. xvii. c. 2.

<sup>w</sup> MATT. i. 18, & seq.

(X) This last is the most received opinion, and it is certain that the particle *till*, especially according to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, doth not always imply the duration of a thing to such a time, but often carries a continuation unto the end; otherwise *Christ* would have his session at the right hand of God no longer than till his enemies were made his foot stool (25). *Timothy* would have been obliged, according to St *Paul's* exhortation (26), to have vacated to the scriptures and other episcopal duties, no longer than till the coming of that apostle to him; and *Jacob* would have been no longer intitled to the divine protection, than till God had performed the promise of bringing him safe to his own home again (27). The reader may see many more instances of the like nature in the famous concordance of indeclinables printed by *Froben* (88).

(25) *Psalms*. cx 1.  
xxxviii. 15.

(26) *1 Timothy*. iv. 13.

(27) *Genesis*.

(28) *Sub voc. Donec.*



time, *Bethlehem*, the city of *David*, and not the obscure city of *Nazareth*, being the place pointed at by the prophet for the birth of the Messiah \*, the divine wisdom so ordered it, that the decree of *Augustus* for taking a fresh survey of the *Roman* empire, and the number and estimate of all persons, estates, riches, &c. (Y) should reach *Judæa* about this

\* Mic. v. 2.

If it be objected, why *Joseph*, who is by *St. Matthew* called a righteous man, should scruple to expose his wife to the rigour of the *Mosaic* law, which condemns all such to death; it is answered, that the word *righteous* is here used by the evangelist in opposition to one of a severe and rigorous disposition, and rather means a *charitable* person, who, though he abhors the crime, yet thinks there is a debt of mercy and compassion due to the offender; and who could have a greater claim to it, than a young and unexperienced virgin?

(Y) When this way of surveying came in vogue in the *Roman* empire, how, and by whom, it was performed, shall be shewn in the *Roman* history. We need only take notice, that *Augustus* caused three of these to be made in his time, of which this was the second; it had been began somewhat above seven years before the vulgar or christian æra, that is, above three years before the birth of Christ; and it might be well all that time going through the provinces of *Cæle Syria*, *Phœnice*, and part of *Judæa*, before it came to *Bethlehem* (29), since that which had been made by *David*, of the single province of *Judæa*, (though it doth not appear that the commissioners were to take an estimate of the estates, but only the number of fighting men) had taken up three whole years, though they were recalled before they had gone through with it (30).

It may not be amiss to observe further concerning this decree of *Augustus*, that there is a kind of dissonance between *St. Luke* and *Josephus*, the former calling it a decree for taxing the empire, and the other affirming, that no tax was paid in *Judæa* during *Herod* and his son *Archelaus*'s reign, and that it did not begin till the deposition of the latter, when that province was put under a *Roman* governor or president. This was not till twelve years after, when *Cyrenius*, as he is called by the *Greeks* and the evangelists, or, in the *Roman* style, *Pub. Sulp. Quirinius*, was sent president of *Syria* (31).

The difference is easily reconciled; the decree issued out by *Augustus* was in order to have the empire taxed according to the esti-

(29) *Conf. Sueton in Octavio, & Luc. ii. 1, & seq. (30)*  
 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, & seq. See also Vol. III. p. 543, & not R. (31)  
*Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1.*

this time, which obliged the pregnant virgin and her husband to repair thither, to be inrolled with all those that were of the house and lineage of *David*. The great concourse of people coming to that place, put this poor little family under two inconveniencies, viz. a long stay, and the want of a lodging and proper entertainment; yet was this also conducted by a special providence, that he, who was to be the pattern of humility, should begin and end his race in the same low and dejected path. Accordingly when the pregnant virgin found herself near the time of her delivery, she was forced to take up with the mean accommodation of a stable, where having brought forth her god-like son, she wrapped him up in swaddling-cloaths, and, for want of a better, made the poor manger serve him for a cradle.

BUT this humble rising of the sun of righteousness did *Christ's* soon break out into its peculiar lustre, when an angel, at *birth pro* the head of an heavenly host, proclaimed his wondrous birth *claimed by* to the watching shepherds, and celebrated it with that noble *angels.* hymn, *Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men*; and here began the first part of the character of that divine child, hinted above out of the prophet, to be displayed, *And he shall be called Wonderful*; wonderfully conceived, wonderfully born, and as wonderfully manifested. Accordingly the angel, having declared to the shepherds, that on that day was born in the city of *David* a Saviour, which is *Christ the Lord*, gives them these wonderful signs to discover him by: *Ye shall find the babe wrapped up in swaddling cloaths, and lying in a manger*<sup>1</sup>; and the shepherds going to the place, and finding all things as had been told to them, became themselves the publishers of the joyful news, and began to fill the neighbourhood with hopes of their long-expected and now assured deliverance. The child's parents, according to the *Mosaic* law, circumcised him on the eighth day, and gave him the name of *Jesus*, as they had been directed by the angel<sup>2</sup> (Z).

## ANOTHER

<sup>1</sup> LUKE ii. 8, & 12.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ver. 21. MATTH. i. 21.

mate made by this survey. *Judea*, though then subject to *Rome*, was excepted by the favour of the emperor, till the deposition of *Archelaus*, when it began to take place there under that new president. This sense, which seems the obvious one of the evangelist, doth in no way really clash with the *Jewish* historian (32).

(Z) This wonderful advent of the Saviour of the world happened, according to the best computation we have, that of our

(32) *De hoc vid. Uffer. Prid. Calmet & al*



The temple  
of Janus  
shut.

ANOTHER remarkable occurrence, and very proper to usher in both this character of *Wonderful*, as well as the other

most excellent *Usher*, in the four thousand year of the world ; and falls in exactly with an old tradition of the *Jews* mentioned in a former volume, that the world should last two thousand years before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah, according to the six days of the *Mosaic* creation ; after which was to follow the seventh, or millennium †.

Accordingly we find that there was, about this time, an universal expectation of him among all the *Jews*, and even among the *Heathens*, who might have it probably from them ; the sacred books having by this time been a considerable while translated into *Greek*, as we have seen in a former section. Neither is it probable, they might still retain a kind of traditionary notion of him from the prophecy of *Balaam*, concerning the wonderful star that was to rise out of *Jacob* (33) ; and this may be the reason why these so readily embraced christianity, whilst the *Jews*, blinded with prejudice, and soothed into the hopes of a conquering deliverer, rejected both him and his doctrine. But of this hereafter.

We have seen a little higher, how the *Jews* evade those prophecies, which fixed the coming of Christ to this time by several manifest indices ; and need we wonder they should do the same thing by this tradition ? Their common salvo, that the sins of the nation have retarded his coming, is a plain acknowledgment, that they look upon the time as long since expired, though they will hardly own it in so many words. But here they go from a received notion of their doctors, that though God may protract, or even remit the evils he denounces against men, as he did in the case of the *Ninewites*, yet he never doth so with his promises, but punctually performs them in due time. According to which notion they used to try a true from a false prophet ; that is, they did not condemn him, if his threatening did not come to pass, but only when his promises failed.

This notion of the Messiah's coming being retarded on account of the sins of the nation, is indeed the natural offspring of a much greater error ; their expecting him to have appeared in the pomp and grandeur of a conquering and victorious monarch, who was to free them from the *Roman* yoke, and bring this and all other nations under that of the *Jews* ; for this is the sense they put on all those prophecies which set forth the glories of his kingdom ; and these being the chief blessings they expected from him, and on which they set the highest value, what more likely cause could be assigned for his delay than that of their sins ?

† Vol. III. p. 193.

(33) Numb. xxiv. 17.

But

ther of *Prince of Peace*, was, that the temple of *Janus* was then shut, which was never done, but when the empire enjoyed a profound peace<sup>†</sup>, as it did at this time, and continued to do twelve whole years (A). But the most signal manifestation of this new-born Saviour, and which put the whole city of *Jerusalem* into an uproar, was the arrival of the *Magi*, or *Wise-men* from the east (B), to that metropolis, under

\* See the authors quoted under the following note.

But could they have opened their eyes to the opposite part of his character, which is there as plainly and expressly foretold, and in the very same chapter of the same prophet (34), namely, that of his humiliation and sufferings, of his being rejected, reproached, blasphemed, and persecuted, even to death; they must have concluded, that nothing less than their sins could be the cause of his coming being so long suspended. On the contrary, they would have seen, that since a person of his glorious, beneficent, and irreproachable character was to be so cruelly treated, so unjustly and so inhumanly butchered by his own people, no time could be fitter for his coming, than when their nation was come up to the height of ingratitude and injustice, of infatuation and inhumanity, as it really was, when those prophecies were fulfilled in him.

(A) This was the fifth time of its being shut since the foundation of *Rome*; the first time was under *Numa*; the second at the end of the *Punic* war; the third under *Cæsar Augustus*, after the defeat of *Marc Antony* and death of *Cleopatra*, twenty nine years before the birth of Christ; the fourth four years after, or twenty five years before Christ, on the reduction of the *Cantiberians* or *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and the fifth at this time of our Saviour's birth and under the same emperor (35).

(B) It would doubtless prove an inquiry worth making, could we come at any tolerable certainty concerning these wise men, who they were? what part of the world they came from? what time of the year they arrived at *Jerusalem*? how many they were? and many more such questions, which have been started to little purpose, and to which no satisfactory light can be given. However, to spare our curious readers the trouble of consulting the various accounts that have been given of them, we shall here subjoin the most that can be found concerning them.

1st, It is generally agreed, that they were of the sect of the *Mages*, of whom we have given an account in a former volume †,

(34) *Isaiab liii. pass vid. & Pl. xxii. pass & alib. plur.*  
 (35) *De his vid. Plutarch in Numa. Liv. lib. i. Flor. lib. ii. Dio Cass. l. ii. & al. Oros. l. vi. c. 20, & seq. † Vol. IV. p. 501, & seq. & V. p. 115. & not. R.*



persons wholly addicted to the study of philosophy, astronomy, and divination; and are supposed by some to have been the disciples or descendants of *Balaam*, whom we have mentioned a little higher, on account of his notable prophecy of the Messiah. This will not appear improbable, if we consider, that both they and their supposed master are said to have come from the east (36). Now the latter is said to have been sent for from the city of *Peithor* (37), which is there affirmed to have been situate on the banks of the river of the land of the children of his people, or, as the targum of *Onkelos* renders the place, on the river *Euphrates*, and elsewhere is said by *Moses* to have been a city of *Mesopotamia* (38). So that this country of *Arabia Deserta* seems most probably to be the place they came from; for they generally bear the name of *eastern* in the sacred writings. Another antient author, whom we shall have occasion to mention under the next note, tells us, that they were *Chaldeans* by birth, and by profession great astronomers; and that it was by the help of this art that they understood what this new risen star pre signified, which made them take their journey into *Judæa*, where the new *Jewish* king was born. Now *Chaldea*, properly so called, being situate along the river *Euphrates*, was still nearer *Judæa* than the other two above-mentioned.

This will also give us some light into another question concerning them, *viz.* How long they were in coming from their country to *Jerusalem*? for if they came from the latter, they might easily reach it on their camels or dromedaries, the usual, but expeditious, carriage of those parts, in and about a fourteenth night; and if from the former, through the latter, one week or ten days more might suffice. For upon the supposition above mentioned, of their coming from *Mesopotamia* and the banks of the *Euphrates*, the greatest distance from that river to *Jerusalem* will not much exceed six hundred miles. What further seems to confirm this conjecture is, the prophecy of the kings of *Sheba* and *Saba*, or *Arabia*, bringing their gifts to the king Messiah. For of him is this psalm (29) allowed by *Jews* and *Christians* to have been writ.

Some ancient authors indeed, who have fetched them from the remotest parts of *Persia*, have allowed them a two years travel, and found their supposition on the inquiry which *Herod* made of the exact time of the star's appearing to them, and his destroying all the male infants from two years and under (30); but what quite overturns this conjecture, and proves that they must have been at *Bethlehem* within less than forty days after his birth, is, that this was the place where they found him; whereas after his parents had presented him to the Lord at *Jerusalem*, which was to be

(36) *Conf.* Numb. xxiii. 7. & *Matth.* ii. 1. (37) Numb. xxii. 5. (38) *Deut.* xxiii. 4. (29) *Psalms.* lxxii. 10.  
(30) *De his vid.* Calmet. *Comment. in Matth.*

done at the end of forty days, they are said to have gone and dwelt at *Nazareth*, their usual habitation (31).

Besides, if they had been two years in coming, the star must be also supposed to have appeared to them so long before, and to have directed them all that time, which is absurd, as we shall further shew under the next note. *Herod* therefore, by slaying all the males under two years, might only do it for his greater security, and from some doubt. either that the *Magi* might not have observed the first appearance of the star, or that they had purposely concealed it from him, out of a forecast they had of his bloody design against the child. We have seen already through his history, that he was never sparing of the lives of his subjects, whenever his jealousy or resentment rendered them obnoxious to him.

Neither sacred nor ancient ecclesiastical writers tell us, how many in number, or of what quality, they were; but this has not hindered those more recent fixing these and many more minute circumstances, even as far as their names, age, complexion, dress, retinue, and such like. As for their number, the most received opinion is, that they were but three, and this notion seems founded on the three kinds of presents they brought with them, as if each of them had presented a different one. But this is said without foundation. An old apocryphal book has multiplied them to twelve; and adds, that they were chosen from their whole nation, and went every night on the high mountains to watch the appearance of the star (32).

Those that give them the title of *kings*, found their opinion partly on the text above-quoted out of the psalmist, and partly on a notion, which *Tertullian* had taken (33), on what ground is hard to guess, that all those eastern nations were governed by kings chosen out of the sect of the *Mages*. To the royal crown the *Armenians* (34) have added to them that of martyrdom, which they pretend they suffered in that country. The great constable of *Armenia*, in his letter to the king of *France*, (*St. Lewis*) adds, that they came thither from the province of *Tangut* (35). All this is said on the authority of a tradition they have among them, and not from any authentic records; so that we may oppose to it that of the city of *Cologne*, which pretends that they died there in their way home, and shews not only their tomb, but their three heads, in the cathedral of that city. Their epitaph, which is in *Latin* verse, gives them the names of *Gaspar*, *Melchior*, and *Balthazar*.

We shall add one tradition more concerning them, which is, it seems, as stily believed in some parts of the *Indies*, as the two

(31) *Luke* 11. 39. (32) *Auth. ap. imperf in Mat h. homil. 2.*  
 (33) *Cont. Marcion* l. iii. & *lib. cont. Judæos.* (34) *Vid.*  
*Chardin's travels into Persia, tom. 3.* (35) *Spicileg. ap. Calmet.*  
*ubi supra.*



der the guidance of a miraculous star (C), which ceased not to go before them, till it had brought them to the place and person

last are in *Armenia* and *Germany*. We have it on the credit of *Jerom Oforius*, bishop of *Algarba* in *Portugal*, who assures us he had it from persons of undoubted credit, well versed in the ancient monuments of those countries, and is to this effect:

*Chiperimat*, king of *Cranganor*, in the kingdom of *Calecut*, having undertaken some long voyage by way of expiation for an incest he had committed, came into *Carmavia*, where he met with two *Mages*, going into *Judea* to pay their homage to a miraculous child newly born of a virgin. The king begged leave to accompany them, and on his return caused a stately church to be built in honour of the virgin and her son, and in which he caused her image to be set up, holding the child in her arms. We shall stop here, seeing there is no going further in search of them, without danger of being still more bewildered.

However, before we dismiss this note, it will be very proper to take notice, once for all, that from the very earliest times of christianity, there started up a number of heretics, who, the better to colour their impious tenets, trumped up divers false gospels and writings, under the names of some of the apostles or most famous disciples of Christ, and stuffed them with such variety of miraculous circumstances and stories, as obliged the heads of the church to condemn and explode them, as they justly deserved. But though the books vanished, except their names and some few fragments of them, yet the memory of those additious stories and miracles was not so easily extinguished among the vulgar, who were ignorant of their foul origin; but was propagated by a kind of popular tradition, which was afterwards too indiscriminately received by the writers of the fourth, fifth, &c. centuries, especially where they thought it served to clear a text, or supplied those circumstances of men and things, which had been omitted by the sacred writers.

Thus the various notions about the wise men, mentioned above, of the miraculous star, we shall speak of in the next note, and many more of the like kind, too gross to deserve a place here, seem to have flowed from the pseudo-gospels of *Joseph the carpenter*, of *Joseph of Arimathea*, of the infancy of *Jesus*, and some others, falsely attributed to one or other of the apostles; but in time their origin being forgot, they were received as common traditions, and quoted as such by some of the latter fathers. So that it would be unjust to charge those great and good men, with either forgery, or even with a fondness for what we call pious frauds, seeing the persecuted state of the church during so many centuries made their mistake almost unavoidable, which was in better times happily discovered and rectified.

(C) We have likewise a great variety of conjectures concerning this

person they were in search of. However, as they looked upon him as the king of the *Jews*, they first repaired to the

this wonderful star, according as men are inclined either to lessen or to multiply miracles. Of this second sort are those who think it to have been a mere comet, only with some peculiar lustre, or some other index, well understood by the wise men (36); and others, who make no more of it than a meteor, vastly below the orb of the moon †; though either of these can hardly be admitted without the interposition of a miracle, since the supposition of an extraordinary lustre in the former, and the long and regular motion of the latter, contrary to all that we understand of meteors, seems to have required a supernatural hand. Since therefore a miracle must be admitted, and it is plain God was never less sparing of them than upon this glorious juncture; others have with greater probability believed it to have been a luminous body created on purpose; others, that it was the very light which had appeared to the shepherds, which having been seen at a distance to the wise men like a star, came lastly to appear to those in a more refulgent manner (37). Some think it was an angel in that figure (38); others have run still greater lengths, making it to have been the Holy Ghost, appearing in that visible shape, and have attributed such an unusual brightness to it, as even eclipsed the sun; if so, 'tis a wonder no cotemporary authors, either sacred or profane, should have said something of it.

And this will in a great measure explode the notion of those we mentioned in the last note, who make the wise men to have been two years in coming to *Jerusalem*, and the star to have gone all that time before them; since its long continuance and irregular motion, with respect to other heavenly bodies could not but awaken the attention and wonder of all those countries, in which it must have been seen. But this difficulty has been removed, by pretending that it appeared either to none but to the *Magi*, or only two or three times, enough for those who were watchful observers of it, but overlooked by all the rest. But this is said without foundation, or even shadow of probability; and the question of the *Magi* at *Jerusalem* seems much rather to imply, that it had been seen at least in all the countries between *Judea* and their own.

We will not take upon us to say which of all these hypotheses is the most probable, since the sacred historian has left us in the dark, and the rest of ancient historians are quite silent about it. We shall only subjoin here what the Platonic philosopher *Chalcidius* says of it (39):

(36) *Orig. Maldon. Grot. Le Clerc in Matt. ii. Whiston, & al.*

† *Calmet, ubi supra.*

(37) *Leo Mag. in Matt. Lightfoot, & al.*

(38) *Chrysost. Theophylact. & al.*

(39) *Comm. in Timæum Platon. p. 19.*



*Wise men  
come from  
the east to  
Bethle-  
hem.*

the metropolis, where he was most likely to be either born or heard of. Upon their first inquiry after him, *Herod* and the whole city was moved, and the grand sanhedrin, being consulted about the place of his birth, directed them to *Bethlehem*, the place mentioned by the prophet above quoted. Whatever hopes the rest of the *Jews* might conceive from this wonderful phenomenon and the tidings of the new-born *Messiah*, *Herod*, who dreamt of nothing but of an earthly kingdom, began to look upon that wonderful child as a dangerous rival, and resolved from that instant to nip him in the bud. To this end, he caused the *Magi* to be privately brought to him, and having carefully sifted them concerning the time of the star's appearance, and other circumstances which might serve his bloody design, he dismissed them with these words; *Go and search diligently for the child; and when you have found him, bring me word, that I may go likewise and pay my homage to him.* They set out accordingly, and were not a little overjoyed, when, upon their leaving *Jerusalem*, they beheld the same star still going before them, till it stood and shot its rays perpendicular upon the house where the child and his parents were. Here they approached the divine babe with suitable reverence, and having laid open their treasures, they offered him the presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh (D); and being warned not to go back to *Jerusalem*, they

It is not easy indeed to guess at the time in which he lived; but that he was a christian, the very passage itself plainly shews: "Let us now turn our thoughts (says he) to another, and more holy history, and such a one as is more worthy of our admiration. I mean that which mentions the appearance of a star, not of the nature of those which portended either a sickness or mortality, but which manifested the descent of God upon earth, to dwell among men, and to bless them with his choicest favours. Some of the *Magi*, or wise men of *Chaldaea*, having observed this star in the night, and being thoroughly versed in astronomy, went immediately in search of this new-born God, and having found him, presented him with gifts suitable to his divine character." The reader will find in the next note, what may have been probably the meaning of this last expression.

(D) The piety of some ancient times, when allegory was in greatest vogue, and mysteries were diligently looked for in every part of holy writ, hath led men into such lengths, as it would be dangerous to follow in these days. Particularly in these presents, which the wise men offered the holy *Jesui*, they have pretended to find out, either his three distinct offices of king, priest, and prophet

they returned home by another way <sup>b</sup>. As soon as the child was forty days old, the time prescribed for the purification of women after the birth of a son <sup>c</sup>, his parents brought him to *Jerusalem* to be presented to the Lord in the temple, and to be redeemed according to the law concerning the first-born <sup>d</sup>, with the price of five shekels, or of a lamb, or a pair of doves; or young pigeons; which last was the price appointed for the meaner sort. And into such low condition was the family of *David* reduced (by this time); and so poor were the parents of the world's inestimable redeemer, that they were fain to redeem him at the lowest price. Here they were met by a venerable old man, named *Simeon* (E); a person of consummate

<sup>b</sup> MATTH. ii. 1, & seq.    <sup>c</sup> LEVIT. xii. 2, & 6.    <sup>d</sup> EXOD. xiii. 2. NUMB. xviii. 15. See 219, & (F).

prophet, or his divinity, royalty, and manhood (40); or, lastly, the divine virtues he was endowed with, and was to communicate to his true followers, *viz.* purity by the myrrh, which is an excellent ingredient to preserve from corruption; incense, the smoke or perfume of which is said to be the prayers of the faithful (41); and charity or beneficence, the most acceptable perfume that can be offered to the deity, and implied in the gold.

Others, grieving to see their fellow christians feed their piety with such far-fetched notions, have sought a nearer meaning by running into another extreme, and concluded, that nothing else seems intended by those gifts, than the supplying the present and future indigencies of the child and his parents, who were shortly to be forced to take a long journey into *Egypt*. So that the gold was to defray their expences, the myrrh to preserve the babe's tender limbs in his travels, and the incense to dispel the common damps and ill smell, either of his stable, or of those caravanzeras or inns, in which they would be obliged to lodge.

But there is a middle way between those extremes, which is, that the *Magi* offered these presents to this new-born monarch, as they looked on him merely as the future king of the *Jews*, and without any regard to his divinity, of which it does not sufficiently appear that they were apprised. Only they supposed, by the wonderful phenomena that preceded and accompanied his birth, that he was likely to prove such a glorious monarch, as that his reign would eclipse those of all his ancestors; but whether on account of his greater power, conquests, or for what other reason, it is not likely they could know without a particular revelation.

(E) The shortness of the evangelist's account concerning this ve-

(40) *Ambrose in Luke ii. 6. Leo Serm. de Epiphan Theoph in Matth. 2. Bern & al. mult.* (41) *De his Vid Baron sub 1. C. 1. sect. 40. & Calmet. sub Simeon IV.*



mate piety, and endowed with the spirit of prophecy; to whom it had been revealed, that he should not see death before he had beheld the promised Messiah. Being therefore directed by the Holy Ghost to the temple at the same time, he took the babe in his arms, and having foretold to his mother the sorrows with which her pious soul would in time be pierced, on account of the many blasphemies and persecutions which this divine son was to be exposed to; and being now assured that nothing could add to his happiness but the joys of a future life, sung his own requiem in a short ecstatic hymn, and restored the babe to his parents. His testimony was accompanied with that of a venerable old prophetess, named

nerable person, has been abundantly supplied by the pious and fruitful fancies of later writers, who have each contributed their mite towards the raising of his character. He has been by many (42) affirmed to have been a priest, and to have been then performing his function in receiving the child in his arms, according to the custom of redeeming the first-born. There is indeed nothing can make this incredible or improbable, if we except the silence of St. Luke, who, it is not likely, would have over looked his being a priest, if he had been really such.

Some have affirmed him to have been the same with *Simon*, surnamed *The Just*, disciple of the famous *Hillel*, often mentioned in this history, who was also the master of that *Gamaliel*, at whose feet St. Paul had been brought up (43), and that whilst he was endeavouring after an exposition of the prophecy, quoted a little higher, *A virgin shall conceive, and bear a son*, this revelation was made to him, that he should not die before he had seen it fulfilled. So that when he came to see the miraculous mother and child, he broke out into that divine and prophetic ecstasy mentioned by the evangelist, and died soon after. *Epiphanius* adds (44), that the noble testimony he gave to this new born Saviour did so exasperate the stubborn Jews, that they denied him common burial.

Another set, which makes him one of the seventy interpreters of the *Greek* version mentioned in a former section †, tell us, that when he came to translate the prophecy just now mentioned, he found his faith stagger; but that his doubt were happily dispelled by this revelation, that he should see the accomplishment of it before he died (45). So that at that rate he must have lived to a good old age, since at the lowest that version was made above two hundred years before Christ, and those interpreters were scarcely chosen out of the youngest tribe.

(42) *Allat. Dissert. de Script. Simeon sub. init.*

(43) *Acts xxii.*

3. (44) *De vit. & mort. prophet.* † *Vid. Vol. IX. p. 576, & note.*

(45) *De his vid. Allat. ubi supra.*

*Anna*, who had dedicated the remainder of her life from her widowhood to the service of God and of his temple; and coming at that instant to the place, began likewise from thenceforth to publish this new-born Saviour to all the faithful *Israelites* <sup>e</sup>.

WHAT bloody expedient the jealous *Herod* pitched upon to frustrate all these predictions, by ridding himself of this so dreadful child, and how he was disappointed in it by a peculiar providence, will be seen in the next section; and we shall close this, according to our promise, with a short view of the sects at this time reigning in *Judaea*, that the reader may see how it came to pass, that a Messiah, so plainly and frequently foretold from the beginning, so miraculously conceived and born, proclaimed by angels, attested by prophets, and confirmed by innumerable miracles, the infallible seals of heaven, came yet to be rejected and persecuted even to death, and beyond, by those who were the keepers and expounders of those oracles, which foretold and typified him, and eye-witnesses of all his stupendous works. For though we are writing the history of the *Jews*, and not of the christians, yet, for as much as the destruction of their temple, city, and common-wealth, was owing to their refusing to acknowledge the Messiah, after he had fulfilled in his own person all that the prophets had written of him <sup>f</sup>; it will be necessary to examine by what prejudices and infatuation they brought this total and lasting desolation upon their country and nation; and, upon a review of the doctrines peculiar to each sect, it will be found, that their invincible attachment, each to their own tenets, were the main causes and hasteners of it. For, on the one hand, that erroneous and pernicious opinion, which every one of them obstinately held of a temporal Messiah and conquering deliverer, was attended with two very fatal consequences, namely, the rejecting the Messiah, whom they saw appear in a quite opposite character; and their seeking him in those impostors, who flattered them in their delusion, and ripened them into an open rebellion. Such was *Judas Galileus*, the head of the *Gaulonitish* sect or faction, which proved the mother of infinite mischiefs to that infatuated nation, and hastened their total ruin; to say nothing of several other pretenders to the character, either of the Messiah, or of his forerunner, which drew still vast multitudes after them. On the

*Causes of  
the Jews  
incredulity.*

<sup>e</sup> LUKE ii. 22. ad 38.  
iii. 12 ad 22, & alib. plur.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. c. ult. ver. 25, & seq. ACTS



other hand, the irreconcilable hatred which every sect bore, either to each other on account of their different tenets, or against christianity, which was still more opposite to their own, did so weaken and distract the whole body, that, instead of joining their united counsel and strength against their oppressors, they did as much strengthen them by their mutual feuds and persecutions, as they did exasperate them by their seditious and hostile behaviour, and made their own ruin so much the easier to complete. All which will be better seen by the sequel, especially by a short view of each of those sects.

*Josephus* reckons four principal ones among the *Jews*; 1. The *Pharisees*; 2. *Sadducees*; 3. *Essenians*; and, 4. the *Galileans*, or the faction of *Judas Galileus*<sup>1</sup>. The Evangelists add that of the *Herodians* to the two former, and mention nothing of the two last, probably because they did not oppose the gospel with that inveteracy which the others did. How powerful and numerous the *Pharisaic* sect was among the meaner, and what sway that of the *Sadducees* did bear among the opulent, and what perpetual wars each waged against the other, has been already frequently hinted, and will now be better understood by a short review of their different tenets.

Pharisees.

I. THE rise of the *Pharisees* is very much unknown; they claim indeed their famous doctor *Hillel*, often mentioned in this chapter, for their father, as he is supposed by some to have lived during the pontificate of *Jonathan*, about a hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ, but by others later; and more justly too, since if he be the *Pollio* mentioned by *Josephus* along with the famous *Sameas*, he must have lived about the time of *Herod*, long before whom the *Pharisaic* sect was in high repute. 'Tis therefore likely, they claim him rather as an ornament, than as the author, of their sect. The reader may see what we have already hinted concerning those too great men in a former section †. As to the *Pharisees*, it is probable, they did not begin to distinguish themselves, till the opposite sect of the *Sadducees* started up, and made them by degrees run into the other extreme. This seems evident from the etymon of their name, whether we derive it with the generality of critics from the Hebrew פָּרִישׁ, to divide or separate, or with others<sup>2</sup>, from another sense of the word, signifying recompense, or retribution, in opposition to

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, & seq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7, & alib. pass.  
† Before Page 131, note. <sup>2</sup> Vid. BASNAGE hist. des Juifs, tom. 2. l. ii. ch. 18. sect. 2.

their antagonists, who denied and derided it, at least as to a future life.

WE have formerly had occasion to mention one of their favourite tenets, namely that of an oral tradition conveyed down from *Moses*, and to which they attributed the same divine authority as to the sacred books \*. This being strenuously opposed by the *Sadducees*, as well as the *Samaritans*, and the *Caraites* (a sect of which we shall give some account at the close of this section) made them equally detested by them. But none more incurred their hatred and resentment than our Saviour, who took all proper occasions of reproving them for the unjustifiable preference which they gave to this pretended tradition to the written word of God, and for condemning those as apostates worthy of death, who paid not the same, or even a greater, regard to the former, than to the latter.

ANOTHER tenet of theirs, in opposition to the *Sadducees*, was, that of the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, resurrection, and future rewards. But as to this last, they first excluded all that were notoriously wicked from having any share in it, and sent them immediately after their death into everlasting punishment. *Josephus*, who was himself a strict as well as learned *Pharisee*, affirms, that those spirits, which they called devils, were no other than the souls of such wicked men, who, still retaining their mischievous propensity, were ever seeking to annoy those of the living by obsessions, &c. In the next place, this resurrection, in those that were admitted to it, was no more than a transmigration from one body to another, more or less happy, according to their behaviour in their former state. Thus the disciples asked our Saviour, who had sinned, the blind man before them, or his parents, that he should be punished with blindness<sup>c</sup>; and thus *Herod* and the multitude supposed Christ to be either *John the baptist*, *Elias*, or some other prophet risen from the dead<sup>d</sup>. When therefore that divine master came to preach to them a more glorious resurrection, this proud sect could not but look upon it as a derogation to what they thought their superior authority and judgment, which was therefore the more offensive to them, as coming from so mean, illiterate, and contemptible a person.

A THIRD tenet was, that all things were subject to fate, or, as some expressed it, to the heavens, except the fear of God. It is not easy to guess what they meant by it: *Jose-*

\* See Vol. III. p. 156, & IX. p. 524. (Z). & alib.  
ix. 2.

\* MATT. xiv. 2. xvi. 14. & alib.

F 1 2

<sup>c</sup> JOHN

phus



*phus* <sup>e</sup> indeed will have it, that they designed to reconcile, by this unaccountable jumble, the fatality or predestination of the *Essenes* with the free-will of the *Sadducees*. If so, this is not the only absurdity, or even contradiction, which they held; but our learned bishop *Bull* seems to have proved, that they attributed all to fate, or to that chain of causes, to which the creator had subjected all things from the beginning <sup>f</sup>; among which the influence of the heavenly bodies was looked upon to be one of the principal. This seems hinted at by St. *James* in the beginning of his epistle to his new converts, where he explodes that *pharisaical* leaven by the most beautiful opposition of the immutability of God, the giver of all good, to the mutability of the planets, which, according to that notion, must necessarily vary their aspects from a benign to a malevolent one, and, *vice versa*, even by the natural change of their courses <sup>g</sup>.

HERE was then a new source of dislike to Christ's doctrine, which affirms men to be the authors of their own unbelief, disobedience, obstinacy, and so answerable for that and all the train of evils which it brings after it <sup>h</sup>. It must be owned, however, that some critics have given a different sense to *Josephus's* words, and whilst one makes the *Jews* from it to fall into the worship of angels, as having the government of those heavenly bodies <sup>i</sup>, others have endeavoured to disculpate them even from their known attachment to astrology, by pretending that by the heavens is meant no more than the eternal decrees of God, which are yet supposed very consistent with the notion of a freedom of will <sup>k</sup>. Both sides had an end to serve, and seem to argue according to their different notions, which it is not our business to enter further into, much less to reconcile the notion of the *Pharisees*, if it was really theirs, of a freedom of will, with the absolute and eternal decree of the supreme Being. Sure, it seems, from the address of the proud *Pharisee* with, *God, I thank thee* <sup>l</sup>, that he looked upon him as the original source of all those fancied virtues he there boasts of, whatever channel he might suppose they flowed to him from; and doth not this at least intimate that he looked upon the want of those virtues in the despised *Publican* to be owing to his being de-

<sup>e</sup> JOSEPH ubi supra. Vid. & Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & xviii. c. 1, 2.

<sup>f</sup> HARMON. Apost. dissert. poster. c. 15.

<sup>g</sup> JAMES c. i. ver.

13, 16, 17. Vid. & BLACK. vindication of the sacred classics.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. int. al. MATT. xxiii. 37.

<sup>i</sup> BARONIUS ap. BAS-

NAG ubi supra, sect. 7.

<sup>k</sup> BASNAG. ibid. & seq.

<sup>l</sup> LUKE

xviii. 11.

prived,

Prived, by the same arbitrary divine will or decree, of that superior grace which produced them in him? All which is contrary likewise to the doctrine of Christ, which teaches us, that God distributes to every man a sufficient share of it to profit withal, and increases it according to the improvement they make of it.

BUT their most distinguishing character, and that which rendered them most obnoxious to the just censures of Christ, was, their superogatory attachment to the ceremonial law, their frequent washings, fastings, and prayings, their public alms-deeds, hunting after proselytes, scrupulous tithings, affected gravity of dress, gesture, and mortified looks; their building the tombs of the prophets, to tell the world that they were more righteous than their ancestors who murdered them, though themselves were then plotting the death of the best and greatest of all the prophets; their over-scrupulous observance of the sabbath to the exclusion of works of the greatest charity, and many more of the like nature; whilst they were wholly negligent of the moral and eternal law of mercy and justice, of charity, humility, and the like indispensable virtues. The best of them, contenting themselves with abstaining from the finishing act of any sin, indulged themselves in all the thoughts, desires, and complacencies which came short of it; whilst others, more hardened in their vices, made no scruple, not only to covet, but to devour, poor widows houses, to commit the vilest of oppressions, injustices, and cruelties, and to encourage it in their own disciples, under the specious cloak of religion and sanctity. Well might Christ then compare them to whited sepulchres, beautiful indeed without, but within full of rottenness and corruption<sup>m</sup>.

HENCE that fatal and judicial infatuation, which made them overlook all the miracles which he wrought before their eyes, because he chose to do some of them on the sabbath; as if healing the sick, giving ears to the deaf, eyes to the blind, life to the dead, &c. was a violation, instead of a hallowing, of that day, and must denominate him *a profane person, a sabbath-breaker, a false prophet and seducer*, or any other odious name, rather than what those miraculous works, long before foretold by the prophets, demonstrated him to be, *the Messiah and redeemer of mankind*.

THE last erroneous notion we shall mention of theirs, which was indeed common to the other sects, but did more exactly tally with the haughty, rapacious, and cruel temper

<sup>m</sup> MATT. xxiii. 27, & alib.



of the *Pharisees*, was their expectation of a glorious conquering Messiah, who was to bring the whole world under the *Jewish* yoke. Insomuch that there was scarce a kennel-raker among them, that did not expect to be made president of some opulent province under him. How unlikely then was it, that a meek and humble *Jesus*, whose doctrine breathed nothing but humility, peace, disinterestedness, sincerity, contempt of the world and worldly things, and universal love and beneficence, should ever be relished by that proud, covetous, and hypocritical sect; or even by the rest of the populace, as long as these their demagogues so strenuously opposed it! But we shall enlarge no further upon them, those who are desirous to know more, may consult the authors quoted in the margin <sup>n</sup>.

**Sadducees.** II. THE *Sadducean* sect was no less opposite to the doctrine of Christ. We have already given some account in a former section † of their rise, and of their favourite tenet, that there was neither resurrection, reward, or punishment, nor even life after this. They added, that God was the only immaterial being, in consequence of which they admitted neither angels, nor any spiritual substances, but him. Whether this was the original doctrine of *Saddoc* their founder, as the *Talmudists* and *Josephus* affirm, or whether these, and some of their other epicurean principles, were afterwards gradually introduced by his loose disciples, in order to rid themselves of the dread of a sad hereafter, as some moderns think; 'tis plain this tenet was very rife with them in our Saviour's time, which made them take several opportunities of opposing and ridiculing this doctrine of the resurrection °.

ANOTHER of their tenets, equally opposite to the *Pharisees* and to the doctrine of *Christ*, was, that man was made absolute master of all his actions, and stood in no need of any assistance to chuse or act <sup>p</sup>. For this reason they were always most severe in their sentences, whenever they sat as judges. *Josephus* adds in another place <sup>q</sup>, that they looked upon the deity as above intermeddling with human affairs, which is in effect denying a providence, and consequently all religion. But this favours too much of the *pharisaical* scandal, and it can hardly be supposed, that men of such principles should not only continue uncensured and uncondemned

<sup>n</sup> LIGHTFOOT, DRUSIUS, SERRARIUS, CALMET, Pref. in comm. in Marc. & PRID. Connect. sub. A. C. 107. † Before, Page 80, 81, & (W).

° MATT. xxii. 23, & seq. & alib. plur.

<sup>p</sup> Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

<sup>q</sup> Bell. Jud l. ii. c. 7, & alib.

by the sanhedrin, but be permitted to have access to the temple, to propose their questions and objections, and perform their devotions there as freely as any *Pharisee*; and, which is still more surprising, should be suffered to fill the highest dignities in church and state. Besides, such principles seem altogether incompatible with their allowed belief of the *Mosaic* books, though they had rejected all the rest, as they are by some supposed to have done<sup>r</sup>; but *Scaliger*, we think, has sufficiently cleared them of even this last imputation<sup>t</sup>, which has no other foundation, than that of our Saviour's chusing to confute them only from the pentateuch.

It is true, they rejected all the pretended oral traditions of the *Pharisees*, and stuck close to the text of the sacred books; perhaps they might also give the preference to those of *Moses* above all the rest. All the other *Jews* did so, and do to this day; but had they absolutely denied the authority of the latter, it is not likely they could have escaped being severely reprov'd for it either by our saviour and his apostles, or even by *Josephus*, who gives them such a foul character in other points; and yet he owns<sup>r</sup>, that they received τα γεγραμμενα, *the written books*; which expression is too general, and too much in their favour to have flowed from his pen, could he have charged them with rejecting any of them<sup>u</sup>. Those who will have them to receive only the pentateuch, add another argument to that abovementioned, and equally inconclusive, viz. that the other sacred books did too plainly impugn their particular doctrines; but must not they for the same reason have rejected those of *Moses*? Are there not numberless instances of angels and spirits? and are there not likewise several pregnant proofs in them, if not of a resurrection, at least of the rewards and punishments of a future life<sup>w</sup>? The very *Pharisees* themselves laid down as a fundamental principle, that it was not enough to believe the resurrection, unless one believed also that it was contained in the law, so they call the pentateuch.

ADD to all this, that the reading of all the other books in the temple and synagogues having been introduced long before, as we have elsewhere observed<sup>†</sup>, it is not likely they would have assisted at it; and yet we do not find, that they absented themselves from it, either upon that or any other

<sup>r</sup> Hieron. in Matth. ORIG. cont. Cels. l. i. SERRAR. trihæref. l. ii. PRID. ubi supra. <sup>t</sup> Elench. trihæref. cont. Serrar. c. 16.  
<sup>u</sup> Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. <sup>w</sup> Vid. LE CLERC histor. eccles. proleg. sect. 1. sect. 3. <sup>†</sup> Vol. IX. p. 525, not.



account. What therefore the learned rabbi last-quoted says of them, seems most probably to have been their case, namely, that they did not reject them, but only expounded them in a different sense from the other *Jews*.

SOME other pretended erroneous tenets they are charged, by *Josephus* and the *Talmudists* \*, to have held, particularly that of condemning polygamy, as forbid by the *Mosaic* law; but as they were not opposite to the christian doctrine, nor an obstacle to their receiving it, we shall pass them by. Those we have already mentioned were more than sufficient to frighten them from it. The notion of a future life, universal judgment, eternal rewards and punishments to men, whom a contrary doctrine had long soothed into luxury, and an overgrown fondness for all earthly happiness, which they looked upon as the only reward they were to expect for their obedience, must of necessity appear strange and frightful; and, as such, could not chuse but meet with the strongest opposition from them; especially if we add what *Josephus* observes, that they were, for the generality, men of the greatest quality and opulence, and consequently too apt to prefer the pleasures and grandeur of this life to those of another. The *Jewish* historian concludes their character, in opposition to those of his own sect, with telling us, that they were a set of men, churlish and morose towards each other, and cruel and savage to all besides †.

SOME have looked upon this sect to have been quite cut off at the total destruction of *Jerusalem* ‡. It is true, indeed, that they were very much weakened and thinned by the *Romans* on account of their riches and credit; but their doctrines, so pleasing to flesh and blood, were not likely to continue long without fresh advocates. Accordingly, we find them so well revived and numerous in *Egypt*, even from the middle of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century, that *Ammonius*, *Origen's* master, thought it high time to write against them, or rather against the *Jews*, for suffering them to propagate their irreligious principles. Some, we are told, are still to be met with in *Afric* and elsewhere, who still deny a future life, and hold all the other tenets of that sect §. Perhaps were they less odious to the sober part of mankind, we

\* Glossar. in sanhedr. Vid. & MENASS. BEN-ISRAEL. lib. i. de resurrect. mort. c. 6. † Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7. in fin. ‡ Vid. SIMON hist. crit. V. T. PRID. connect. ubi supra. § Vid. BASNAG. ubi supra. l. ii. c. 15. pass. CALMET. dissert. de sect. Jud. in prol. in evang. Marc. & al. sup. citat.

should find them more numerous than they appear. However, bad as they are, we are told by a *Jewish* chronologer <sup>b</sup> of a learned *Spanish* rabbi, named *Alpharag*, who in the twelfth century wrote a book in defence of that sect, wherein he affirmed, that the purity of the *Jewish* religion was only to be found among them; whilst the *Pharisees* clogged it with an infinity of needless and intolerable ceremonies.

III. THE *Herodians* are so little known, that we need not *Herodians* wonder at the vast variety of opinions, which both the ancient fathers and the moderns have entertained concerning them, and of which the bare mention would swell us beyond our bounds. *Josephus*, as we hinted above, makes no mention of them; and if the most general notion be right, that they were a set of men who cried up *Herod* as the Messiah, we need not be surprized, that this flattering historian should pass by a sect which applied those prophecies to that *Jewish* monarch, with which himself was complimenting his favourite emperor *Titus Vespasian*, as we shall see in the sequel. How *Philo* comes likewise to be silent of them, is past our finding out.

FOR it is plain from the evangelists, that they made a considerable sect or party in our Saviour's time; that they differed from those of the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Essenians*; and that they held some particular tenets of a dangerous nature, since Christ thought fit to forewarn his disciples against their leaven<sup>c</sup>. It is true, some have confounded them with the *Sadducees* <sup>d</sup>, because St. *Matthew* in a parallel place<sup>e</sup>, mentions them instead of the *Herodians*. But as they are often mentioned elsewhere, in contradistinction to them<sup>f</sup>, it is likely, that one evangelist only supplies what the other has omitted. Hence it follows likewise, that they were not a kind of *Jewish* confraternity instituted in honour of *Herod*, and like unto the *Roman sodales*, *augustales*, &c. (which were not instituted in that empire till a long time after *Herod's* death) as some have imagined<sup>g</sup>, but a real sect, distinct from the rest in their principles and interests.

<sup>b</sup> GANTZ. Tzemach David.    <sup>c</sup> MARC. viii. 15.    <sup>d</sup> HAMM. L<sup>e</sup> CLERC. & al. in loc. sup. citat. HARDUIN. num.    <sup>e</sup> MATT. xvi. 6.    <sup>f</sup> Conf. loc. sup. citat. cum MATT. xxii 16. & alib  
<sup>g</sup> SCALIG. anim. in chron. EUSEB. 1882. CAUSABON. proleg. in exercit. Baronian.



THERE is likewise a different opinion concerning them, among those who affirm them to have believed *Herod* to be the Messiah, namely which of the kings of that name they gave that title to <sup>h</sup>. Some thought it was to *Herod* I. surnamed *the great*, on account of his superior prowess, riches, magnificence, and of his kingdom's extending even beyond *Palestine*, which was more than any of his successors could boast of. They add, that he caused all the genealogies and records concerning the family of *David* to be destroyed, to prevent their being urged in opposition to his own lineage. But all this is easily confuted by the single consideration, that if he had been the person whom they took for the Messiah, his dreadful death, which was looked upon as a judgment from heaven, to say nothing of his wicked and hateful reign, would long before have convinced them of their error. Whereas we find them still very numerous, fabled, and zealous for their sect in our Saviour's time, above thirty years after that monarch's death. Those therefore, who think that his son *Herod*, surnamed *Antipas*, the same who took the infamous *Herodias* from his brother *Philip*, and caused *John the Baptist* to be beheaded on her account, to have been the Messiah cried up by this sect, seem to judge with more probability. It is true, his dominion was confined within much narrower bounds than his father's; but then it is as plain, notwithstanding all *Josephus's* panegyrics on him, that his ambition was as unlimited; witness his joining in the conspiracy with *Sejanus*, and the vast magazines he had filled with arms, and of which we shall speak in its proper place. It is not therefore improbable, that this prince, no less politic than ambitious, who is on that account called *a Fox* by a more impartial judge<sup>i</sup>, might take the advantage of the universal expectation which the *Jews* were then in of the Messiah, to form a party or sect of parasites, who should give it out that he was the glorious person they looked for; and that nation did not want for men at this time, base enough to flatter his ambition with that sacred title.

HOWEVER, other critics have with greater probability reduced that sect into a kind of *Herodian* faction, set up in opposition to the *Pharisees* and *Zealots*; and that the *Herodians* maintained the lawfulness of acknowledging and paying tribute to the kings that were set over them by the *Romans*,

<sup>h</sup> Vid. PRID. connect. in fin. part. ii. l. v. CALMET. dissert. de sect. Judæor. & al. <sup>i</sup> Vid. BASNAG. hist. des Juifs, tom 2 part. 2. ch. xxiv.

which

which was absolutely denied by the latter. The former likewise excused several unlawful innovations, which had been made by *Herod the Great* and his successors, as the effects of necessity rather than choice; whereas the latter cried them down as heathenish, idolatrous, and the effects of a base complaisance for the *Roman* emperors. Another critic, often quoted in this chapter<sup>k</sup> for his new genealogies of the *Herodian* family, pretends, that they were a sect of platonic philosophers, whom *Antipater* had brought from *Athens*; and adds, that they held pretty much the same doctrines with the *Sadducees*, or rather that those in *Judæa* were the same with them. The reader may see that sanguine author sufficiently confuted by *Basnage* in the place above-quoted. *Beza* on the contrary infers, that they agreed with the *Pharisees* in denying the lawfulness of the tribute, from the insnaring question they came to put to our Saviour<sup>l</sup>. But it is rather plain, that their design, and more especially, that of the *Pharisees*, who sent them to him, was of another nature. These had been just before determining at any rate to intangle him in his answers, that they might find some matter to accuse him, because he had been setting forth a parable that touched them to the quick. They therefore sent their own disciples in company with the *Herodians* to intrap him with the question in dispute between them, *Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar*<sup>m</sup>? If he answered in the affirmative, they could object against him that he was an impostor, and not what he pretended, the Messiah, who was to free them from all foreign yoke and impost; and upon this they could intent a criminal process against him, which would make them amends for his having given the preference to their antagonists. And if he answered in the negative, they gained a victory over them, and at the same time exposed him to their resentment, or rather to that of the civil power, which, they knew, would not fail to crush both the doctrine and its divine preacher, especially at such a juncture, when there was another new faction started up into a sect, which began to appear somewhat dangerous.

IV. THIS was that of the *Gaulonites*, so named from *Judas the Gaulonite*<sup>n</sup>, or *Galilean*, as he is called by St. *Luke*<sup>o</sup>. It began to appear soon after the banishment of *Archelaus*, when his territories were made a *Roman* province,

Gaulonites.

<sup>k</sup> *HIERON.* cont. *Lucifer.* *TERTUL.* de præscript. *EPIPHAN.* hæres. *Herodian.* <sup>l</sup> In *MATTH.* xxii. 16. <sup>m</sup> Vid. *MATTH.* ubi supra, a ver. 2. ad 17. <sup>n</sup> Vid. *Antiq.* l. xviii. c. 1, 2. <sup>o</sup> *Acts* v. 37.



and the government given to *Cauponius*. For the *Jews* looking upon this as an open attempt to reduce them into slavery; *Judas* took the advantage of their discontent to put himself at their head, and to ripen them for an insurrection. *Augustus* furnished him with a plausible pretence for it, by issuing out his edict to have the whole province of *Syria* new surveyed and taxed about this time. *Judas* therefore who was a man of uncommon ambition, took occasion from it to display all his eloquence, to convince the *Jews*, that such a submission was no less than base idolatry; and setting up men upon the level with God, who was the only Lord and Sovereign that could challenge their obedience and subjection. The party which he drew after him became in a little time so considerable, that they put every thing into confusion, and laid the foundation for those great mischiefs which ensued; and which will be seen in the sequel.

THIS sect, as well as that of the *Herodians*, lasted no longer than till the destruction of *Jerusalem*; a learned author lately quoted thinks them to have been the same sect, only called by different names, by *Josephus* and the evangelists †; but what has been said above concerning that of the *Herodians*, we think, sufficiently shews the contrary. Had their sect been the same, they ought to have been more properly called *Anti-Herodians*, since that monarch's authority was equally exclaimed against by their chief, as that of the *Romans*; and if their doctrine, against which our Saviour forewarns his disciples, had been the same with that of the *Gaulonites*, would it not have been equally absurd to have called it the leaven of *Herod*? *Josephus* tells us, that it differed in no point but this from that of the *Pharisees*; and the evangelists introduce the *Pharisees* and *Herodians* as coming by one consent to enquire of Christ concerning the lawfulness of the tribute, from all which it seems at least very probable, that they were only two different parties, who split themselves into two extremes from the *Pharisaic* sect; whilst these last kept, as it were, in a medium between the base complaisance of the *Herodians*, and the seditious spirit of the *Gaulonites*, not perhaps so much out of a conscientious principle, much less out of any love; either to *Herod*, or to the *Romans*, as from a fear of their power and resentment.

*Essenians*. V. THE *Essenians*, though not taken notice of by the writers of the *New Testament*, did yet make a considerable sect among the *Jews*, and are very much celebrated by Jo-

† Vid. PRID. & BASNAG. ubi supra.

*sephus*,

*Josephus*<sup>p</sup>, *Philo*<sup>q</sup>, by *Pliny*<sup>r</sup>, and by some of the fathers and other christian writers, both ancient and modern<sup>t</sup>; and if they were the same with the *Hassidim* or *Hardanim*, as some have thought, we may add also, by the books of the *Maccabees* and other *Jewish* writers. But this last is a mere conjecture; founded only on a fancied conformity between some of their principles; and austere way of living. The far greatest part of the *Essenian* sect was chiefly in *Egypt*; there was but a small number of them in *Judaea*, probably by reason of the grievous persecutions and intestine broils, that raged almost perpetually in it. And this may be one reason, why the evangelists make no mention of it; to which we may add another, namely, that their eremitic life, which secluded them from places of great resort, and their over-weaning pretence to a superior sanctity, which inspired them with a contempt for the rest of the world, might make them less curious about Christ's person and doctrine. They might think, that if he was really the Messiah, he would not fail to come to seek them; and if he was not, he had already enemies enough to oppose him; and it was beneath them to leave their beloved solitude and contemplative life, merely to declare themselves against him. What wonder then, that the sacred writers should overlook a proud, recluse, and remote sect, which neither embraced nor opposed the gospel; and whose affectation to a greater and supererogatory degree of holiness stood condemned by the frequent censures which Christ pronounced against that of the *Pharisees*?

It would be next to impossible to trace out their origin, or even the etymology of their name, with any certainty (A).

*Pliny*

<sup>p</sup> Antiq. l. iii. c. 9. xviii. 12. Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 7. & alib. pass.  
<sup>q</sup> Tract. quod omnis probus liber. <sup>r</sup> Hist. lib. v. c. 17. <sup>t</sup> EPIPH.  
 hæref. 29. de Nazar. c. 4. SUID. sub. voc. *εσσηναιοι* SERRAR.  
 trihæref. l. iii. c. 1. & al. inf. citat.

(A) *Josephus* has evaded giving us the etymology of that name, most probably, because he knew not well where to fetch it from; and *Philo*, who derives it from the Greek *Οσιος*, *holy*, owns it to be ungrammatical; but this has not hindered other critics from aiming at it. *Epiphanius* (1) has gone the farthest for it of any, when he derives it from *Jesse* the father of *David*, or, as it is to be read, according to the Hebrew, *ישעי*, *jisai* or *jisbai*. *Salmasius* derives it from the city of *Essa*, mentioned by *Josephus*, as the place where *Zeno* had repositied his treasure (2).

(1) *Hæref. 29. de Nazar. c. 4.* (2) *Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23.*



*Pliny*, in the place above-quoted, tells us, from what authority is not easy to guess,, that they were of several thousand years standing; and, what increased his wonder, that they had subsisted so long without procreation. But he was in part mistaken, because, though one branch of them condemned all intercourse with the women, as apt to extinguish devotion; there was another sort who declared as much against celibacy, as tending to extinguish the race of mankind, as we shall see in the sequel. But to come to more authentic evidence, the first *Essenians* we read of are in the fourth book of *Maccabees*, under the name of *Hasdanim*<sup>t</sup>, and in *Josephus*<sup>u</sup>, where both agree that they were already settled in *Judæa* in the time of *Jonathan*, the brother and successor of *Judas Maccabæus*, about a hundred and fifty years before Christ. We have had occasion to mention, out of these two authors, one *Judas* a prophet of that sect, who foretold the death of *Antigonus*, brother to *Aristobulus*, then king of the *Jews*, and which came to pass accordingly, though to the great surprize of even the prophet himself\*. And it is not improbable, that this anchoretic sect took its rise a little while before the time of the *Maccabees*, when the faithful *Jews* were forced to live in deserts and caves, to avoid persecution. As for those who suppose them to have been a branch of the *Rhocabites*, who flourished so long before the *Babylonish* captivity<sup>w</sup>, and of whom we have spoken largely in our fourth volume<sup>†</sup>; we can only say they guess very much in the dark.

WE have already hinted their different opinions concerning marriage and celibacy. Those, who allowed the former, were yet very sparing of matrimonial intercourse, and wholly abstained from it on the night before the sabbath and other festivals, on fast-days, and the like; and, at other times, they were no less careful to wash, and use other purifications after it. The other branch, who condemned it, did likewise disallow all servitude, and thought the distinction

<sup>t</sup> Cap. 6.      <sup>u</sup> Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9, & 19. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 3, & 7.      \* See before sect. 3. p. 86, (C).      <sup>w</sup> Vid. SUPRA, ubi supra.      † p. 48, & seq. & (T).

If the reader be curious about such things, he need but read *Serrarius* (3), where he will find at least a dozen different opinions concerning the derivation of that word, enough, we think, to give him a disgust to etymological conjectures.

(3) *Tribarsf. l. iii. c. 1. Vid. & Calmet. dissert. de sect. Jud.*  
of

of master and servant to be against the law of nature, for which reason they never indulged themselves the use of the latter; and when any of them was, either through old age, sickness, or other accident, rendered incapable of helping himself, he received all proper assistance from the younger, who all expressed an uncommon readiness, or even emulation to perform that duty to him. But the other sort allowed themselves servants for all inferior offices.

THEY likewise distinguished themselves, in their rules and manner of life, into laborious and contemplative, otherwise called *Therapeutes*, the first sort of them divided their time between prayer and labour, such as the exercise of some handicraft, or the cultivation of some spot of ground, where they sowed and planted such roots, herbs, corn, &c. as served for their food; and the latter between prayer and contemplation, or study. In this last, they confined themselves to that of the sacred books and morality, without troubling themselves with any other branch of philosophy. A late learned author, has indeed ranked them among the *Pyrrhonian* or *Sceptic* philosophers\*; and it is true, they were very modest in their affirmations in point of divinity, and condemned the dogmatic assurance of the other sects; but that they ever deigned to dive into the writings of the academy or other philosophers, seems improbable, from the singular contempt they shewed of all the other *Jewish* sects; how much more, of those of the heathens?

FOR with respect even to the former, they refused to converse with them, for fear of contracting some pollution; and this notion they carried so far, as even to absent themselves from going to the temple, and contented themselves with sending their offerings to it by other hands.

BOTH the contemplative and laborious had their synagogues, their stated hours for prayer, for reading, and expounding the sacred books. This latter province was always performed by the elder sort, who were seated at the upper end, according to their seniority, whilst the younger, who were admitted to read the proper parashas or lessons, were placed at the lower end. Their expositions were generally of the allegorical kind, in which they seemed to have out-vied all their *Jewish* brethren. But they paid the greatest regard to the five books of *Moses*, and looked upon that lawgiver as the head of all the inspired penmen; insomuch, that they condemned to immediate death whosoever spoke disrespectfully

\* Huet. foiblesse de l'entendement, & l. i. c. 14. sect 61.  
either



either of him or of his writings. Upon this account they studied, read, and expounded him more than all the rest, and seem to have chiefly drawn all their divinity from the pentateuch. The doctrines and expositions of the elders were received with implicit faith, and in their practice they conformed with an intire submission to all the rules of their sect. To give a full account of them, were to copy out *Josephus* and *Philo*, who have writ more copiously about them, and to whom we chuse rather to refer our readers, who want a fuller detail. As for us, we shall content ourselves with giving them a short sketch, out of those two authors (B), of their faith and practice, as far as they differed from the other *Jewish* sects.

WITH respect to their faith, they believed the being of angels, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, like the *Pharisees*, but seem to have had no notion of the resurrection. They looked upon the souls of men as composed of a most subtle æther, which immediately after their separation from the body, or from their cage or prison, as they affected to call it, were adjudged to a place of endless happiness or misery: that those of the good took their flight over the ocean into some warm and delightful regions prepared for them, whilst those of the wicked were conveyed into some cold and intemperate climates, where they were left to groan under an inexpressible endless weight of misery. Some other *Pythagorean* notions are likewise attributed to them<sup>y</sup>, neither with certainty, nor of great moment. One thing, however, is remarkable, that among their offerings, which they made to the temple, they never sent any living creatures to be sacrificed there. But whether they did it with any regard to the *Pythagorean* doctrine of transmigration, or from any other motive, we will not de-

<sup>y</sup> Vid. *Antiq.* ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 13, ad fin.

(B) It will not be amiss to observe to our readers, that their accounts of this sect differ in some particulars, which may be probably owing to the difference there was between those of *Judæa* and those of *Egypt*. *Josephus*, we may reasonably suppose, was better acquainted with the former, and *Philo*, who was of *Alexandria*, with the latter; and both may have described them according to the particular informations they had received concerning each.

However, *Philo* agrees with *Josephus*, that those of *Judæa* amounted to but about four thousand, but he makes those of *Egypt* to have been vastly more numerous.

termine;

terminae; much less pretend to reconcile this abstinence from bloody sacrifices with their pretended regard to the *Mosaic* law and writings, where they are absolutely enjoined.

THEY were likewise intirely opposed to the *Sadducean* doctrine of free-will, and attributed all to an eternal fatality or chain of causes, little short of that of *Spinoza*; so that they seem to have run into the other extreme, whilst the *Pharisees* appear to have kept a kind of medium between them. The *Essenians* were averse to all kinds of oaths, and affirmed, that a good man's life ought to be such, as that he may be credited in every thing without them (C). The *Therapeutic* sort placed the excellency of their contemplative life in raising their minds so far above the earth, as to be able to see from thence what was done in heaven (D). When they had attained to this degree, they could dive into the nature of angels, give them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given, and pry so far into futurity, as to acquire the character of prophets. We have had occasion to mention some of them already at the beginning of this article, and in the course of this chapter. All we need to add is, that when they had once gained this name, they failed

(C) And yet they seem to have enjoined something like them on their novices, before they were admitted professed members of their society; from which some conclude, that they did not wholly condemn them, but only such as were tendered or taken without manifest and absolute necessity (4).

(D) We need not remind our readers, that every nation and religion, not to say every age, has produced men of this sublime mould, who have trampled all sublunary things under foot, to raise themselves up to a more intimate acquaintance with the deity. We read among the heathen of *Plotinus*, a *Platonic* philosopher, who pretended to be ashamed to have a soul so refined as his, confined into a lump of matter, and of a *Porphyry*, who boasted of a vision and divine intercourse, even before he was got into his dotage 5.

The *Perses*, *Mohammedans*, and almost all the nations of *India*, have had their *Therapeutes* and visionmongers; and it would be difficult to name one church or sect of christians, that has not abounded with such mytical and super rigid enthusiasts; but, in spite of all their austerities and pretences to greater degrees of sanctity and mortification, the uncharitable contempt they have expressed for the rest of the world has easily discovered what spirit they were of.

(4) *Vid int al. Le Clerc, eccles. hist. prolog. sect. 5. Calmet. ubi supra & al.* (5) *De his vid. Bayl. Dict. sub voc.*



not to be highly respected, not only by their own fraternity, but by both kings and people. We have seen in a former section even a *Herod* shew a more than ordinary regard to the whole sect, for the sake of one of them, who had foretold his accession to the *Jewish* crown; and at a time when they were strenuously opposing his favourite scheme, of obliging the whole nation to swear allegiance to him.

IN their practice they outdid all the other sects in austerity. If we may credit *Philo*, it was a fundamental maxim with them, upon their entrance into the *Therapeutic* life, to renounce the world and all their worldly properties, which they, it seems, generously divided among their friends and relations, whom they left behind them in it (E). They never eat till after sun-set, and the best of their fare was coarse bread, with some salt and hyssop, or some such stomachic herbs. Some of them, if we may believe *Philo*, would eat but every third, and others every sixth, day; and all of them very sparingly, even of that poor cheer they were allowed. Their cloathing was made of coarse wool, plain, but white. They condemned all sorts of unctions and perfumes as luxurious and effeminate. Their beds were hard, and their sleep short. In a word, as they looked upon all these austerities as the most effectual means to procure the favour of heaven and the esteem of the brotherhood, to say nothing of that of the world, they never thought they could carry them to excess. Their heads or superiors were generally chosen according to seniority, unless there started up some of the brotherhood, more conspicuous for learning, piety, prophetic spirit, or any other distinguishing merit. But some there were so very contemplative, that they never stirred out of their cell, nor even looked out at a window during the whole week. These spent their time in reading the sacred books and writing comments upon them.

ON the sabbath they repaired to their synagogues early in the morning, and continued the whole day there in prayers, singing of psalms, reading, or in expounding the sacred

(E) Our authors have forgot to tell us, how this set of men lived after their admission into that sect, if they left all their worldly substance behind; since they were not, like the other branch, allowed to follow any trade, or to cultivate any land, but divided their time between prayer and study, or contemplation; and had neither wives nor servants to provide food for them, nor any other visible means, that we can find, to subsist (6).

(6) *Vid. Le Clerc ubi supra.*

books;

books ; at which time they kept themselves in the profoundest silence. The feast of pentecost was observed by them with greater solemnity than other festivals, and in memory, it seems, of the *Israelites* passing the *Red-Sea*, and of that solemn eucharistical hymn, which was alternately sung by the choirs of men and women, with *Aaron* and *Miriam* at their head. In imitation of which, both sexes, during this feast, went early to the synagogue in their white habit, newly washed ; and after the usual prayers, reading, &c. the men and the women, each in their separate choir, set themselves a singing and dancing, moving regularly backwards and forwards, to the right and left, to and from each other, till at length their devotion was raised to such a pitch, that they forgot the difference of sexes, and both choirs intermingled, and continued dancing and singing the whole night. On the next morning they faced about towards the sun rising, their usual position at prayers, paid their adoration to the Supreme Being, wished each other a good day, and retired each to their respective cells. To all this we may add, that they had some other more secret rites or mysteries relating to their sect, which, like the *Pythagoreans*, they were bound never to divulge, and which it were therefore in vain to inquire after.

THOSE of *Judæa* did live, according to *Pliny*<sup>2</sup>, in a desert in the neighbourhood of *Hebron*, about twenty miles south of *Jerusalem*.

THIS city which we have spoken of in a former volume †, being generally supposed the place of *John the Baptist*'s birth, it is not improbable, that he was sent thither to be brought up among them, and lived with them till the time of his manifesting himself to the *Jewish* nation<sup>2</sup>. But as for those who have imagined that Christ and his disciples had also been of that sect, because they pretend to see some conformity between some of his precepts, and way of living, and those of the *Essenians*, they are not worth confuting, since there runs rather a manifest opposition almost through the whole. However, those who will not be at the trouble to compare them, may see that wild notion fully confuted by the authors quoted in the margin<sup>b</sup>, as well as another, no less improbable, though less absurd ; that the *Egyptian Therapeutes* were a society of christian hermits instituted by *St. Mark*, when he founded the church of *Alexandria*<sup>c</sup>. For *Philo*, who was at

<sup>2</sup> Vid. *Antiq*, ubi supra, & l. xv. c. 13. ad fin.  
147, 360, G).

<sup>2</sup> Vid. *LUKE* i. ver. ult.

† Vol. II. p.

<sup>b</sup> Ubi supra.

<sup>c</sup> *BASNAG.* hist. des Juifs, tom. 4. l. ii. c. 22, & seq. *PRID.* Connect. part. 2. sub fin. l. v.



least contemporary with the evangelist, if not older, speaks of them <sup>d</sup> as a fraternity of a much longer standing, and as of *Jews* and zealous disciples of *Moses*, and stricter observers of the sabbath, than any other *Jewish* sect; having amongst them hymns and writings composed in former times, by those who had been the principal leaders and heads of their sect; dispersed not only through *Egypt*, but among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, &c. Nothing of all which could have been said of such a society of christian hermits, supposing St. *Mark* had really instituted any thing like it. But we find no traces of any such institution till the beginning of the second century, when those ascetics, who had formerly fled from persecution, finding the sweets of their solitude, began to erect themselves into bodies, the earliest of which, that we read of, was, according to the two learned authors above-quoted, in or about the year of Christ 113 <sup>e</sup>.

OTHERS have believed, that the *Essenians* and *Therapeutes* did afterwards renounce judaism, and convert to christianity; and it is not improbable, that many of them did so; but that the bulk of the sect embraced christianity, and became, as it were, absorbed into the societies of the christian ascetics, is hard to affirm. If it be asked, What became of them, and of all their boasted writings and comments, if this was not the case? it may be answered, that those who persevered in their old sect, underwent the same fate with the rest of the *Jews*, and in a much greater number, as being become more odious to the *Romans* on account of their extreme constancy, under those grievous persecutions which they raised against them. This might probably be also the cause why their books were more universally destroyed than those of the other *Jews*; though even of these we have nothing left but the *Chaldee* paraphrase, of which we shall speak in a more proper place. We shall have occasion in the sequel to shew, that the *Essenians* flourished still under the emperor *Trajan*, though much degenerated from their primitive purity of life and doctrine, under their new demagogue *Elxai*. Under *Justinian* they were still known by the pompous title of angels, or angelics, and inhabitants of heaven; but as their lives were found to fall infinitely short of those beings, whose names they assumed, the people saw through the cheat,

<sup>d</sup> EUSEB. Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 17.. BELLARM. BARON. Vid. & MONTEAUC. dissert. de Christ. Therapeut ap. BASNAG ubi supra. <sup>e</sup> Lib. sup. citat. <sup>f</sup> DRUS. TRIGLAND. BASNAG. PRID. CALMET. & al. ubi supra.

and this was in all likelihood their last blast upon their going out, for we hear no more of them from that time.

WE have now gone through all the *Jewish* sects that made any figure in our Saviour's time, and might here put an end to this digression, if it may be called such; but forasmuch as there is still one in being, and very considerable, as we have hinted in a former volume †, who derive their origin from the famous *Ezra* and the great synagogue, and are opposed to the rest in some of their fundamentals, it will not be amiss to speak something of them, before we conclude this section. They are called *Caraim*, or *Karaites* (F); that is, *Scripturists*, or persons wholly addicted to the reading, and thoroughly versed in the sacred writings.

IT is not easy to determine when this sect first began. We have hinted above what claim they lay to antiquity and authority. They boast even a catalogue or register of all the learned who have written or taught either for or against their sect from the time of *Esdra* ‡. Some of those that are dispersed in *Poland*, pretend to carry it still higher, and that they were descended from the ten tribes carried away by *Shalmanezzer*. The *Rabbinists* seem, however, to allow them to have been a sect at least as old as the time of *Alexander the Great*, when they tell us that *Jaddua* the then high-priest wrought a miracle before that prince, which the two chiefs of the *Caraites* could not imitate; but this may be put in the number of their fabulous miracles, of which they are never sparing, whenever any competition between the other sects and their own is in question; witness those which they urge against the *Samaritans*, of which we have spoken in a former section \*. We shall give in the margin some of the different opinions concerning their origin (G), whilst we stick here to the most probable;

† Vol III p. 155. ‡ BASNAG ubi supra, Tom. II. part. 2. c. 16. \* See Vol. IX p. 564. E).

(F) קראים from the verb *kara*, to read (7). As they rejected all the other writings but those of the *Jewish* canon, and the pretended oral tradition so much cried up by the *Pharisees*; it is perhaps upon this account, that the *Rabbinists*, their bitterest enemies, have imputed most of the *Sadducean* errors to them (8), tho' this be the only point in which they agreed with them.

(G) The learned *Wolf* of *Hamburg* has given us the origin of the *Caraites*, written from the memoirs of one of that sect, named

(7) Vide Buxtorf. lexic. sub voce קראים. (8) Vide Abraban. append. in Hacosfri. edit. a Buxtorf.

*A. o. decal;*



probable ; which is, that they were the successors of the *Scribes* so often mentioned by the evangelists (H), such as were those whom

*Mordecai* ; in which this last affirms, that *Alexander Jannæus* having put to death all the learned *Jews* of his time, *Simeon*, the son of *Seta*, and brother of the queen, was privately conveyed into *Egypt*, where he invented the system of the pretended *Jewish* oral tradition, and being returned to *Jerusalem*, began to teach it publicly, pretending that he was intrusted with all those discoveries which God had made to *Moses*, and were from him conveyed through a series of hands and ages down to his time. This system was embraced by some, and as strenuously opposed by others, who affirmed, that the whole will of God to their lawgiver was contained in the sacred writings. From these last came the sect of the *Caraites*, as that of the *Rabbinists* or *Traditionists* did from the former. The same author adds, that *Judas* the son of *Sabbai* became eminent among the former, and *Hillel* famous among the latter (9).

Another author (10) thinks, that those two sects split themselves soon after the death of the prophets, upon a dispute about works of supererogation ; one sort maintaining the necessity of them from tradition, and the other denying it on the authority of the sacred writings. These were the *Caraites*, who thereupon pretended to be descended from the prophets *Haggai*, *Malachi*, &c. But whatever was the occasion of their division, they conceived such an irreconcilable hatred against each other, that they think no name or language bad enough. Among other epithets, the *Rabbinists* call their opponents *mamzerim*, or *bastards*, a term of the greatest reproach among the *Jews* † ; and the *Caraites*, in return, give them the title of *bridled asses*, on account of their broad phylacteries and other superstitious trinkets, which these place a great deal of religion in, and the others detest. The former interpret the words of *Moses* (11, *Thou shalt bind them* (the divine precepts) *for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes*, &c. literally ; and the others only as a precept injoining them to have a constant regard to, and remembrance of, them. We have observed in a former volume, that their mutual hatred is such, that no consideration can move them to intermarry \*. A modern *Rabbinist* adds, that if a *Caraites* had a mind to turn *Traditionist*, these would even refuse to admit him (12) ; and it is a common saying among the latter, that before a *Caraites* be admitted among them, he should have first turned *Jew*, and then christian, else they could not believe his conversion sincere.

(H) The scribes, in Hebrew סופרים *sopherim*, or *writers*, are

(9) *Volf. notit. Caræorum*. (10) *Trigland. dissertat. de Carait. Delph. 1703. Vide Calmet. sub voce Caraites. † De his vid. Vol. III. p. 295, (N).* (11) *Deut. vi. 8.* \* *Vol. III. p. 155.* (12) *Vide Leo. de modern. cerim. Jud. part. 5. c. 1.*

mentioned

whom *Herod the Great* consulted about the place where the Mes-

mentioned for the first time in the song of *Deborah* (13), tho' some have put *Moses* at the head of that tribe. They are often spoken of in the books of *Kings*, *Chronicles*, and *Ezra*, as persons in the highest dignities of the *Jewish* commonwealth. It is not unlikely, that *David* did appoint some such order, when he regulated the classes of the priests, levites, &c. (14). Since there must have been proper secretaries, which is the right meaning of *sopherim*, in church, in state, in the army, revenues, &c. And as writing was not so universally practised in those days, those who excelled in it had a fair claim for such an office; but these being manifestly different from those mentioned in the gospel, we shall push our inquiry about them no further.

After the return from the captivity, when the canon of the scripture was revised by *Ezra* and his inspired associates, mentioned in a former section †, it is very probable, the multiplying and propagating, as well as the revising, the copies of it, which were then very scarce, was committed to those *sopherim* or *scribes*, who, by a constant converse with those writings, attained to a still greater knowledge of them, and so came at length to set up for teachers and expounders of them, and to the name of *scribe* had that likewise added of *doctor* or *teacher* of the law. Accordingly we find one of them called by the former name in one evangelist (15), and by the latter in another (16); and both they and the *Pharisees* are said by our Saviour to sit in *Moses's seat* (17).

These therefore cannot be said to have made a separate sect, as some antients have imagined (18), but to have been some of one, some of another; since it is obvious, that every one of them must have had their doctors and expounders, and all justly enough liable to those severe censures which our Saviour pronounced against them, for putting each their several glosses on the text, inferring new and detrimental doctrines from it, and imposing them on their disciples, with as much arrogance as if they had been all infallible or inspired. However, since we find these *scribes* and lawyers or doctors of the law, to be often mentioned with the *Pharisees* (19), it is likely, they were more numerous in that sect than in any other; or rather perhaps, if we consider how necessary such men were in church and state, of how long a standing they must consequently have been, they may be looked upon as the root or trunk from which all the others sprang and divided themselves, according as their respective views, interest, education, pride, and such like motives led them.

(13) *Judg* iv. 14. (14) *Vide int. al. 1 Chron.* xxiv. 6. xxvii. 32. † *Vol. IX. p.* 523, (Y). (15) *Mark* xii. 28. (16) *Matth.* xxii. 35. (17) *Ibid* xviii. 2. (18) *Epiph. heres. Auth. of the recognit. &c.* (19) *Vide Matth. ubi supra, & alib. pass. Acts* xxiii. 9.



fish was to be born<sup>4</sup>. These therefore, it is very likely, after the *Pharisaic* sect came to have clogged the *Jewish* religion with such a vast number of traditions, as rendered it wholly burdensome, if not intolerable, became so out of conceit with them, that they resolved to throw them all off, and to stick close to the text; for which they had the name of *Caraites* or *Scripturists*, either given them out of contempt, or took it by way of distinction from the *Traditionists*. The difficulty is to find out the time when, and the persons by whom, this breach was at first made, and doubtless the testimony of the *Caraites* themselves, who go either as far back as *Ezra*, or, at the latest, as the times of *Hyrca*n or *Alexander Jannæus*, will appear too suspicious. But that of the *Talmudists*, who allow them, some as ancient as *Sadduc*, or at least as *Herod the Great*, may be less liable to suspicion; and where is the difficulty of supposing, that whilst the *Sadducees* distinguished themselves from the rest, as well by their *Epicurean* doctrines, as by their rejection of the *Pharisaic* traditions, another more moderate sect might close in with them in this last, without running into those other extremes of the *Sadducean* leaven, which, they saw, were manifestly destructive of all religion, and so compose a new sect, differing from them in all points but that, and from the *Pharisees* in that only one (1)? However, they

\* MATTH. ii. 4. Vide *BASNAG* ubi supra.

(1) The *Rabbinic* writers do accordingly accuse the *Caraites* for having been more favourable to Jesus Christ than any other sect, and the evangelist seems to confirm it, when he introduces a *scribe* (20) applauding our Saviour's answer concerning the first and chief command, and agreeing with him, that the love of God, above all things, and of our neighbour as ourselves, was of more worth than all burnt-offerings, &c.

It is true, he seems to be called a *Pharisee* in a parallel place (21); but *Basnag* has judiciously observed (22), that the pronoun *them* did not refer to the *Pharisees* mentioned in the foregoing verse, who, being confuted just before, were then gone to take counsel together, but to the multitude in the verse before that, who gladly heard Christ's nervous answers to these enquiring sectaries. We may add, that the answer there given by the *scribe*, was more like that of a sober *Caraites*, than of a superstitious, hypocritical *Pharisee*.

That there seems to have been a manifest difference between these last and the scribes and lawyers, the above-quoted author

(20) *Mark* xii. 28.

(21) *Matth.* xxii. 35, & seq.

(22)

*Ubi supra*, c. 17. sect. 10.

shews

they seem to have been more moderate, than to have absolutely rejected all traditions and writings. They, on the contrary, used them as helps, whenever they found them judicious and well founded, and only denied them that blind and implicit obedience which the *Pharisees* insisted on; but whether those sects divided themselves so early as the reign of *Hircan* or *Alexander Jannæus*, or whether in that famous rupture between *Shammai* and *Hillel*, about one hundred years before Christ, or about what time after (K); whether first in *Judæa* or *Egypt* (L), is at best but conjecture; and we hope we have given it the best light we are able to get.

WE

shews from another evangelist, who introduces the last of these hearing patiently the woes which Christ pronounced against the *Pharisees*; but when he came to join the *scribes* with them, he complained loudly of it (23). Our Saviour's answer to him confirms it still more, when he added, *Woe also unto you lawyers*, and laid a new charge against them, different from that of the *Pharisees*.

(K) *Morinus* places the rise of the *Caraites* about the year after Christ 740 or 750, about which time, and not before, he supposes the *Talmud* to have been compleated, and to have given occasion to their separation (24). He adds, upon the authority of a good number of *Rabbies*, that one *Ananus*, vexed to see his brother preferred before him to the dignity of chief of the captivity, began to declare himself against the compilers and defenders of that work, as giving a divine authority to a book, which was mostly stuffed with fables, and drew a party after him. We shall have a more proper opportunity in the sequel to fix the time in which it was compleated, and shall only observe here, that the authority of these *Rabbies* is not only very suspicious in a case of this nature, but is contradicted by others of older date, whom we have mentioned at the head of this article. Besides, what we have said hitherto makes it more probable, that they were of much earlier date, and that the rupture which the publication of the *Talmud* occasioned, might be only a revival of their old dispute, and the giving of a new life to the sect. Sure it is, that some of the fathers, who are of much greater authority, have mentioned them long before (25), if not by the name of *Caraites*, at least by that of *scribes*, who rejected all oral traditions, and stuck close to the letter of the sacred books. The reader may see another proof of it in the next note.

(L) *Eusebius* tells us (26), that in the reign of *Ptolemy Philometor*, the *Jews* in *Egypt* were divided into two parties, the one of

(23) *Luke xi. 44, & seq.* (24) *Exercit. bibl. l. ii. Exercit. vi. c. 2. vii. c. 1. Vide Basnag. ubi supra, sect. 19.* (25) *Orig. in Matth. xiii. 52. Epiphanius hæres. xv. Hieron. in Isai. viii. 14.* (26) *Præp. evangel. l. viii. c. 10.*



We shall now give a short summary of their particular tenets, as they are opposed to those of the other sects.

1. THEY look upon the canonical books of the old testament as the only rule of their faith, and reject the apocryphal as of no authority, together with the pretended oral tradition of the *Pharisees*, as the wicked inventions of an in-croaching and designing set of men; for which reason they have the utmost abhorrence for the *Talmud*.

2. THEY expound scripture by scripture; and, where that cannot be done, they call in the assistance of reason, and the writings and comments of other doctors, tho' without paying too implicit a regard to the latter.

3. THEY commonly read the scriptures in their syna-

which expounded the *Mosaic* law allegorically, and the other literally; which latter was part of the *Caraites* character. We might further alledge, the book *Hachofri*, to which the *Rabbies* give a very great antiquity, and which introduces the king *Cosroes* as a great admirer of the *Caraitic* sect, because they were more zealous for the law, till his *Rabbinic* teachers acquainted him with the vast variety of opinions that were among them, for want of admitting the oral tradition, which fixed the sense of the sacred writings. We have elsewhere indeed had occasion to shew, that this book is far enough from being so antient as they make it †; but it shews, however, how little reason *Morinus* had to make them so recent as the eighth century, upon the testimony of some partial *Rabbins*, against that of a number of others of more antient date, some of whom own them to have appeared even in the time of the *Asmoneans*, others of the *Sadducees*, and others of *Herod* (27), to say nothing of that of the fathers above quoted.

If it be objected, that *Josephus* has said nothing of them when he spoke of the other sects which reigned in his time, the argument will equally hold against the *Herodians*, which yet seem to have been very considerable. That historian might have his reasons for passing them by in silence. Had he spoke well of them, he would have disoblinded his own sect, seeing he was a *Pharisee*; had he spoke ill of them, the *Herodians* might have exposed him to the resentment of that family, and even of the *Romans*, in whose behalf we have seen they divided themselves from the *Pharisees* and *Gaulonites*; and as to the *Caraites*, they might not be so guilty in his eyes as they appeared to the opposite sects. *Josephus* had too much sense to run all the lengths, and swallow all the fabulous stories of the *Traditionists*, tho', like a thorough-paced statesman, he outwardly joined with the most prevailing side.

† Vide Vol. III. p. 416, note.

(27) Vide Trigland. de Carait. c. 3. Drus. tribar. Basnag. Calmet, Prid. &c. ubi supra.

gogues in the original, esteeming it next to impossible to come at their true meaning from any translation of them ; for this reason they are careful to instruct their children betimes in that sacred tongue ; and if they suffer any version of them, it is only for the use of those of the meaner sort, who are not acquainted with the *Hebrew*.

4. THEIR prayers are likewise in that tongue, as being the most holy and energetic, and the only one in which the incommunicable name of God can be properly pronounced ; for they are not so scrupulous in this respect as the other *Jews*, who always read it *Adonai*, but pronounce it *Jehovah*, as we do. Only in their writings, prayer-books, &c. they chuse to write it only with a *vau* between two *jods*. In their prayers, wherein they express a much greater fervency and devotion than the rest, they always turn their faces towards *Jerusalem*.

5. THEY expect, like the rest of the *Jews*, the reign of the Messiah to be a temporal and glorious one, and attribute his long delay, partly to the slowness of *Saturn's* motion, which they make the ruling planet of the sabbath † and of the *Jewish* nation, and partly to their sins, which have provoked God to suspend the sending of him at the promised time (M) ; for this reason they forbid the calculating the time of his coming under the severest anathemas.

6. THEY entertain the highest and justest notions of the Deity, and of his perfections and attributes. They affirm his providence to be as extensive and unlimited as his knowledge ; and at the same time allow, that mankind has a freedom to determine himself ; but that God gave unto every man a portion of his universal grace to assist him in his right choice ; and that our wills being influenced by our tempers and constitutions, but chiefly by the stars, makes that grace very necessary. They have a four-fold distinction of this disposition of the soul, the one of sickness, the other of health, the third of life, the fourth of death. This distinction seems to have been alluded to by our Saviour in several places of

† De hoc vide Vol. III. p. 427, (L).

(M) The reader may remember, that we have lately had occasion to confute this ridiculous pretence, and the cause from which it sprung (28), which, it seems by this, was not so confined to the carnal *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, but their more sober and mortified sects gave into it.

(28) See before p. 216, in fin. not. (Z).



the gospel; as where he speaks of the dead burying the dead; that not the whole, but the sick, have need of a physician, and some others of the like nature.

7. THEIR morality was not inferior to their divinity. It kept a kind of medium between the austere *Essenian* and the *Epicurean Sadducee*. Of the two they rather inclined to the former in point of abstemiousness, whether of eating, drinking, or any other lawful pleasures.

8. THEY believe a future life of rewards and punishments, according to mens good or bad actions in this (N); that the souls come from heaven; that the future life was made for them, and that they will subsist there as the angels do.

9. WE have already hinted, that they condemned the phylacteries of the *Pharisees*. They had no less an abhorrence for all kind of pictures, that were used either by heathens, or afterwards by christians, for a religious use, or, as they term it, to be worshipped; and condemned the other sects for being remiss enough in that point, to make a traffic of them for gain.

10. THEY rejected the astronomical calculations as introduced after the captivity for settling the new moons and other festivals of the year; such as we have had occasion to mention more than once in the course of this chapter †. Whereas the *Traditionists* denied their being an innovation, and, pretended, that they had been invented by *Moses*, and had been as much in vogue before, as since their return from *Babylon*.

UPON all these, and some other less material differences, there was such an irreconcilable hatred intailed between those two sects, as came little short of persecution. They not only charge each other with heresy, with perverting the scriptures, and corrupting religion; but pronounce the bitterest anathemas they can meet with in the sacred books against each other, and that publicly and solemnly; so that where either of them, especially the *Pharisees*, are most numerous or powerful, the others must hear themselves cursed, without

† Vide int. al. p. 32, not. (K).

(N) Tho' they held this in opposition to the *Sadducees*, whom they therefore accused of maintaining the annihilation of the soul; yet we do not find that they believed the resurrection with the *Pharisees*.

daring to resist or complain (O). The late Mr. *Ludolph*, who had been much conversant among them, told several of his acquaintance both in *England* and *Holland*, that he saved the life of a poor *Carait* at *Frankfort*, who, if he had not protected him, took him home, and sent him away privately; had been in danger of being either torn into pieces, or of being starved there<sup>a</sup>. This mutual hatred and contempt is carefully propagated both by the parents to the children; and much more by the masters to the disciples, over whom they usurp such an uncontrollable authority, that it is next to blasphemy and rebellion to contradict or disobey them.

AMONG the *Caraites*, above all other sects, the disciples have such profound respect for their doctors, that they neither sit down before them till they are bid, nor go from them without their leave; and then they go backwards, keeping still their faces turned towards them. They never speak to or of them, without the title of lord, master, or some such like term of submission. The doctors, on the other hand, who are averse to the *Pharisaic* pride, treat them with great gentleness and humanity, and, for the generality, teach their scholars *gratis*; so that one may say, upon the whole, the *Caraites* are by far the most religious, rational, and, bating their carnal notion of the Messiah's reign, the best disposed to embrace the gospel of any other sect; and we may reasonably suppose, that among the many thousands of that stubborn nation, whom the apostles converted to christianity, the far greater number of them flocked to it from that quarter, whilst the proud *Pharisees*, full of their own superfluous

<sup>a</sup> BASNAG. ubi supra, c. 7. sect. 25.

(O) This we are told (29), is practised in *Palestine*, where the *Rabbinists*, by far the more numerous and wealthy, assemble themselves on mount *Olivet* on the feast of tabernacles, and there pronounce all the curses of the law against the *Caraites* who are often within the hearing of them; for tho' we find their sect dispersed through many of the northern regions, such as *Poland*, *Lithuania*, *Muscovy*, &c. besides those that are to be met with in great numbers in *Turky*, where they enjoy much greater liberty; yet they prefer *Judaea* to all other countries, and would gladly live there rather than at *Constantinople*, *Cairo*, and other great cities, were they permitted to live peaceably, and free from the curses and other ill offices of their inveterate enemies.

(29) *Basnag. ubi supra, sect. ult.*

knowledge



knowledge and righteousness, and intoxicated with an invincible fondness for their own traditions; and the carnal *Sadducees*, contented with the enjoyments of this life, and regardless, if not averse, to the thoughts of a future, spared no pains or artifice, cruelty or injustice to oppose a doctrine so grating and contrary to theirs. This being therefore the state of the *Jews* at the coming of the Messiah, we need not wonder at the reception which both he and his doctrine met with from them; especially when, instead of that glorious, warlike, conqueror they had been made to expect, they saw him in the humble guise of the poor, illiterate, son of an obscure carpenter.

## S E C T. VI.

*The History of the Jews from the birth to the death of*  
CHRIST.

Herod's  
distracted  
state re-  
sumed.

THE reader may remember, that we left *Herod* in the most distracted state that can be well imagined; his conscience stung with the most lively grief for the murder of his beloved and virtuous *Mariamne* and of her two worthy sons; his life and crown in imminent danger from the rebellious *Antipater* and ungrateful *Pheroras*; his reign stained with rivers of innocent blood; his latter days imbibbered by the treacherous intrigues of a hellish sister; his person and family hated by the whole *Jewish* nation; and last of all his crown and all his glories on the eve of being obscured by the birth of a miraculous child, who is proclaimed by heaven and earth to be the promised and long expected Messiah and Saviour of the world. To all these plagues we must add some fresh intelligences which came tumbling in upon that wretched monarch; and which, by assuring him still more, not only of the treasonable designs of the unnatural *Antipater*, but also of the bitter complaints which his other two sons, then at the *Roman* court, did vent against them both, rendered him more than ever completely miserable. Had these two princes continued in their duty to him, they would have been a support and comfort, tho' his favourite one had proved the traitor they had represented him; but whom could he trust to, when there was not one of his family left, that did not in some measure declare himself an enemy to him?

This

This was the dreadful view in which he beheld himself and his unnatural off-spring; not that those two young princes were really so divested of all filial affection, as they were represented to him by *Antipater* and his instruments; but it had been his and their constant care and study by such vile misrepresentations, to render them more and more suspected to the jealous king. Their letters were generally filled with the pretended injurious reflections which those two sons whispered against him; such as his having unjustly murdered those of *Mariamne*, and their dread of being recalled into *Judæa* to be made to undergo the same fate. *Antipater* indeed acted under closer covert, and whilst he seemed, as it were, unwillingly to confirm all these accusations, pretended to excuse them as the effects of rashness and youth, which time and consideration would soon rectify; and indeed so taken up was he, either in cultivating these discords, or in procuring himself friends at *Rome* and *Jerusalem* by his profuse liberality, that he seems to have been wholly ignorant of the discoveries which the rack had extorted from his agents in *Judæa*, especially upon the death of *Pheroras*, of which we gave an account in the last section.

It is indeed surprising, that none of his friends in *Judæa* should have sent him some private intelligence of what had passed at that dreadful scene, and warned him to secure himself betimes from his father's resentment; but so intent was he on the means of ridding himself of him, and seizing on his crown, that he even furnished him with fresh proofs against himself, by sending a fresh supply of poison to his mother, by means of a freed-man of his, in case the old one should in any ways have miscarried. *Batillus*, that was the servant's name, was no sooner arrived at *Jerusalem*, than *Herod*, who by this time had unravelled the whole plot, caused him to be apprehended and put to the rack; upon which he confessed the purport of his errand from *Rome*. *Herod*, the better to conceal his resentment against his treacherous son, sent him immediately a letter, in which he seemed to complain only of some ill treatment from his mother, and charged him at the same time to make what haste he could to *Jerusalem*, that his absence might no longer give his enemies a handle to obstruct his interest in the succession. He concluded with a promise, that immediately upon his arrival he would obliterate all past miscarriages, and give him all the marks of paternal affection that he should desire <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. l. xvii. c. 6.



Antipater  
comes back  
to Jerusa-  
lem.

*Antipater*, still ignorant of what had passed in *Judea*, and thinking his father by this time poisoned and in his grave, was set out for *Judea*, being as eager to reach *Jerusalem*, as his father to get him thither; but when he was come to *Tarentum*, he received a dispatch from some of his friends, which acquainted him with the particulars of *Pheroras's* death. The news gave him a terrible shock, not indeed so much out of love to the deceased, as because he found by it, that he had missed his aim of poisoning the king. He pursued, however, his journey as far as *Celenderis*, a city in *Sicily*, where being taken with a qualm at the thoughts of the affront put upon his mother, who, as we observed in the last section, had been banished the court, and stripped of all her riches, which he looked upon as an ill omen; he stopped some time there, to consult with his friends, whether he had best proceed, or go back. At length some of them having fluffed him with the sanguine hopes, that his appearance at court would dispel all his father's suspicions, he got on board again, and in a little while landed at *Sebastæ*. Here he met with a more mortifying omen, than that of his mother's disgrace; and, instead of those acclamations and good wishes with which numerous crouds had followed him to the ship, he heard nothing but the bitterest curses from the *Jews* against himself, as the bloody murderer of *Marianne's* two brave sons <sup>b</sup>.

The chil-  
dren at  
Bethie-  
hem mas-  
sacred

WHILST *Herod* was impatiently waiting his arrival, he had not been negligent of what he thought perhaps a more important care, namely, the destroying of his new-born rival at *Bethlehem*, whom he supposed to be still there. Finding himself therefore disappointed by the wise men, from whom he expected a more particular information concerning him, that he might be sure of not missing his victim, he issued forth an order to have all the male infants massacred, not only in that city, but in all the coasts round about, from two years old and under (F); and by that horrid slaughter, verified

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. c. 7. sub. init.

(F) An author of the fifth century tells us (36), that *Herod* had also a son there at nurse, who was massacred among the rest; and that it was upon this occasion, that *Augustus* made that reflection upon him, that it was better he *Herod's* bog, than his son. But it is more likely, that that emperor, hearing about the same time of the death

(36) *Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 4.*

verified the oracle long before delivered by one of the prophets, which the reader will find in the margin<sup>c</sup> (G). But providence

<sup>c</sup> MATTH. ii. 16, & seq.

of *Antipater*, which happened about six weeks after this horrid slaughter, and recollecting that also of his other two sons, might make him break out into that bitter sarcasm against such an unnatural father; besides, it is hardly probable that *Herod*, old, crazed, and distracted as he was, could have any children so young.

It is something surprising, that *Josephus*, who was in no case sparing of *Herod's* character, should yet have omitted such a material occurrence. The christians have taxed him, and justly too, with partiality, as having concealed it, to avoid giving such a countenance to the evangelist, and such an ample testimony to the Messiah, as might offend his whole nation, and more particularly the *Pharisaic* brotherhood, who had been his most inveterate enemies.

On the other hand, there have not been wanting those, who, preferring the authority of the *Jewish* historian to that of *St. Matthew*, have made use of the one, among many other topics, to cry down the other. The controversy is so recent in every body's memory, that we need not here repeat it; especially considering, that it is out of our province to enter into a dispute, which, we think, has been so sufficiently decided in favour of the latter.

As to what may be objected, that *Josephus* has not scrupled in another place to give Jesus Christ a most noble character; we shall only say here, that that passage has been shrewdly suspected of forgery, as this in all likelihood would have been, were it to be found in that historian. However, we shall have a fitter opportunity of speaking of that pretended interpolation in the sequel of this section.

(G) The whole passage runs thus (37), tho' the evangelist has only quoted the first part, as enough to direct his readers to the rest, as was the custom before the bible was divided into chapters and verses.

*Thus says the Lord, a voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they were not. Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears: for thy labour shall be rewarded, or, as the original has it, there is a reward (laid up) for thy labour, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. For there is hope, saith the Lord, that, in thy latter end, thy children shall come again to their own border. I have heard Ephraim complain, saying, Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, &c.*

There was a necessity for taking the whole text thus far, in order to shew how this prophecy or promise of God was verified in the

(39) *Jerem. xxxi. 15, & seq.*



providence had already taken care to convey the child far enough out of the reach of his butchers; and his parents, having been timely forewarned of his bloody design, had withdrawn themselves into *Egypt*, whence he was not recalled till after the death of the tyrant; when, upon their return, fearing still some further attempt from his successor *Archelaus*, they were directed by the same heavenly monitor to turn off into *Galilee*, and to betake themselves to their old habitation at *Nazareth*. Here was likewise another prophecy fulfilled in the name of *Nazarite* or *Nazarene*, which was given him from his long abode in that obscure place <sup>d</sup> (H).

Soon

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. ver. 19. ad fin.

slaughter of these babes; and it is for want of attending to the whole, that some commentators have been forced to have recourse to a primitive or historical meaning, in the carrying away of the ten tribes, and a secondary in this more cruel bereaving of *Rachel*, or the *Jewish* state, of her beloved children; whilst others, not satisfied with the solution, have run into downright scepticism. Whereas the whole, thus connected, implies no more than this, that no affliction or suffering, either wrongfully, or for a good cause, shall miss of its sure reward at the latter end.

The words therefore of the evangelist (38 may, and, we think, justly too, be thus paraphrased and expounded: Then, or in that bitter weeping and lamentation of those doleful mothers, was fulfilled, or truly verified, that saying of the prophet *Jeremiah*; In *Ramah*, which, in the original, signifies a high place, was heard bitter lamentation, &c. the mournful mothers refusing to be comforted for their lost children, because they were now no more. But what says the Lord? Refrain your cryings and tears; for there is a recompence reserved for all your labours at your latter end; and the children you count for lost shall surely return again. And when could such a comfortable promise be more truly verified, than when he, who brought life and immortality to light, came to assure us of it by so many irrefragable arguments, as well as by his own infallible word?

The *Jews* themselves, especially those who believed the resurrection, might easily have understood this to have been the meaning both of the prophet and evangelist, since they tell us (39), that the reason why God did not double the number of *Job's* children, as he did that of his cattle, &c. when he restored him to his prosperous state, was, because those children, though dead, were not lost, as his other possessions were, but lived still with God, and would be raised up at the latter end.

(H) This prophecy has likewise been very much canvassed, and

(38) *Matth. ii. 17, & seq.* (39) *Rabb. Plur. comm. in Job. c. ult. Deig. de Stunica, & al. ibid.* hitherto

SOON after this massacre at *Bethlehem*, arrived *Antipater* at *Antipat-  
Sebaste*, and from thence went directly to *Jerusalem*, where *ter's arri-  
Herod val.*

hitherto in vain sought after, tho', by the evangelist's words, it should be in more places than one, since he doth not there quote any one in particular, but the prophets in general. The question therefore is, whether it is said any where, that the Messiah should be called *Nazarite*? The answer is, not in any version, (except perhaps the *Chaldee* and the *Syriac*) but in the original *Hebrew*, where we shall find him called נֹצֵר *Notzer*; not indeed on account of his having received that appellation from any particular city, but by reason of his high character, office, and descent. We shall content ourselves with giving two instances of it, which will, however, suffice as a clew to the rest.

The first is in *Exodus* 40, where the Lord is said to descend in the cloud, and to proclaim the name or attributes of the Lord, in the following words: *The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, &c.* Where it is observable, that the first letter in the word נֹצֵר *notzer*, keeping, is one of those which the *Jews* call *majuscula*, or large letters, such as occur only about thirty times in the whole old testament †, and are, according to them, never used by the sacred writers, but to imply some great mystery to be contained in the word.

We shall not here dispute, whether the words in the passage above-quoted are those of God there appearing, as our, and most versions understand it, or of *Moses* calling upon him there, though the latter seems to us most probable, from those that go immediately before, *Vajicra bessem Jehovah, And he called on the name of the Lord.* It is sufficient, that the name of *Notzer* is given to the divine person there appearing, which could not be that of God the Father, whom no man hath seen at any time; but of the Son, in that human appearance he often took both before and under the *Mosaic* dispensation; and for further proof of which we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume \*, and all we shall add is, that none could have a better claim to this title of *Notzer* *cheffed, keeping or preserving mercy*, than he that came to obtain it for us at no less a price than his own inestimable life.

The other place we shall mention is in *Isaiab* (41), where the same Messiah is called a *Netzer*, or a branch out of the old stem of *Jesse*, &c. where the word נֹצֵר or נֹצֵר which we translate *stem*, signifies the old stump of a tree, after the main body has been cut off; and the *netzer*, the spontaneous shoot which springs from it; and such was indeed the house of *David* at the time of Christ's birth,

(†) c. xxxiv. 5, & seq. † *Vid. int. al. Vol. II. p. 371.*  
(D), 487. S), & *Vol. III. p. 414, & (Z)* \* *De his vid. Vol.*  
*III. p. 414, (Z).* (41) c. xi. 1.



*Herod* had so closely concealed his designs concerning him, that he made no hesitation to go and offer himself at the gates of the palace. They were immediately opened to him; but

reduced to the lowest degree of poverty and obscurity, though at but fourteen generations distance from *Zerubbabel*; but we must remember, that the priests, the *Asmoneans*, and afterwards *Herod*, had held the kingdom and government of *Judæa*; whose interest therefore it was to suppress that family, lest some of them should in time wrench it out of their hands. Neither was this done without the particular conduct of providence, and in pursuance of those prophecies in which the low and humble state of the world's Redeemer is so lively described; and accordingly we find, that when his parents came to *Bethlehem*, they were so poor, that his mother could not purchase a room in that city, where she might be decently delivered of him, but was forced to make use of a stable for herself, and of a manger for her child; or, which is indeed more likely from a closer examination of the text, was delivered in the open fields, and laid the divine babe, *ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ*, in a crib; for in that sense the septuagint commonly use that word.

If then the Messiah is in *Genesis* and *Isaiah* emphatically called *Notzer* or *Netzer*, and that name is given him by the *Jews*, in their doing so, though by way of contempt, they did but fulfil those prophecies of him, though unwittingly, unwillingly, and in derision; and it is still more to his glory, that it was completed in him in that sublime sense in which he is called by that name in the law and the prophets. The *Jews* had two false notions concerning Christ, the one that he was born at *Nazareth*, and consequently that he was a *Galilean*; and the second, that out of *Galilee* there never arose any prophet (42). Since then he set up both for a prophet and for the Messiah, they thought that the name of *Nazarene* was sufficient to confute both those claims, and therefore gave it both to him and to his followers; and these gladly embraced it, on account of its true and genuine signification, as he is called in *Moses's* writings the *notzer*, or keeper, or depository of mercy, and by *Isaiah*, the sprout out of the old withered stock of the house of David.

Some interpreters have imagined, that the evangelist alluded to the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*, of whom we have spoken more fully in our third volume\*, or to *Joseph*, who is emphatically called by his father *Nazir Achauf* (43), separate from his brethren; or, as we have formerly explained that place †, crowned above his brethren, and whom they look upon as a type of the Messiah. But all this is supposed, for want of attending to the different spelling of these two words, viz. the first with a *ז*, and signifies to keep, and the

(42) Vide *John* i. 46 vii. 41, & 52.

(43) *Gen.* xlix. 23. † Vol. II. p. 448, R.

\* p. 229, & seq.

but, upon his being entered, they were shut up again to all his retinue. Upon his being introduced to the king, he went to throw himself at his feet, and to embrace his knees, but met with a stern repulse, and was immediately arrested; and when he asked the reason of it, he was upbraided with the death of his brothers, and referred over to *Varus*, by whom he should be judged on the very next day. *Quintilius Varus* had succeeded *Sextus Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*, and, being arrived at that province, was just then come to *Jerusalem*, to pay a visit to *Herod*, and was thereupon desired by that monarch, that he would preside as judge at the tryal of his rebellious and unnatural son. *Antipater* His tryal was accordingly brought the next morning before him, and a for treason. numerous assembly, whom *Herod* had convened for that purpose. Upon his first appearing, he threw himself upon his knees, and begged they would have pity on him, and not condemn him unheard. *Herod*, who was also present, only bid him stand up, that he might the better level his resentments at him. He upbraided him with his secret designs of poisoning him, and unravelled the whole conspiracy lately discovered, appealing for the truth of it to his relations and friends, and other evidences, whom he had also posted there to prove all his accusations; the last of which, and that which he vented with greatest vehemence, was the death of his two brave sons, Of whom, said he, addressing himself to *Antipater*, thou hast been but the too unnatural follower, if they were guilty, and the base murderer, if they were innocent. His excessive grief, followed with a flood of tears, which he could not refrain at the naming of those two unhappy princes, obliged him to stop short, and to beckon to *Nicolas Damascen* to go on and open the rest of the accusation, and then proceed to the proofs of it.

*Antipater*, who knew but too well his own guilt, and the undoubted evidence which was there ready to prove it against him, prevented *Damascen's* going on, and began to plead his own cause; the sum of which was, the unlikelihood of his ever entertaining any thoughts of such a horrid parricide, especially after the dreadful punishment of his two brothers for the like attempt. He loudly complained against the baseness of his accusers; but *Damascen*, being at length permitted to speak, gave such satisfactory evidence to the court, that

other with  $\gamma$ , and signifies *to crown, separate, &c.* Now the former can be the only right one here, it being given him on account of his living at *Nazareth*; which word is written with the *tzade*, and not with the *zain*.

there



there could be no room left to doubt of his being really guilty. *Varus*, however, told him for the last time, that if he had any thing to reply to invalidate the proofs alledged against him, he might now freely do it, seeing it was *Herod's* and his own earnest desire, that he might prove himself innocent. *Antipater*, for want of better evidence, had recourse to oaths and bitter curses, which he plentifully wished on himself if he was guilty; but this being the usual refuge of the blackest criminal, the president, to stop his mouth at once, and bring the trial to a fair issue, ordered some of the poison, which had been mentioned in the evidence, to be brought, and given to a condemned person before the court; which being done accordingly, the man died almost as soon as he had taken it. *He is cast.* *Varus* immediately left the court and *Judæa* to return to *Antioch*, without declaring his opinion to any but to *Herod*, who ordered his son to be shut up in a prison, and sent letters to *Augustus* to acquaint him with the whole trial, charging at the same time the messenger to give that emperor all the further particulars of it by word of mouth<sup>e</sup>.

PRESENTLY after, there was another discovery made by an intercepted letter from *Antiphilus*, who was then in *Egypt*, and directed to *Antipater*; the purport of which was as follows: "I have sent you *Achme's* letter (I): you know what risque I run by so doing, since I should lay myself at the mercy of two most potent families, and my inveterate enemies. It concerns you therefore to look to it, that nothing miscarry." The business was to find this letter of *Achme*, and the messenger pretended to be ignorant of any other, except that abovementioned. At length, upon closer search, another was found sewed in the lining of his waistcoat, which, upon their reading of it, was to this effect: *Achme* to *Antipater*: *I have written to your father, according to your direction, and have inclosed in the packet the forged letter from Salome to the queen my mistress; and I doubt not but the king, upon his reading of it, will put her to death as a traitress.* This pretended letter of *Salome* was contrived by *An-*

<sup>e</sup> Antiq. ubi supra.

(I) This *Achme* was by nation a *Jewess*, in the service of *Julia Augustus's* wife; but had been bought over by *Antipater* with large sums, to contrive this plot against his father and his aunt *Salome* (44).

(44) *Joseph Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7. ad fin.*

*tipater,*

*Antipater*, and dressed up by *Achme*, who wrote to the king as follows. *Achme* to king Herod: *Out of a desire I have to serve you, by acquainting you with any thing that concerns your safety, I have herewith sent you a letter of Salome to the empress my mistress, in which she desires her leave to marry Syllæus (K). Pray tear it as soon as read, since the discovery of it would cost me my head.* Herod, upon reading and comparing the whole, caused his son to be brought before him, bound as he was, and shewed him the letters, and at the same time asked him, what he had to answer for himself? *Antipater*, at the sight of them, was thunderstruck, and could not utter a word; and upon its being insisted on, that he should name his accomplices, he only mentioned *Antiphibus*. *Salome*, who was touched to the quick at this attempt against her, after having expressed her innocence by many antick gestures and dire imprecations, strenuously insisted to have the traitor executed out of hand. Herod, on the other side, was thinking at first to have sent him to *Rome* to have been tried before *Cæsar*; but fearing, upon second thoughts, lest he should either be rescued by the way, or acquitted by his friends there, contented himself with sending a full account to the emperor, together with the intercepted letters; and remanded his son to his prison <sup>f</sup>.

WHILST his embassadors were hastening to *Rome*, Herod, Herod's worn out with age, sickness, and numberless cares and inquietudes, fell into a violent disease, which added to all his other misfortunes, made him so morose and choleric, that he became a burden to himself, and to every one about him. Finding his end approaching, he set about making his will, by which he appointed his youngest son his heir and successor, the misrepresentations and calumnies of *Antipater* having rendered his other two sons, *Archelaus* and *Philip*, obnoxious to him. He bequeathed in legacies, a thousand talents to *Augustus*; five hundred to his empress, and left a considerable fortune to the unworthy *Salome*. The rest of his estate, lands, revenues, and money, he ordered to be divided between his children and grand-children. last illness and will.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. ad fin.

(K) *Syllæus* was a *Nabathean* and Herod's sworn enemy, and was soon after beheaded at *Rome* for betraying *Ælius Gallus* into the *Arabian* expedition, and for some other crimes (45).

(45) *De hoc vide Strab. l. xvi.*

\* BUT



*A tumult  
in the city.*

BUT if he was capable of receiving any real satisfaction from this disposal of his crown and wealth according to his inclination, it was soon after soured by a seditious tumult, which was raised about this time by *Judas*, the son of *Sariphaeus* and *Matthias*, the son of *Margolotus*, two Jewish doctors, equally eminent for their learning and piety. These men, at the pleasing news of his being given over, unhappily took it into their heads to stir up a good number of their disciples, at the head of the city youth, to go and pull down all the structures which that monarch had built contrary to their laws. These, with their two masters at their head, having heard a report about the middle of the day that *Herod* was expired, went immediately to the temple-gate, over which he had set up a golden eagle of extraordinary bigness and exquisite workmanship, and began their pious work with pulling it down, and breaking it into pieces with axes and hammers, as the greatest eye-sore of all. The king's commander in chief, expecting it to be the beginning of a sedition, ran immediately to the place with a body of his troops, and was agreeably surprised to find it only a mob of youths, who immediately dispersed themselves at his arrival. Forty only of them, with their two chiefs, proving intrepid enough to stand their ground, were immediately seized, and brought to the dying king; and upon their being asked what motive had induced them to such an attempt on the temple? boldly answered him, that they had long since resolved upon it; and that it was their only grief, that they had deferred it so long. They added, that they neither feared his anger, nor any punishment he could inflict on them, since what they had done was in obedience to their law, and from a pure zeal for the glory of God.

*Herod's  
speech to  
the assembly.*

THIS affront having raised in some measure his drooping spirits, he ordered them to be sent in chains to *Jericho*, whither he also caused himself to be conveyed in a litter, by reason of his extreme weakness. Here he assembled the heads of the *Jews*, and, in a set speech, reminded them of the great and glorious things he had done for them, and of the sumptuous edifices he had reared to the glory of God, during his whole reign, and for which he expected to have deserved better returns, and to have endeared both his person and memory to the whole nation; but that, to his great grief, he found it quite the reverse, since they had dared, even during his life, and in the face of the sun, to offer such an affront to him; and not to him only, but much more to God, to whom that golden ornament had been dedicated; so that they had even

turned

turned their malice into an open sacrilege. The assembly could easily have told him, that his pretended dedication of a figure forbidden by the second commandment, was no other than a piece of idolatrous complaisance to the *Romans*; but being afraid to rouse his cruelty too far, they contented themselves with disclaiming the fact, and allowing it to deserve an exemplary punishment. *Herod*, somewhat softened by this answer, contented himself with deposing the high-priest (L), whom he suspected to have been a private encourager of the tumult, and giving that dignity to his brother *Joazar*; after which he caused *Mattathias* the ringleader and the rest of the prisoners to be burnt alive, and forgave all the rest <sup>‡</sup>. *The zealots burnt alive.*

THIS indignity, however, gave him reason enough to think what mourning the *Jewish* nation was like to make for him; and as his disease became more and more loathsome and intolerable (M), and made him still more desperate and inhuman, he bethought himself of such a horrid expedient to prevent their rejoicing at his death, as

‡ *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 9.*

(L) This was that *Mattathias*, of whom we have had occasion to speak heretofore, who having contracted some pollution in a dream on the eve of the expiation day, was forced to substitute another to perform the ceremonies of that solemnity. *Josephus* adds, that the moon suffered an eclipse on the night following that pontiff's deposition (46).

(M) This disease which *Josephus* (47) doth not scruple to call a judicial one, was so complicated, and attended with such nauseous and frightful symptoms, that we believe our readers will gladly spare us the repetition of them here. However, the king, still flattering himself with the hopes of a cure, sent for physicians from all parts, who, having tried their art in vain, advised him at length to the hot waters of *Callirhoe*, on the other side *Jordan*, which empty themselves in the lake *Asphaltites*. Upon his coming thither, he was ordered to be set in a vessel of oil up to the neck, which instead of relieving him, threw him into a fainting fit, out of which he was with difficulty brought by the outcries of his attendants. It was then that he first began to think his disease incurable; upon which he ordered a donative of fifty drachms *per* head to all his soldiers, and proportionably to his officers, and ordered himself to be conveyed to *Fericho*, where he soon after issued out that bloody edict we are going to mention in the text.

(46) *Antiq. ubi supra. c. 8.*

(47) *Idem ibid.*



Herod's  
last legacy  
to the  
Jews.

Antipater  
put to  
death.

Herod's  
death.

scarcely ever entered into the heart of any tyrant. He issued out his summons for the heads of all the *Jews* to repair to *Jericho* on a set day, under pain of death; and, upon their arrival, ordered them all to be shut up in the *Circus*: and having sent for his sister *Salome* and her husband *Alexas*, gave them strict charge to have them all butchered as soon as his breath was gone. By this means, added he, I shall not only damp the people's joy, but secure a real mourning at my death. About this time came back his messengers from *Rome*, with *Augustus's* approbation of *Antipater's* sentence, and the news that *Achme* had been there put to death for her treachery. *Herod* could not but feel a sensible joy at it, in spite of all his tortures; and finding himself at that time very hungry, he called for an apple and a knife; but his pains increasing at that instant, and he essaying to put an end to them with the knife, made a grandson of his, who tried to stop his hand, give a great shriek, which alarmed the court, and made every body without believe that he was dead. The report of it soon reached *Antipater's* prison, who expressed such lively joys and hopes at the news, as hastened his execution; for his gaoler having acquainted the king with it, threw him into such a rage, that he dispatched one of his guards on the very instant to put him to death <sup>h</sup>. He outlived his son but five days, during which he altered his will afresh, left his kingdom to *Archelaus*, made *Antipas* tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*; and left to *Philip* the regions of *Trachonitis*, *Gaulon*, *Batanea*, and *Panias*, which he erected likewise into a tetrarchy. To *Salome*, besides fifty thousand pieces in money, he gave the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phasaelis*, with some considerable legacies to his other relations. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty seventh after his advancement to the *Jewish* crown, and the thirty-fourth year after the expulsion and death of *Antigonus* <sup>i</sup> (N), and to the no small joy of all the *Jews*.

FOR

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. ad fin.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. c. 10. sub init.

(N) Archbishop *Usser* dates his death on the 25th of *November*, the seventh month, called *Cisleu* (48). Another learned chronologer observes, that it gave the *Jewish* nation a joyful occasion for a festival, as he died hated of all wise men (49).

(48) *Sub A. M. 4001.*  
*men. Cisleu.*

(49) *Vide Megillaab Tabanith sub*

Our

FOR *Salome* and *Alexas*, bad as they were, and in spite of all the oaths and protestations their tyrannic brother had extorted from them at his death, were so far from executing his last inhuman orders, that they even strove to smother the shameful secret from the nation. To this end they went immediately after his being expired to the hippodrome, where the heads of the *Jews* were detained, caused the gates to be flung open, and declared to them, that it was the king's order they should all depart to their respective homes, he having no further occasion for their presence; which they accordingly did; soon after which, and not till then they published the news of *Herod's* death (O). They then summon-

*The imprisoned chiefs released by Salome.*

Year of the Flood 3000.

After Christ

1. Before the

vulgar

era, 5.

Archelaus proclaimed.

Our learned prelate has therein followed the *Jewish* book last quoted, which places his death on the seventh day of that month, according to the *Hebrew* computation; but a late critic has since pretended that the old *Megillah* had been long since lost, and this new one foisted into the world instead of it, and is therefore of no authority (50). We shall content ourselves with referring our readers to another learned man (1), who has fully confuted this assumption, it being quite out of our province to enter further into that dispute.

The *Jewish* historian sums up *Herod's* character in these remarkable words (2); *He was a man inexorably cruel, and a slave to his passions. His will was his law; and yet no man, in the general, more fortunate than he. He mounted the throne from the condition of a private man, fell into many difficulties, but surmounted them all, and lived at last to a great age. As to his domestic broils with his children and family, how unhappy soever he may have been in my opinion, yet was he fortunate in his own; for he got still the better of his enemies.*

(O) Whether this unexpected release of the *Jewish* heads was really owing to the less brutish temper of *Salome* and her husband, or whether it might not, as they gave it out, have been ordered by the relenting tyrant at his last agonies, and suppressed by the *Jewish* historian out of hatred to that monarch; sure it is, that the very design, much more the prosecuting it so far, must argue him to have been a monster of cruelty, and capable of the most horrid butcheries, to satiate either his ambition or resentment.

This will sufficiently take off the objection against the probability of his murdering so many infants in and about *Bethlehem*, drawn from the horridness of the act; and we have had occasion already to shew, that *Josephus's* silence of it can much less invalidate the authority of the evangelist, who affirms it as a fact well known to the *Jewish* nation.

(50) *Bern. Lamy, appar. chronol. p. 1, c. 9 sect. 5.* (1) *Joh. Meyer. annot. in Megill. Tahan. p. 62. & seq.* (2) *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 10.*



ed the chief officers and soldiery to the amphitheatre at *Jericho*, and read to them a letter from the deceased king, in which he thanked them for their past services and fidelity to him, and desired them to shew it now to his son *Archelaus*, whom he had appointed his successor. His last will was read to them at the same time by *Ptolemy*, the then keeper of the royal seal, in which there was this remarkable clause, *That it was to be of no force till ratified by Cæsar*. The audience, however, taking it for granted, that that emperor would not fail to confirm it, sent out an universal shout, *Long live king Archelaus*; and both officers and soldiers promised him the same allegiance and attachment which they had shewn to his father.

Herod's  
stately fu-  
neral.

THE new king, to shew his gratitude to him, began with preparing him a funeral answerable to his greatness and dignity. His body was laid on a sumptuous golden litter, enriched with variety of precious stones, wearing the royal crown on his head, and holding the sceptre in his hand. His sons and grandsons, of whom we have spoken in a former section, his sister and her husband, accompanied with the rest of his relations, marched by his side, and were followed by all his officers, both civil and military, according to their rank. Among the latter his guards led the van; then came the *Thracians*, next the *Germans*, and last of all the *Gauls* or *Galatians*; all of them armed and in order of battle. The procession was closed with five hundred of the king's domestics with aromatic perfumes, and proceeded to his castle of *Herodion* mentioned in the last section, which was about eight stades, or a thousand paces, distant from *Jericho* (P), and

(P) Or rather, as *Josephus* has it in another place (3), two hundred stades or furlongs; for less than that could hardly be, considering that it was but sixty from *Jerusalem*. Our learned *Usher* therefore supposes some error crept in the former, and that the historian there meant, that the cavalcade marched but eight stades a day (4).

Mention being also made of an *Herodion* upon one of the mountains of *Arabia* (5), Mr. *Reland* justly concludes, that there must have been two castles of that name built by that monarch, the former in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* and *Tekoah*, viz. this where he was buried; and the other at a greater distance, and on the other side *Jordan* (6).

(3) *Bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult. in fin.*  
*Bell. Jud. ibid. c. 16, & alib.*  
*rodion.*

(4) *Sub A. M. 4002.* (5)  
(6) *Palæst. illustr. sub He-*

where they deposited his remains, according to his will\*. They returned from thence to *Jeusalem*, where *Archelaus*, having finished the seven days mourning for his father, according to the *Jewish* custom, gave the people a magnificent feast. He went next to the temple clothed in white, and in the *Archela-* midst of their loud acclamations; and, being there seated on <sup>us's speech</sup> his golden throne, gave the people thanks for the zeal they <sup>to the Jews</sup> expressed for him; but added, that he would not assume the title of king, till it had been confirmed to him by *Augustus*, tho' that, as well as the royal diadem, had been offered to him at *Jericho* by the suffrages of the whole army. He concluded with assuring them, that, as soon as he was confirmed by the emperor, his chief care and study should be to deserve that love they so unanimously testified for him, and to make his reign more easy and happy, than that of his father had proved to the *Jewish* nation. This speech was followed with <sup>feith</sup> volleys of huzzas; after which they began to try the sincerity of it, by a number of petitions suitable to their different exigencies. Some begged for an alleviation of their tribute, others for the total abolition of the customs, others again for the release of prisoners; all which were readily granted at this lucky juncture, *Archelaus* not thinking it advisable to exasperate them by a denial. The whole ceremony was concluded with suitable sacrifices, and a sumptuous entertainment, which he gave there to his friends.

THE *Jews*, however, soon resumed their rebellious course <sup>A new tu-</sup> in spite of all these grants. That afternoon was scarcely over, <sup>mult raised</sup> before a number of malecontents, who had been for some time holding secret cabals for raising new mutinies, broke loose in a body, and, for want of a more plausible pretence, came beating their breasts, bewailing the deaths of *Mattathias* and others of his accomplices, who had been burnt for pulling down the golden eagle; and demanded justice against those friends of the deceased king, who had had a hand in their deaths; particularly they desired, that the high-priesthood might be taken from *Joazar*, to whom it had been given upon that occasion. This unexpected indignity failed not to exasperate the new king; but as he was upon the point of departing for *Rome*, and was unwilling either to have his journey stopped by this tumult, or to go away before it was quelled; he sent his master of the horse to appease them by fair word, and to remind them, that the king would do nothing till he was confirmed by the emperor; but, before he could utter a word to them, they fell a pelting him with volleys of

\* Idem ibid. & Bell. Jud. l. i. c. ult.



stones, so that he was forced to withdraw. He sent some fresh officers on the same errand, and they met with the same reception; infomuch, that they wanted but number to have raised themselves into open rebellion. By this time the feast of the passover was come, which brought a great concourse of people from all parts to *Jerusalem*; during which solemnity the malecontents never stirred from the temple, but chose to beg for subsistence of the comers, rather than leave the place, or intermit their godly work, till they were drove from it by main force <sup>1</sup>.

*The muti-  
neers dis-  
persed.*

*Archelaus*, who justly feared, lest these mutineers should spread the infection among the multitudes that repaired to the feast, sent an officer at the head of some troops, with express orders either to disperse them, or to seize on such as stood their ground. They were scarcely come in sight of the revolters, before they found themselves briskly attacked by them, and by a greater number of strangers, whom their outcries had inspired with the same rebellious spirit; a bloody encounter followed, in which most of the soldiers were killed upon the spot, and the officer terribly wounded and narrowly escaped with his life. This fresh indignity obliged at length *Archelaus* to send his whole army against them, with orders to his cavalry to kill all that came out of the temple, and to hinder the strangers from assisting them. After another obstinate fight, in which three thousand of the rebels were killed, the rest were soon put to flight, and betook themselves to the mountains; upon which the king published an order for all strangers to depart to their own homes, by which an end was put to the paschal solemnity for that year, the rebellion suspended for some time, and *Archelaus* was left at liberty to prepare for his journey to *Rome* <sup>m</sup>. He set out soon after accordingly, leaving the government of the kingdom to his brother *Philip*, and took with him his mother *Mattace*, by nation a *Samaritan*, *Nicholas Damascen*, an old friend and counsellor of his late father, and a great number of other friends. He was likewise accompanied by his aunt *Salome*, with her children and some other near relations, who pretended to assist him with their interest at the *Augustan* court, when their real design was to obstruct his confirmation, and to accuse him to the emperor of the massacre of his subjects lately committed in the temple.

<sup>1</sup> Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1. <sup>m</sup> Antiq. ibid. c. 11. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

WHEN

WHEN *Archelaus* was come to *Cæsarea*, he was met *Archelaus* there by *Sabinus*, *Augustus's* intendant of *Syria*, who was <sup>goes to</sup> hastening into *Judæa*, to take care of the rich legacies <sup>Rome.</sup> which *Herod* had bequeathed to that emperor. He had, how- <sup>Year of</sup> ever, been dissuaded by *Varus*, in his way thither, from un- <sup>the Flood,</sup> dertaking any thing further, till the emperor's will was <sup>3000.</sup> known, and *Archelaus* confirmed in his kingdom; so that he <sup>Of Christ,</sup> had been prevailed upon by that *Syrian* governor to stay in <sup>1.</sup> that city till he had received further orders from *Rome*. He <sup>Before the</sup> stayed, however, no longer there than till *Varus* was return- <sup>vulgar æ-</sup> ed to *Antioch*, his capital; after which he went immediately <sup>ra, 5.</sup> to *Jerusalem*, lodged himself at the royal palace, and summoned the king's treasurers to give him an account, and to put him in possession of those treasures; but as these had orders from *Archelaus* not to part with them till his return, they refused to deliver them to *Sabinus*, alledging they would preserve them for *Augustus*, till they received further directions from him. By this time *Archelaus* and his retinue were arrived at *Rome*; and among those whom the subtle *Salome* had brought with her to oppose his election, was *Antipas*, another of *Herod's* sons, whom that monarch had appointed his successor by his first will, and whom she designed to set up against his brother, under pretence that that was of greater validity than his second. *Antipas* had been persuaded to <sup>Antipas</sup> take this step, not only by *Salome*, but much more by one <sup>opposes him.</sup> *Ireneus*, an eloquent orator, and one that was perfectly versed in all the affairs of state, had been admitted into the inmost secrets of *Herod's* court; and, being come with him to *Rome*, was most likely to represent that young prince's claim to the best advantage. With that orator was also another great statesman, named *Ptolemy*, the brother of *Nicolas Damascen*, and one of the late king's counsellors. *Antipas* had likewise brought his mother *Cleopatra*, born at *Jerusalem*, with some other relations and friends; and these were scarcely come to *Rome* with him, before they found means to draw the greatest part of *Archelaus's* relations and partisans over to their side <sup>n</sup> (Q).

THERE

<sup>n</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

(Q) It seems by *Josephus's* account, as if *Archelaus's* party had taken some disgust at him, either from his severe manner of quelling the late tumult in *Judæa*, or on some other pretence; whilst *Antipas* and his friends took care to inspire them with hopes of a milder government under him. But there was still a third party, who



Antipa-  
ter's speech  
against  
Archelaus.

THERE was still another thing which very much weaken-  
ed the interest of *Archelaus*, namely, his officers at *Jerusalem*  
refusing to deliver up *Herod's* legacies to *Sabinus*; of which  
both he and *Varus* had taken care to inform the *Roman*  
court. *Archelaus* was therefore forced, in his own vindica-  
tion, to present a memorial to the emperor, in which he ex-  
hibited his title to the crown, the particulars of *Herod's* last  
will, together with an inventory of the treasure which that  
monarch had left behind him, to which he likewise added his  
royal signet with which that will was sealed. This memorial  
was soon followed by another from *Antipas*, in which were  
displayed such allegations as were most likely to invalidate *He-  
rod's* last will, and his brother's title. *Augustus*, having per-  
used the writings on both sides, summoned a council of his  
friends to examine their respective claims, and made *Caius*,  
the son of *Agrippa* by his adopted daughter *Julia*, president  
of it. *Antipater*, the son of *Salome*, an eloquent speaker and  
sworn enemy to *Archelaus*, opened with a speech full of the  
bitterest invectives against him; such as his having assumed  
the royal title and authority, without staying for the empe-  
ror's consent; his having caused three thousand *Jews* to be  
massacred in the temple by his own troops at the late passover-  
festival; his having turned out several eminent officers, and put  
others in their room; his having presumed to sit on the royal  
throne, heard and adjudged causes, and granted considerable  
immunities, released all the prisoners whom his father had  
caused to be shut up in the *Circus*; all this by his own assum-  
ed authority, and in the quality of a *Jewish* monarch. He  
likewise accused him of unnatural contempt to the memory  
of his deceased father, from whom he had received such sig-  
nal tokens of paternal love, and of his having spent the  
night, which followed that monarch's death, in such feasting  
and jollity, as was like to have raised a sedition among the  
people, who could not behold such a flagrant instance of in-  
gratitude without the utmost detestation. He concluded with  
telling the court, that *Herod*, who best knew the opposite  
tempers of the two brothers, had not so much as dreamt of  
appointing him his successor, whilst he enjoyed his health and  
senses; but had expressly named *Antipas* to that dignity; but  
supposing that he had conceived a better opinion of *Arche-  
laus* during his last sickness, he has shewn you now what a

who, liking neither of the brothers, nor indeed any of *Herod's* fa-  
mily, did what they could to make them both miscarry in their  
pretensions, in hopes of living solely and more quietly under the  
dominion of the *Romans*.

king

king he is like to prove; what use he is like to make of his power, since, even whilst in the condition of a private man, he could send his troops into the very temple to cut the throats of his subjects.

*Damascen* spoke next, and answered the greatest part of *Antipater's* accusations, by shewing, first, that, with respect to the pretended massacre in the temple, nothing less than such a severity could quell the sedition then kindled; that those men were only a band of rebellious fellows, and the first aggressors, not only in raising the tumult, but in murdering those officers whom the king had sent to appease them by the mildest means; and that he had acted nothing in this, or in any other instance, but by the advice of those who were now turned his accusers: that, as to the alteration which *Herod* made in his will about the succession, he, being in his perfect senses at that time, had doubtless very good reasons for what he did, and might probably have observed something in *Antipas's* behaviour or character, which obliged him to prefer his brother to him; and as a further proof that he had altered it upon cooler thoughts, he urged his submitting the validity of it to the emperor, without whose approbation it was to be of no force. As soon as he had made an end of speaking, *Archelaus* went and threw himself at *Augustus's* feet in such humble guise, as moved his compassion towards him. *Cæsar* raised him up, pronounced him worthy of the Jewish crown, and promised to do nothing contrary to his father's will; after which he dismissed the assembly without any further decision, being desirous to take some time to consider, whether he should bestow the kingdom solely upon him, or divide it among *Herod's* children, seeing they all applied themselves alike to him for redress.

WHILE these things were transacting at *Rome*, the restless *Jews* had raised a new insurrection in *Jerusalem*, which was, however, suppressed by *Varus's* speedy arrival from *Antioch*, and the punishment of the ringleaders; but, upon his return to *Antioch*, having left *Sabinus* with a *Roman* legion to keep that metropolis in awe, this general, seeing himself superior to the *Jews*, made a bold push upon the fortresses of the city, and the treasures of the *Herodian* family, with a design to convert them to his own use. He chose, however, a wrong time for such an attempt; and the *Jews*, who came flocking thither to the approaching feast of pentecost, not perhaps so much out of devotion as to oppose his designs, did quickly divide themselves into three bodies, one of which

° *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 11, Bell. Jud. ubi supra.*



Sabinus  
besieged.

Some Jews  
burnt and  
killed.

besieged him and his troops in the royal palace, whilst the other two went and possessed themselves, the one of the *Hippodrome*, and the other of the temple on the east and north sides of it; so that he was inclosed on every side, and in danger of being overpowered by the *Jews*. These were the more exasperated against him, because he had forced his way into the treasury of the temple, and brought away four hundred talents out of it, besides other rich plunder, which his soldiers had carried off, in spite of all their opposition. This desperate attempt had happened as follows: the *Roman* general, seeing himself hemmed in on all sides, and on the brink of being assaulted by the resolute *Jews*, sent an express to desire *Varus* to come immediately to his assistance; whilst himself getting up on the top of one of the towers of the castle, named *Phasaël*, from thence beckoned to his troops to make a sally on the enemy. They did so, and had an obstinate skirmish with them, in which they killed a number of *Jews*. The rest, not at all discouraged at this loss, got up on the outer galleries of the temple, from which they galled the *Romans* with stones and arrows, whilst those of the enemy from below had quite lost their strength before they could reach them. Tired at length, and ashamed to see the advantage the *Jews* had over them, they brought vast quantities of wood, and other combustible matter, to the foot of the wall, and setting it on fire, plied it so briskly with fresh fuel, that the flame reached at length to the cornices of the gallery; which, being of timber, and covered with paint and wax, on which the gilding was laid, were easily set on a blaze. A great number of the *Jews* on the battlements perished in the flames, whilst the rest, casting themselves down headlong, either died by the fall, or by the enemy's sword; so that not one of all those brave men was left alive, the *Romans* giving no quarter to any of them. As soon therefore as the flames were so far abated, that these could wade through them, they broke into the sacred treasury, from which they carried off the plunder above-mentioned.

THESE two actions therefore could not but highly exasperate the *Jewish* nation, and make them double their vigour against him. Accordingly whilst one part was taken up in undermining the palace, another was endeavouring to cause a defection from the *Roman* general, by promising an amnesty and free leave to march off unmolested to as many as should leave the place. They added the like promise to *Sabinus* upon the same conditions, and assured the *Roman* troops, that they had no other design in taking up arms, but to free themselves

themselves from the tyrannic yoke of the *Herodian* family. *Sabinus* would have gladly embraced the offer; but the injuries he had done the *Jews* would not permit him to rely on their promise, so that he chose rather to wait for the reinforcement he expected from *Varus*. During this time new troubles were raised in other parts of *Judæa*; among others two thousand valiant veterans of the late king, who had been discharged from the service, assembled themselves in a body, and fell upon *Archelaus's* forces commanded by his nephew *Archiabus*; but this young general, not daring to face them upon equal terms, knowing them to be old experienced soldiers, went and secured himself as well as he could in some fortresses, and other places of difficult access <sup>P</sup>.

WE have heretofore had occasion to mention one *Ezechias*, a captain of a gang of banditti, whom *Herod* had with much difficulty caught and put to death, with about forty of his troops. This man left a son named *Judas*, who, seeing now the country labouring under a kind of civil war, took this opportunity to revenge his father's death; and having got together a band of most desperate fellows at *Sephoris*, a city in *Galilee* (R), after several incursions into the king's dominions, forced at length into the royal armory, where he equipped his men *cap-a-pée*, and from thence into the treasury of all the places where he came, and being thus furnished with men, arms, and money, injected terror into the

*A sedition  
raised by  
Judas.*

<sup>P</sup> Antiq. ubi supra. Bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 2.

(R) This city, tho' not to be met with in *Joshua* or any of the sacred writers, at least by any thing like that name, is frequently mentioned by *Josephus*; and we have had occasion to speak of it in a former section, as one of the five places in which *Gabinus* settled his independent tribunals. It was in the tribe of *Zebulun*, not far from the mountain and plains of *Thabor*, and was one of the first cities in *Galilee* on the road to *Ptolemais*. It became afterwards the metropolis of that province in *Nero's* time, when that emperor gave it to young *Agrippa*.

It has been since known by the name of *Diocæsarea*. It is placed at about twelve miles more or less, for authors are not agreed about it) from *Tiberias*, and near the famed mount *Asbmon*, or *Asamon*, which was looked upon as the center or navel of *Galilee* (7).

(7) De hac vide *Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 10. xvii. c. 12. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 2. & alib. passim.*

M m 2

whole



whole province, and plundered all he could come at ; and so successful was he for some time, that he began to aim at the supreme power ; whence he is thought, not without good grounds, to have been the same which is mentioned by St. *Luke*<sup>a</sup> under the name of *Theudas* (S).

A second by  
Simeon.

HE was not the only one that aimed at the crown, during these troublesome times. There started up another, named *Simeon*, a person of comely stature, strongly built, and well esteemed by the *Jews*, and sufficiently conceited to think himself worthy of it. He had been employed by *Herod* in affairs of great importance with credit. As soon therefore as he appeared at the head of a party, the people saluted him king of the *Jews* ; and he, to shew his zeal against the two rival sons of his late master, led his men directly to *Jericho*, where they set the royal palace, a rich and stately building, in flames. He proceeded to do the like to several others, giving his men the whole plunder of them. What further mischiefs such a leader, at the head of such resolute fellows, might have done, if their career had not been timely stopped, is easy to guess ; but happily for that country, *Gratus*, *Archelaus*'s general, or, according to *Tacitus*<sup>r</sup>, *Varus*, the Syrian governor, fell suddenly upon them, and, whilst they fought with more courage than skill, gave them a total overthrow. *Simeon* was caught in his flight in some narrow defile, and, being brought to the general, had his head immediately struck off<sup>t</sup>. Whilst these were plundering and burning the royal palaces in one part of the country, another gang was doing the same in another ; particularly that of *Amatha* on the *Jordan*, built probably by *Herod* for the benefit of the hot waters, which that city was famed for<sup>t</sup>, and took its name from (T).

<sup>a</sup> Acts. v. 36.

<sup>r</sup> Hist. l. v.

<sup>t</sup> JOSEPH. ubi supra.

Euseb. Onomast. sub voce.

(S) This seems more than probable, not only from what each historian says of him, the one, that he aimed at the crown, and the other, that he gave himself out to be some eminent person, or great deliverer ; such as the *Jews* were in more than ordinary expectation of at this time ; but likewise from the affinity of their name תודא *Tboundab* in the Syriac, answering to the Hebrew יהודה *Jebudah*, and to the Greek Ἰούδας (8).

(T) From the Hebrew חמא or חמת *Chamah*, or *Chamath*, in the regimen, signifying hot. Mr. *Reland* thinks it to the same with *Ramoth-Gilead*.

(8) Vide ann. Uffer. sub. A. M. 4003.

BUT the most desperate and dangerous of all those seditious gangs, for they raged in every place like an epidemic disease, was that of one *Athronges*, heretofore an obscure shepherd, of no merit or worth, but what he challenged from his gigantic stature and brutish stoutness. This fellow set up likewise for the royal authority. He had four brothers of the same monstrous size, whom he made his lieutenants over the multitudes that came flocking to him, for the honour of fighting under his banner. He took upon him the royal diadem, and tho' he often consulted his council, yet acted according to his arbitrary will. He hated the *Romans* and *Herodians* alike; but the former felt oftener the effects of his cruelty. He gave no quarter to either side, when they fell into his hands; but he seemed rather to bend his force against the *Romans*, because their late plunders and cruelties were fresher in every body's memory. He laid an ambush against one of their convoys of corn near *Emmaus*, and fell upon them so suddenly, that he left their commanding officer and forty of his men dead on the spot, and would in all likelihood have cut them all off, had not *Gratus* come in good time to their assistance. At length, after many such exploits, the mock monarch fell into the hands of *Archelaus*, after his return into *Judæa*. One of his brothers was taken by *Gratus*, and another by *Ptolemy*. The last of them surrendered himself upon good conditions; and so the whole gang was dispersed. But all this while the whole country was still in a flame from fresh insurrections, as well as from that of the *Jews* against *Sabinus*, whilst the *Herodian* competitors were waiting at *Rome* for the emperor's decision.

*A third by  
Athronges.*

*His gang  
defeated.*

By this time *Varus*, being apprised of the danger *Sabinus* and his legion were in, took the road to *Judæa*, at the head of his other two, which was all that he had then in *Syria*, and with four troops of horse and some foot, which he had got from the neighbouring tetrarchs. He ordered their rendezvous at *Ptolemais*, where he received some fresh auxiliaries, besides fifteen hundred more, which the king of *Arabia* sent him to *Berytus*, more out of hatred to the *Herodian* family, than love to the *Romans*. With part of his army *Varus* marched towards *Samaria*, whilst the rest, under the command of his son, made an inroad into that part of *Galilee* which was nearest to *Ptolemais*. This last, having put to flight all that opposed him, went and took *Sephoris*, sold all the inhabitants by auction, set fire to that noble city, and reduced it into a heap of rubbish. His father, on the other

*Varus  
marches a  
gainst the  
besiegers.*



*Raises the  
siege.*

*A new in-  
surrection  
quelled.*

other hand, passed by *Samaria*, because he heard that it had had no hand in the *Jewish* insurrections, and marched straight to *Jerusalem*. In his way he suffered his *Arabian* troops to plunder and burn several villages and towns; such as *Arus*, because it belonged to *Ptolemy*, a friend of *Herod*; *Sampbo*, and *Emmaus*; this last in revenge of the slaughter which *Athronges* had made of the *Romans* near that place; but the inhabitants of it, foreseeing the storm, had timely forsook it. Whilst this was doing without the city, the besiegers, who were just going to storm the palace, having heard of *Varus* coming with such a force, raised the siege and marched off in a fright; upon which the besieged came forth, with the grandchildren of *Herod*, to compliment him on his arrival, and to thank him for his timely help. *Sabinus* was the only one who did not follow their example; but stole away privately towards the sea. *Varus* gave a very severe reprimand to the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, for the late hostilities against the *Roman* legion; but was soon appeased, when he was apprised, that they neither had a hand in it, nor were able to hinder it, being themselves pent up by those foreign *Jews*, who were come to the feast and had begun the tumult. However, as he thought it expedient to make a severe example of the ringleaders of it, he sent some of his troops through the whole kingdom, with orders to make a strict search after them, and bring them prisoners to him. Upon their return they brought a vast number of those wretches, two thousand of whom he caused to be crucified, and released the rest. This severity did not hinder another body of ten thousand from taking up arms against him, which prevented his disbanding his auxiliaries, as he had designed, and obliged him to send them to quell this new revolt. They easily compassed it, because the enemy, instead of standing the brunt, surrendered themselves at discretion. *Varus* forgave the common people, and contented himself with sending the chiefs of them bound to *Augustus* <sup>u</sup>.

ALL this while *Archelaus* was soliciting the emperor to ratify his father's will, and to name him king of *Judea*. About this time *Martace* his mother died; soon after which there arrived a deputation from *Judea*, consisting of fifty of the heads of that nation, who were sent to oppose his election, and to beg of the emperor, that their country might be made part of the province of *Syria*, and subject

<sup>u</sup> Antiq. & beil. Jud. ubi supra.

to the governors of it, without kingly government. They were seconded by above eight thousand *Jews* then settled at *Rome*; who all professed an aversion to a kingly government, and a desire of living under that of the *Romans*, provided they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion and laws. *Augustus* referred the matter to a council of his own friends, whom he convened at the temple of *Apollo*, which he had lately built, and where both sides were to be heard in their turn. Here the *Jewish* ambassadors began with inveighing against *Herod*, who, they affirmed, had governed their nation not like a monarch, but like a tyrant, violating all their laws both sacred and civil; impoverishing a nation, whom, at his first accession to the crown, he had found rich and opulent; sacrificing an infinite number of his subjects either to his ambition, jealousy, or resentment, not sparing even the matrons and virgins of distinction, either in his fury or his lust; notwithstanding all which they would gladly have accepted of his son *Archelaus* for their prince, had he not given them so many convincing proofs of his tyrannic disposition, an instance of which they urged in the massacre of the three thousand mutineers in the temple, before he had received the imperial confirmation. They concluded with a petition to *Augustus*, that he would put their nation under the *Syrian* governors, and then he would soon be convinced, whether the *Jews* were really such rebellious people as they had been represented to him; and not, on the contrary, men of the most steady loyalty to the superior powers. All this was immediately answered by *Damascen*, who took upon him to vindicate the deceased, as well as the new, king, from the charge of tyranny and cruelty. And *Augustus*, having heard both sides thus far, dismissed the assembly, without declaring his resolution, till further consideration.

HE was not long, however, before he decided the controversy in such a manner, as convinced the world of his friendship both to *Herod* and to his offspring. He bestowed the half of the kingdom on *Archelaus*, under the title of *Ethnarch*, or governor of a nation, and backed it with a promise that he would give him that of king, as soon as he heard that he had rendered himself worthy of it. This part or ethnarchy contained *Judæa Propria*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, but he exempted this last of one fourth part of their taxes, in consideration of their peaceable behaviour during the late troubles in *Judæa* and *Galilee*. However, this partition, as well as change of title from a king to an ethnarch, plainly shews, that

*Cæsar's  
division of  
the Jewish  
kingdom.*



that he was nothing less than satisfied at his proceedings; and indeed, whatever *Damascen* might urge to colour his too speedy assumption of the regal power, it is plain, he had not paid that regard to the emperor which he ought to have done; all which was sufficiently aggravated by the opposite party. And as he looked upon that young prince as too likely to follow his father's violent measures, nothing could be more prudently thought on to keep him within due bounds, than such a conditional promise. He likewise dismembered from *Judæa* the cities of *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippon*, because they followed the customs of the *Greeks*; and joined them to the province of *Syria*. *Josephus* reckons the whole yearly revenue of this new ethnarchy to have amounted to six hundred talents. The remainder of *Herod's* kingdom was divided between his other two sons, *Philip* and *Antipas*; the former of whom had the regions of *Batanea*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis*, to which *Cæsar* added that part of *Galilee* which had formerly belonged to *Zenodorus*, mentioned a little higher, and which alone amounted to about one hundred talents per year. The latter had the greatest part of *Galilee*, and the countries beyond *Jordan*, amounting to two hundred talents a year. *Salome* had for her share, besides half a million of silver, the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phasaelis*, to which *Augustus* added that of *Ascalon*. The rest of *Herod's* legacies, particularly the fifteen hundred talents which he had bequeathed to him, he generously distributed between his other relations, his grandsons, and two virgin-daughters, whom he married to *Pheroras's* sons, reserving for himself only a few of his moveables, not so much for their value, as out of regard to the memory of his deceased friend w.

*A pseudo  
Alexander  
sets up for  
the crown.*

THIS new division of the *Jewish* kingdom was scarce settled, before there started up a new pretender, who quickly drew a numerous party after him. He was a *Jew* brought up at *Sidon*, and so like the late *Alexander* the son of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, formerly put to death, that, when he came to give himself out to be the same, and to have been preserved alive, he easily deceived, not only the bulk of the *Jews*, but even those who had been acquainted with that unfortunate prince. He was assisted in this imposture by a cunning fellow, who had formerly gone through all the intrigues of *Herod's* court, and who finding the young man capable of carrying it on with great likelihood of success, advised him to set about it immediately. These two accordingly began

w *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 13. Vide & STRAB. & TACIT. ubi supra.*

with giving out, that the two young princes, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whom the *Jews* supposed to have been put to death pursuant to their father's order, had been preserved by a faithful friend, and two other persons substituted in their stead. These two went first to *Crete*, thence to *Melos*, where they raised considerable sums of money from the *Jews* that were settled in those islands. Having succeeded so well at their first setting out, they resolved to sail for *Rome*; and being arrived at *Puteoli*, were met by all the heads of the *Jews*, especially by those who were in the interest either of the *Herodian*, or of the *Asmonean*, families, of both which they looked upon him as the immediate heir, and consequently as the only rightful king of the *Jews*. Upon this supposition, they spared neither pains, cost, nor acclamations, to render his entry into *Rome* as splendid as possible. The litter or chair of state in which he was carried, the vast crouds that accompanied him, and the reception he met with at every place he came to, were all answerable to the high notion they had conceived of him.

As soon as they were come to *Rome*, whither the rest of *Discovered* the *Jews* flocked in crouds, to pay their homage to this new-<sup>by August-</sup>risen offspring of the *Asmonean* race, *Augustus*, who knew <sup>ti s</sup> *Herod* too well to believe that he could be imposed upon in a matter of such importance, sent one of his freedmen, named *Celadus*, formerly a companion of the two brothers, to bring this new *Alexander* to him. *Celadus*, was as easily imposed upon as the rest; but *Cæsar*, who examined him with a more curious and unerring eye, soon discovered a manifest deficiency in the port and majesty of this upstart, from what he had observed in that young prince, besides a certain callosity in the hands of the former, which convinced him of the cheat. He therefore asked him and his instrument, What was become of his brother? and why he did not likewise come and make out his claim to the *Jewish* crown? and was readily answered by both, that *Aristobulus* had staid at *Cyprus* to wait the issue of this journey, that if one of the sons of *Mariamne* miscarried, the other might be preserved to keep up the *Asmonean* race and title. Their mutual agreement, which still helped to confirm the rest, served only to make the emperor look upon the whole as a forged story; and, to be further convinced of it, having taken the young man aside, he, partly by threats, and partly by a promise of sparing his life, extorted a full confession of the whole imposture, the consequence of which was, that the young man was sent to <sup>Punished.</sup> the gallies, and the other, who had been the contriver of it, was condemned to be hanged. As for the *Jews* who had as-



sisted them with money, *Cæsar* thought their loss and disappointment a sufficient punishment \*.

Year of  
the Flood,  
3001.  
Of Christ  
2.  
Before the  
vulgar æra  
2.

Arche-  
laus's ty-  
ranny.

BUT neither the dislike which the *Jews* had shewn upon this occasion to the *Herodian* family, nor the prudent caution which *Cæsar* had given *Archelaus*, proved sufficient to keep him within due bounds. He was no sooner returned into *Judæa*, than he began to betray some marks of his arbitrariness and resenting temper. He began with the deposition of *Joazar* from the high-priesthood, on pretence, that he had sided with some of the late mutineers; and bestowed that dignity on *Eleazar* the brother of the deposed pontiff. He next repudiated his wife *Mariamne*, and married *Glaphyra*, the widow of his brother *Alexander*, contrary to the *Mosaic* law, because she had had several children by him, and had been married, since her first husband's death, to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*. He deposed soon after the new-installed pontiff upon some disgust, and raised *Jesus* the son of *Sias* to that dignity. He bestowed an immense deal of cost in rebuilding and beautifying the royal palace at *Jericho*, and bringing down one half of the stream, which watered the village of *Nerea*, into the grove of palm-trees which he had planted in the neighbouring fields †. About this time *Caius*, coming from *Egypt* ‡ into *Judæa*, expressed his contempt of the *Jewish* religion, by refusing to offer up sacrifices at *Jerusalem*, for which he is said to have been commended by *Cæsar* §.

THE first years of *Archelaus* proved peaceable enough; but the people at length, both *Jews* and *Samaritans*, being tired with his tyrannical reign, joined in a petition to *Augustus* against him; which had no sooner reached him, than he sent an agent of his into *Judæa*, without any other letter, to fetch the *Jewish* ethnarch to him. *Archelaus*, tho' warned, as well as the incestuous *Glaphyra*, by some portending dreams (V), had given so little heed to them, that *Cæsar's* messenger

\* Antiq. ubi supra, c. ult. Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 5.  
Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 6.

† OROS. l. vii. c. 3.

‡ Antiq. ibid.  
§ SUE-

TON. in Octav. c. 93.

(V) These dreams, which, whether true or false, shew how much the *Jewish* nation was addicted to them, our author gives us the following account of:

*Archelaus* saw ten ears of corn full ripe, and ten oxen devouring them; which vision made such an impression on him, that he consulted the wisest and most expert magicians and *Chaldeans* about

ger found him in the height of his mirth, when he came to acquaint him with his orders, and obliged him to hasten with him to *Rome*. Upon their arrival there, *Augustus*, with his usual equanimity, heard both the charge and the defence; after which he condemned *Archelaus* to be banished to the city of *Vienna*, in *Gaul* or *Dauphiné*, and all his goods to be confiscated. *Judea*, by this sentence, being reduced into a province of the empire, was ordered to be taxed, and *Cyrenius*, the then governor of *Syria* and a man of consular dignity, was sent thither to see it executed (as we have lately hinted upon another occasion); after which having sold *Archelaus's* palaces, and seized upon all his treasure, he returned to *Antioch*, leaving the *Jews* in no small ferment upon the account of this new tax <sup>b</sup>.

*Banished.*  
Year of  
the flood,  
3005.  
Of Christ  
6.

*Coponius*, the *Roman* general of horse and governor of *Judea* under *Cyrenius*, had accompanied him in that expedition; and his presence, as well as the good offices of *Joazar* the then high-priest (W), had, for a while, kept the nation under some

The cause  
of their  
future  
wars and  
total de-  
struction.

<sup>b</sup> JOSEPH. Antiq. ubi supra, Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6.

it (9); but they differing in their opinion, one *Simon* an *Essenian* interpreted the ten ears of the ten years of *Archelaus's* reign, which, he said, was to have a speedy end, signified by their being devoured by the oxen. The event verified his interpretation, as appears by the sequel.

That of his wife needed not, it seems, a conjurer to expound it. She dreamt, that her first husband, the unfortunate *Alexander*, came to her; and, whilst she was preparing to receive him with open arms, upbraided her with her faithless incontinency, in marrying *Juba*, and then his brother *Archelaus*, after she had had so many children by him; but, added he, I shall soon rid thee of this reproach. The consequence was, that she just lived long enough to tell her dream, and died within two days after it (10).

(W) *Josephus* has forgot to tell us how he was reinstalled into this dignity, of which he had been deprived by *Archelaus* some years before, to make room for the son of *Sias*, hinted a little higher; but it is probable, that, after that prince's banishment, *Joazar* found means to recover that dignity under the *Syrian* governor; and this might be the motive of that zeal which he shewed in appeasing the discontented *Jews* (10).

But this last action, instead of confirming him in his pontificate, proved the cause of his second deposition, it having rendered him so obnoxious to the *Jewish* nation, that *Cyrenius* was forced, for

(9) Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 6.

(10) Ibid. & antiq. ubi supra.  
N n 2 quietne's



some restraint, till *Judas the Gaulonite*, of whom we have spoken in the last section, and one *Saducus*, a turbulent *Pharisee*, set it again into a flame. We hinted before, that this boucfeu took upon him to condemn this taxing as slavish, idolatrous, and inconsistent with their duty to God, the only sovereign who could claim any homage or allegiance from the children of *Abraham*. This topic seldom failed to make an impression on a people, who were taught to look upon themselves as the only favourites of heaven, and upon the rest of the world as designed to be their slaves; but it wrought much more effectually at this time, when their hopes of the *Messiah* or temporal deliverer inspired them with a tenfold disdain against the yoke, which their conquerors were then laying upon them. *Judas* therefore could not have wished for a more favourable juncture, to make himself the head of a numerous and powerful party; And therefore, added he, it is high time, that you should make a strenuous push for your country's freedom, and, without expecting new miracles to be wrought for you, do but depend on the favour of providence, and you need not doubt of coming off conquerors. There wanted but this last incentive to set them a madding after the promised liberty. Accordingly, we find that his speech worked them into a kind of furious phrensy, which quickly vented itself into the most horrid butcheries and cruelties; his party plundering, burning, destroying, and murdering every-where, indiscriminately *Jews* as well as *Gentiles*; and, in a word, all that opposed his specious pretence of religion and liberty. The war, being thus kindled within and without, brought on a grievous famine, and next a pestilence; all which did end at length in the total ruin of that rebellious and unhappy nation\*. All this was owing to the ambition of this new upstart sect or faction, of whom we have already given an account in the close of the last section; to which we shall only add, that, after the death of their chief, they distinguished themselves by the godly name of *zealots*, and under that specious title committed the most unheard-of cruelties, and carried their violence even into the very temple.

ALL this while the *Samaritans* had not forgot their old grudge against the *Jews*, tho' they had been so long quiet.

\* *Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, & seq. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 3, & seq.*

quietness sake, to turn him out of it, and to put *Ananus* in his place (11).

(11) *Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.*

*Cyrenius*

Cyrenius was scarce gone out of *Judæa* before they began to hatch new mischiefs against them; they waited till the next approaching feast of the passover, when, on the eve of it, a number of them having by private means slipped into the temple, strewed the galleries and other places of resort with dead mens bones, so that the priests on the next morning, finding that sacred place polluted, were forced to put a stop to the solemnity. How they afterwards purified it, and what other remedy they took to renew the festival, *Josephus* doth not tell us; he only adds, that it made them more cautious for the future to guard the avenues from all such insults. However, the ceremony was soon resumed, and it was on this festival that Christ, being then twelve years of age, came with his parents to that solemnity, according to the *Jewish* custom, which obliged all the males that have attained to that age, to repair to the temple on the three grand festivals †. Here the holy child chose to stay unknown to his parents, who were departed with the rest of the company. They did not miss him till night, when having in vain sought him among their relations and acquaintance, among whom they supposed him to have been, they returned immediately to *Jerusalem*. Here, after a three days sorrowful search, they found him at length in the temple, sitting among the *Jewish* doctors, and surprising them with the wisdom of his questions and answers, so far beyond his mean education and tender years. His pious mother, tho' ravished at so pleasing a scene, could not forbear expressing some tender resentment at the solicitude which his absence had given her. The short answer he returned was not presently understood by them, but yet was a lecture full of excellent wisdom: Wist ye not, said he, that I must be about my father's business? and so he really was; for as he had been sent to be a teacher of the world, and as he now commenced what the *Jews* called a son or disciple of the law, it became him, who was to be our pattern, to make his first accesses to his future office of instructor, by coming to learn of those whom God had appointed to preserve and teach the knowledge of his laws. His mother suffered none of these sayings to slip out of her memory, and she and her husband gladly returned with him to their mean habitation; where he continued in a dutiful subjection to them. In this humble privacy, his wisdom increasing with his stature, he attracted the eyes and hearts of all that beheld him, and continued exercising the trade of a car-

Jesus  
Christ  
stays after  
the feast.

† See before Vol III p 169. (O., Conf. & Exod. xxiii. 14. & xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16. & Luke ii. 41, & seq.



penter (X) till the thirtieth year of his age, when he began to make a more glorious appearance into the world.

Various  
changes of  
governors  
and high-  
priests.  
Year of  
the Flood,  
3014.  
Of Christ,

15.

*Cauponius* was soon after this feast succeeded by *Ambivius*, in whose governorship *Salome* died, and bequeathed her three cities, mentioned a little higher, together with the fine grove of palm-trees planted by *Archelaus*, and all her vast treasure, not to either of her nephews, who still held their small toparchies, but to the empress *Julia*, or, as *Josephus* affects to call her, *Livia*. *Ambivius* after a short time was succeeded by *Annius Rufus*, and *Augustus* died at *Nola* in *Campania*, as shall be seen in the *Roman* history, and was succeeded by *Tiberius*, after this latter had been somewhat above two years admitted into the copartnership of the empire. From this latter must the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, mentioned by the evangelist<sup>d</sup>, be taken. *Tiberius*, upon his coming to the empire, recalled *Rufus*, and sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Judæa*, who was the fourth *Roman* governor or procurator of it, and continued in that government eleven years<sup>e</sup>. About five years after his being entered into it, he deposed the high-priest *Ananus* or *Annas* in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, and raised *Ishmael* the son of *Fabus* to that dignity. Being soon after displeased with his choice, he took it from *Ishmael* on

<sup>d</sup> Luke iii 1. Vid. USSER. sub A.M. 4017. PRID. sub An. C. 12. <sup>e</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 3.

(X) This is the common received opinion, founded on an antient tradition, that *Joseph* dying soon after this feast, he being by that time very old, the child *Jesus* was obliged to work at that trade, to maintain himself and his mother; and is further confirmed by the *Jews* calling him sometimes the carpenter, and sometimes the carpenter's son (12).

We beg leave to take notice here also, that this increase of knowledge which the evangelist attributes to him, is very inconsistent with *Arius's* notion of the λόγος or word supplying the place of the soul in him; neither has any of his followers, either antient or modern, been as yet able to take off the difficulty. The *Socinian* system would indeed more effectually do it, were it not in too many cases diametrically opposite to the doctrine of the gospel. There remains therefore no other way to remove it, than by owning that Christ had a human soul as well as a human body, and that the former, notwithstanding its union with his divine nature, was as capable of improvement in wisdom, as the latter was of increase in strength and stature; which is undoubtedly the antient doctrine of the christian church.

(12) Conf. Marc. vi. 3. & Matth. xiii. 55. John iv. 44.

the

the next year, and gave it to *Eleazar* the son of *Ananus*, whom he had lately deposed. *Eleazar* in a year's time was forced to resign, and was succeeded by *Simon* the son of *Ca-mith*, who, within the compass of another year, was turned out, and *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiphas*, and son-in-law to *An-nas* above-mentioned, was put in his room <sup>f</sup>; so uncertain and venal was that dignity become by this time (Y).

*Gratus* himself was soon after recalled, and succeeded by *Pontius Pilate*, a person who exceeded all his predecessors in injustice, extortion, and cruelty, and so thoroughly wedded to his own interest, that he was capable of the vilest actions to promote that favourite end. *Josephus* has been somewhat sparing of his character; but *Philo* <sup>g</sup> has left us a lively draught of it, a short sketch of which the reader may see in the margin (Z); by which he may judge how qualified he was for the part he was shortly to act, in passing the most unjust sentence on the most innocent of men.

Year of  
the Flood,  
025.  
Of Christ,  
26.

WE hinted a little higher, that the other sons of *Herod* had still kept possession of their toparchies, notwithstanding *Archelaus*'s deposition and banishment; it will be therefore very proper here to give some further account of them, before we enter into a new and different scene. They had each of them settled themselves the best they could in their small territories. *Antipas*, better known by the name of *Herod*, who had the country of *Galilee*, began with rebuilding the city of *Sepphoris*, which had but a little before been reduced into ashes by the son of *Varus*, and surrounded it with a strong wall and towers, so that it became the bulwark, and one of the best cities, of that canton; and as he had been successful enough to ingratiate himself with the new emperor, he built another, a fine city, on the northern banks of the lake of *Genezareth*, and called it *Tiberias*, in honour

*Herod and Philip in their to-parchies,*

*Build Sepphoris and other cities.*

<sup>f</sup> Comp. *Joseph.* ubi supra, & *Luke* iii. 2. *John* xviii. 13. *Acts* iv. 6. <sup>g</sup> *Legat.* ad *Caium*.

(Y) These are the two high-priests that are mentioned in the gospel to have prosecuted and condemned *Jesus Christ* to death; and *Caiphas*, or, as he is there called *Caiaphas* (13), was the person who adjudged it necessary that he should be cut off to save the nation from ruin.

(Z) His whole administration, according to this author, was one continued scene of venal justice, rapine, tyranny, and every wicked action; of racking and putting innocent men to death, untried, and uncondemned, and of every kind of savage cruelty.

(13) *John* xi. 49, & seq.

of



Jew ban-  
nished  
Rome.  
Year of  
the flood,  
3028.  
Of Christ,  
29.

of him (A); and from thence that lake came to be called the sea of *Tiberias*. This city he was forced to people mostly with *Galileans* and strangers, because it being built on a ground which was full of sepulchres, the going over which pollutes the *Jews* seven whole days, he could hardly get any of that nation to settle there, though he endowed it with considerable privileges, and gave its inhabitants the greatest encouragement, viz. land to some, houses to others, to take off their qualms of conscience about treading on dead bodies. Another city, formerly called *Betaramphtha*, he rebuilt, and called by the empress's name, *Julias*. His brother *Philip* followed his example, and built the village of *Bethsaida*, on the opposite end of the same lake, into a magnificent city, and called it likewise *Julias*, and gave the name of *Cæsarea* to *Paleas*, the place where the *Jordan* has its spring-head, after he had greatly enlarged and beautified it<sup>k</sup>. During this time came out that edict of *Tiberius*, which obliged all *Jews* and *Egyptians* to depart from the city of *Rome*<sup>l</sup>, or, according to another, out of the territories of *Italy*<sup>k</sup>. The cause of this edict, being some vile practices, which a few mean persons of each of those nations had been acting in the imperial city, is foreign to our present subject; we refer our readers for a further account to *Josephus*<sup>l</sup> and the two authors last quoted. All that we need add to it is, what *Philo* has observed more than once<sup>m</sup>, that this severity against the *Jews*, whatever pretence it might be coloured with, was hatched underhand by *Sejanus*. That wicked minister, who knew how opposite his plots and designs were to the known loyalty of the *Jews*, could not but conceive some dreadful jealousy

<sup>k</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 3.

<sup>l</sup> TACIT. an. l. ii. c. 85.

<sup>k</sup> SUTTON. in Tiber. c. 36.

<sup>l</sup> Antiq. ubi supra, c. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Legat. ad Caium.

(A) *Josephus* adds, that it was not far from the hot baths of *Emmaus*; for which reason we think it necessary to remind our reader of what we observed in a former note, that the *Jews* gave the name of *Hamah* and *Hammath* to all places that had any such waters; that of *Emmaus* is the same, only softened and grecified. We must therefore not confound this last with another in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (14), which bears the same name, and most likely upon the same account.

(14) Vid. int. al. Luc. xxiv. 13. Vid. & Reland. Palest. illustr. l. i. c. 46.

fies from them, which obliged him at length to rid himself of them (B).

HITHERTO *Judæa*, though in a violent ferment, on account of the late tax, and some other tumults which the *Romans* had appeased by main force, had not, however, broke out into such a violent and universal flame, as it did after the coming of *Pilate*. It was this governor, whose fierce, ob-  
 stinate, and cruel temper, hastened on those seditions and re-  
 volts, which did not end but with the total extirpation of  
 the *Jewish* state. His predecessors had hitherto wisely for-  
 bore to bring the *Roman* standards into the city, because their  
 bearing the images of men and living creatures made them  
 to be had in abomination by the *Jews*. But *Pilate*, who  
 thought it beneath him to shew them the same complaisance,  
 ordered his troops, which were to winter in that metropolis,  
 to enter it in the night, with those standards covered, and  
 caused them on the next morning to be displayed. This new  
 and shocking sight put the whole city into an uproar; they  
 went to him in a body to *Cæsarea*, where he then was, and  
 begged of him that they might be removed to some other  
 place; but were answered, that he could not comply with  
 their request, without glancing an affront on the emperor.  
 As they stood stiff in their petition, and he in his denial, six  
 whole days, five of which the former had continued pro-  
 strate on the ground before his palace, night and day<sup>a</sup>, he at  
 length came out to them, as with design to give them au-  
 dience; and, being mounted on his tribunal, which he had  
 reared in the circus, gave the signal to some of his troops,  
 whom he had conveniently posted, to fall on them, and to  
 murder all that should not immediately depart, and who in-  
 stantly came out, and surrounded them. The *Jews*, how-  
 ever, far from being terrified at so horrid a perfidy, did  
 meekly hold out their necks to those butchers, telling them  
 and the governor, that the loss of their lives was nothing so  
 terrible to them as the violation of their laws: and *Pilate*,  
 who expected nothing less than such a passive constancy in  
 that turbulent nation, was so moved at it, that he at length  
 granted their request, and ordered the standards to be removed  
 out of their metropolis<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid. & antiq. ubi supra, c. 4.

(B) What seems to confirm what our author says on that subject is, that after the death of that faithless minister, the emperor expressed himself more favourably with respect to the *Jews*, in the orders he sent to the several governors of his provinces, as shall be seen in the sequel.



*Shields  
consecrated  
to Tiberius  
hung up in  
the royal  
palace.*

BUT as he seems to have been wholly bent upon mortifying and spighting the *Jewish* nation, he soon resumed his usual course. A project came next into his head to set up a number of shields in the royal palace of *Jerusalem* in honour of *Tiberius* (C); but which the *Jews* failed not to resent, as an indignity offered to them, rather than a compliment to that emperor. He had, it is true, taken care that there should be no carved images upon them that might give them offence; but the very inscription of them was, they thought, contrary to their law; otherwise there was nothing more common, both before and after the *Jewish* captivity, than for the *Jewish* monarchs to cover even the front of the temple with such ornaments, as the reader must have often observed through the course of their history. The magistrates therefore of that metropolis, with the sons of *Herod* (D) at their head, went to represent to him in the most civil terms, that such a consecration was contrary to their laws, and to beg of him that he would pay a greater regard to them. *Pilate* repulsed them with his usual scorn and obstinacy, till they ventured at length to advise him, not to push things so far as to exasperate the nation into an open revolt. They added, that if he had received any such command from *Cæsar*, he need but shew it to them, and they would immediately dispatch a deputation to *Rome* to petition the emperor against it. These last words threw the governor into a strange dilemma: on the one hand, he dreaded nothing so much as such a deputation, which would in all likelihood lay open all the iniquities of his administration: on the other, if he complied with their request, in removing the shields, he not only gave an advantage to a people he hated and despised, but exposed himself to the resentment of the emperor, who might probably look upon such a compliance as an affront to himself, and a compliment to the *Jews*. The magistrates, perceiving the trouble he was in, immediately withdrew, and sent soon after a very pressing, but submissive letter to *Rome*, which had the desired effect. *Tiberius* immediately dispatched another to *Pilate*, wherein he highly blamed him

(C) This transaction we have from *Philo* (15); *Josephus* makes no mention of it

(D) Meaning probably of the late *Herod the Great*; who those sons were, our author doth not tell us; but we may reasonably suppose two of them to have been *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, and *Philip* his brother, mentioned a little higher, both willing enough at that time to oblige the *Jews*. The other two must have been probably some of his grand-children.

(15) *Legat. p. 1033, & seq.*

for

for what he had done, and ordered him to remove the shields into some other place; which he accordingly did, and sent them to be hung up at *Cæsarea*<sup>p</sup>.

HIS next project to vex the *Jews* was, to find out some specious pretence for drawing money out of the sacred treasury. This was indeed the most effectual way to touch them to the quick, next to the rifling of the temple; for he knew but too well their invincible attachment to those two places. The plausible pretext he chose for it was, the bringing of an aqueduct, about two hundred furlongs off, into *Jerusalem*; the expence of which he expected should be supplied out of the sacred depository, and demanded accordingly of them, that a tax should be levied upon it. However, as he knew that this would not fail to provoke the people into a mutiny, so he took care to provide against it, by causing a number of his soldiers to mix themselves with the croud, with clubs hid under their coats, to be ready upon a signal to fall upon the mutineers. He was hardly seated on his tribunal, before it was surrounded accordingly by a vast concourse of *Jews*, *Another tumult* who came exclaiming against his project, and where some of *caused by* the meaner sort, as is usual in such mobs, accompanied their *Pilate.* Pilate had not heard them long, before he gave his men the signal, who immediately fell on the *Jews* pell-mell with their clubs, wounded, lamed, and even killed many of them indiscriminately, and dispersed the rest<sup>q</sup>. *Josephus* doth not tell us, whether *Pilate* went on with his design, neither is it easy to guess, either from him or from *Philo*, at what year of his government the three last-mentioned transactions happened. All that can be gathered from the whole is, that he took all the pains he could to make it uneasy to them, from the beginning to the end of it, and that the *Jews* were not behind-hand with him, either in opposing his designs, oppressions, and cruelties, or in giving him fresh troubles by their tumults and seditions, in which every sect joined to give a helping hand, though at ever so great variance in other points. This was the dismal state of *Judæa*; when the Saviour of the world made his first public appearance into his ministry: *The causes of the Jew* miserably torn by their intestine broils: oppressed with the *infidelity* heavy yoke of the *Roman* emperors, and of their more rapacious substitutes: divided into factions and sects, which *and destruction* treated each other with greater rancour and inhumanity than their very oppressors: deceived, and often led to their ruin by upstart demagogues, false prophets, and pretended Mes-

<sup>p</sup> Legat. ad Caium.<sup>q</sup> Antiq. ubi supra.



siahs; and soothed and flattered, to a degree of judicial infatuation, into the mistaken notion of a speedy temporal deliverer, and of a glorious and lasting scene of conquests, triumphs, and other earthly happiness, under his auspicious reign. All which proved so many invincible obstacles to their embracing that salvation, which Christ the true Messiah came to offer them, and made them run into the very jaws of that destruction, which their rejection of him and his doctrine, joined to all their other impieties, did shortly bring upon them. All which will be best seen by a short view of the three last years of his life: of the irrefragable credentials he brought with him, and the obstinate and unreasonable opposition they made against him: of his love and tenderness towards them, and of their malice and ingratitude to him: of his irreproachable innocence, and of their injustice in condemning him to death: and, lastly, of the innumerable evidences given to them after his resurrection, of his being the true promised Messiah, and of their invincible hardness and obstinacy in rejecting him to the last. We shall therefore close the present section with a short account of those three last signal years of his life, and his doleful exit on the cross; confining ourselves chiefly to such particulars as have an immediate connection with the two main points in our view; the divinity of his mission, and the justice of the *Jews* punishment in the destruction of their city, temple, and commonwealth, and total dispersion of their nation, for their obstinate rejection of him and his doctrine (E).

IT

(E) It will be perhaps objected, that, in entering thus far into those two religious points, we go out of our limits as historians, and that, instead of writing a continuation of the history of the *Jews*, we are going to prove the truth of christianity against them. But let it, we pray, be considered, that though this were the real case, the harm would not be great; and that, provided both points are kept going still hand in hand, and we do not so fix our eye upon one, as to lose sight of the other, we still answer the two main ends of history, to make men wiser and better.

We should moreover be guilty of a flagrant injustice to the infatuated *Jews*, if we should neglect so fair an opportunity of reminding them of the source of all their misfortunes, and pointing out to them their only remedy. We have heretofore taken notice of a promise made to them by God, that though their sins had caused them to be dispersed through the four quarters of the world, yet, as soon as they were brought to an humble acknowledgment and

It was now the thirtieth and last jubilee since its first celebration in the land of *Canaan* †, when Christ, in the thirtieth *Christ enters into his ministry.*

† See before Vol. III. p. 196. *USSER.* ann. sub A. M. 4030.

and confession of them, he would gather them home again into their own land.

Accordingly before their total dispersion, the longest captivity they underwent was but of seventy years, though it was brought upon them by the horrid crimes, such as idolatry, murders without number, sacrileges of the blackest nature committed by *Manasses*, and his wicked successors; and yet they had this comfort in the midst of their punishment, that the same prophets who had foretold their captivity, had likewise set a period to it; and were still encouraging them to bear their chastisement patiently, since God would certainly put a happy end to it at the time prefixed.

What crime can they then charge themselves with of so atrocious a nature, as to bring this more dreadful captivity of seventeen hundred years upon them, without one prophecy, or even comfortable glimpse when they shall see an end to it? If they know of any such sin, why do they not confess and acknowledge it, and thereby put a period to their misery? for God's promise stands as sure now, as it did three thousand years ago.

Since then they are ignorant of this grievous crime; why should we make a difficulty to point it out to them, when we have so fair an occasion offered? why should we not tell them, that it was their putting the Messiah to an unjust and ignominious death? and which they are so far from acknowledging, that they justify and glory in it, and by so doing murder him still in their hearts, as often as they think or speak of him, and so become partakers of their ancestors guilt, as well as punishment.

Again, The scripture doth in several places, but more expressly *St. Paul* (16), assure us, that there will be a time when they shall be all recalled; and their having continued so long unblended with other nations, notwithstanding their dispersion through every part of the habitable globe, is a strong proof of it. For whatever superficial heads may imagine, an impartial thinker will easily observe, that nothing but a particular providence could have kept them in that unmixed state, as they have continued in these seventeen centuries, when he sees even in our own land a multitude of nations, in a much less time, as much blended and absorbed into one common name, as their bodies are into one common earth. Especially when we consider by what weak supports, or rather poor mean evasions, their faith and hopes have been kept up, ever since they have seen all scripture calculations concerning the time of the

(1) *Rom. xi. pass.*

Messiah



Year of  
the Flood,  
3029.  
Of Christ,  
30.

tieth year of his age, came to preach a more glorious and acceptable one, not to the *Jewish* nation only, but to the whole world. The *Jewish* was usually ushered in by the sound of the trumpets, the new christian one by the voice of one crying in the wilderness, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*, and so on<sup>r</sup>. This was the miraculous son of *Zacharias*, a priest, prophet, and fore-runner of the Messiah, who having left the wilderness, where he had spent his younger days, came now to preach repentance and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, and the high-priesthood of *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiaphas*, mentioned a little higher. The austerity of his life (F) and the newness of his doctrine drew daily

<sup>r</sup> Conf. ISAIAH xl. 1, 2, 3. lx. 1, & seq. LUC. vii, 2, & seq. iv. 19.

Messiah so long elapsed; to say nothing of the many discouragements they have at one time or other met with from every nation under heaven.

We are assured by the same apostle (17), that this recall of the *Jews* will not be till after the fulness, or total conversion of the *Gentiles*. Were the former once rightly apprised of this, it is likely their zeal in obstructing the one would insensibly abate, when they saw that it was the fatal means of retarding the other.

We may add, that since the best historians have not thought it out of their province to plunge into the deep abyss of obscurity, to find out the causes of the decadence and fall of kingdoms and empires but have even endeavoured to discover them in certain aspects of the heavenly bodies, transits of comets, and such-like amusing dreams; may we not much more be allowed to venture to trace this remarkable one of the *Jews*, under the conduct of such infallible guides as the scripture and history afford us? All which will be best seen, when we come to compare Christ's prophecies against that unhappy people, and the wonderful accomplishment of them, as we have it related by one of the best historians of their own nation.

(F) His dress and manner of living seems to have been the same with the ancient prophets, of whom we have spoken in a former volume\*. His food was wild honey and locusts, which a modern traveller tells us are very common in those parts, and good for food; from whence he concludes, that they were the creatures which the *Israelites* fed so plentifully upon in the wilderness, and which all the versions have misrendered quails. We have had occasion heretofore † to confute the latter part of this assertion.

(17) *Ibid.* ver. 25, 26      \* *Vol. III. p. 430, 431. Com. with Matth. iii. 4.*      † *Vol. II. p. 540, 2.*

daily great numbers of *Jews* to be baptized by him in the *Jordan*, supposing him to be the *Messiah*; but he quickly disclaimed that glorious title, assuring them, that he was only sent as his precursor, and to point him out to them, as the person who was to baptize them with the Holy Ghost. *Jesus* came accordingly to the place soon after to be baptized among the rest, and *John* in an humble guise excused himself from that high office; but being at length prevailed upon to go into the river with him, upon their coming out of the water, the Holy Ghost visibly descended and lighted upon him, whilst a voice was heard from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased*<sup>c</sup>. Whereupon *Baptized* the baptist took that opportunity to manifest him to all that *and mani-* were there present, and to bear this ample testimony of him, *feisted by* that he was the very Christ, and the lamb of God, who was *John*. to take away the sin of the world<sup>d</sup>.

As *John* continued baptizing and preaching in the neighbour-

<sup>c</sup> MATTH. iii. 13, & seq. LUC. iii. 21, & seq. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. ibid. Vid. & JOHN i. 29, & seq.

As for the locust, which the baptist fed upon, the generality of interpreters understand it of a real insect so called, whence some eastern nations have been called *Acridophagi* or *locust eaters* (18). Others understand it of a kind of bean or pulse so called; the reader may consult interpreters about it, if he pleases; but the other notion is much more probable, that insect being common, cheap, and particularly permitted in the *Levitical* law to be eaten by the *Israelites* (19).

Archbishop *Usher* supposes, with great probability, that this preacher of repentance began his ministry on the grand fast or expiation day, of which frequent mention has been made in this history, it being enjoined to every *Israelite* to fast, and afflict their souls on that day, under the penalty of being cut off from his people. This day fell, as we elsewhere observed §, on the tenth day of the seventh month, called *Tisri*, answering to about the nineteenth of our *October*; and on that solemnity the jubilee was to be proclaimed through all the land. (20) Upon both which accounts no time could be more proper to begin the work of proclaiming the more spiritual and universal jubilee, which was now at hand.

(18) Vid. *Eusebius* in *Od* 9. *Plin. nat. hist.* l. xix. c. 29. *Mos. Levit.* & al. (19) *Levit* xi. 21, & seq. § See *Vol.* III p. 195, & 190, (L). (20) *Ibid.* xxv. 9. Vid. *Usher.* *sub. A. M.* 4030.



hood of *Bethabara* (G), a great concourse of people flocked to him from all parts, especially in their return homewards from *Jerusalem*, where they had been celebrating the feast of tabernacles, which fell out about the beginning of November †. Among them was a great number of the *Pharisaic* sect, whom he severely rebuked upon several accounts, particularly on their pretended privilege of being *Abraham's* posterity; assuring them at the same time, that as long as their lives were so opposite to that of that glorious progenitor, they must expect to be cast, like the chaff, into the fire, whilst God could raise a posterity to the father of the faithful out of the very stones they were trampling upon. On this year was born to *Herod Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus*, a son named also *Agrippa*, who was the last king of the *Jews*, and before whom *St. Paul* was allowed to plead his cause; and on the next year was his sister *Berenice* born, who was also present at the trial<sup>u</sup>, she being sixteen, and her brother seventeen years of age, when their father died<sup>x</sup>.

*John the Baptist* having given such an ample testimony to the Saviour of the world, the two first that became his fol-

† Vid. Vol. III. p. 178, 179. a & (B). \* ACTS xxv, 13, & seq. \* Vid. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. xix. c. ult. USSER. sub A. M. 4030, & seq. See also before p. 197, sub fin not.

(G) So called from the *Hebrew* ביתעברה *beth-babarah*, the house of passing over, or ferry-house, supposed by some to have had that name from the passage of the *Israelites* over *Jordan* ||; but whether so or not, its name shews it to have been probably some great ferry, and so very convenient, not only for baptizing, but on account of the concourse of people at such places.

But the word *beth babarah* may be also, and perhaps more properly, translated a custom-house, as the officers of it, whom we render publicans, were called בעלי העברה *babale bababarah*, masters or overseers of the customs; a great many of whom came accordingly to the baptist, to enquire what kind of repentance was proper for men of their profession; and were answered, that they should exact no more than their due (21); to the soldiers, which are usually set to guard such avenues, he forbid using violence, false accusations, extortion, &c. to the rest, who, on the same supposition, dealt in the mercantile way, he enjoined likewise a practice opposite to their common one; that is, liberality, hospitality, charity, &c. instead of covetousness, fraud, &c. Thus was he fulfilling what was foretold of old (22), *Every valley shall be filled, every mountain levelled, &c.*

|| See Vol. III, p. 63. (Y). (21) Luke iii. 13. (22) *Ibid. vers. 5. Conf. cum. Isai. xl. 4. & seq.*

lowers, were two of his own disciples, viz. *Andrew*, the son of *Jonah* and *Simon* his brother, to whom he gave the surname of *Cephas*, or *Stone*. On the next day, as he was returning to *Nazareth*, he called *Philip* to follow him; and this went and gave notice of him to an honest *Israelite*, named *Nathanael*, who is generally believed to be the same, who is by the other evangelists called *Bartholomew*, assuring him that they had found the promised *Messiah*, namely *Jesus* of *Nazareth*. *Nathanael's* mean opinion of that city, and of the whole *Galilean* region, could scarcely permit him, at the first news, to believe that any thing so good as a prophet, much less the *Messiah*, could come from such a mean quarter. He was, however, soon undeceived, when *Jesus* told him some of the private discourse which *Philip* and he had had together under a fig-tree, far enough out of his hearing. These two therefore, and some others, followed him into *Galilee*, where they were all invited to a poor couple's wedding. Here the wine beginning to fail, *Jesus's* mother, who was one of the guests, acquainted him with it (H), who arose soon after, and, of his wonted compassion, miraculously supplied them with a fresh and sufficient quantity. This wonderful change of such a quantity of water into excellent wine filled the company with admiration, and further confirmed his new disciples, that he really was what they thought him, the true *Messiah*. From *Cana* he went to *Capernaum*, a small city on the west shore of the lake *Genesareth*, where we shall often find him in the sequel; and where he made but a short stay

*His first  
miracle in  
Cana.*

(H) The answer which ours and most other versions make him, who was to be the pattern of all perfection, give to his mother on this occasion, has given just offence to all serious readers; notwithstanding the specious glosses which commentators have put upon it, such, as if he expressed himself to her in those contemptuous terms, to prevent, if possible, that extraordinary worship, which he foresaw his followers would in time pay to her, and the like.

Whereas a learned critic of our own (23) has lately proved beyond contradiction, that the words if rightly rendered, are full of the deepest filial respect; for the word *γυνή*, *woman*, is so far from being a term of contempt, as it sounds in our language, that he has proved it from the best authors to have been given even to queens. We may say the same thing of the word *יְשִׁיבָה*, *isbah*, in the *Hebrew* which is used in the same respectful sense by the *Jews*.

As for the phrase which is there rendered, *What have I to do with thee?* It is well known to be a *Hebrew* idiom, which implies no more than, *What is it to you or me* (24).

(23) *Blackw. sacred class. vindic.* (24) *See a parallel in 2 Sam xix. 22. 1 Kings xvii. 18, & alib.*



at this time, by reason of the approaching feast of the passover, to which he repaired with his disciples, it being the first festival of that kind he celebrated since his entrance into his ministry <sup>1</sup>.

*Drives  
the traders  
from the  
temple.*

UPON his coming to the temple, he found it crouded with people that sold cattle, poultry, and other such things as were used in the *Jewish* offerings, and had been set up there for the conveniency of those that came from far to the feasts, and bought them on the spot, rather than bring them from their homes. This had likewise introduced a number of money-changers for the use of those who brought foreign coin instead of victims, and whose tables and trade were equally a profanation of that sacred place. It is likely, that the priests, who might and ought to have made them keep their stalls and compters at a greater distance, made a perquisite of their indulgence, and consequently aggravated the abuse. Against them therefore Christ chose to exert the first essays of his authority and zeal, by turning them all out of that sacred building, after a severe reproof for their mercantile profanation of it. But whilst his disciples admired his zeal for the house of God, so worthy of the son of *David*, the dissatisfied *Jews* were questioning and demanding the signs of his authority; and received this remarkable answer from him, that they should destroy this temple, meaning that of his body, and he would raise it up in three days. It was upon this occasion that they, mistaking his meaning, reminded him of the forty and six years it had been in building; of which we took notice a little higher. His disciples, however, understood him much better after he was risen from the dead <sup>2</sup>. In the mean time, he did not omit giving them many other pregnant proofs of his divine mission, in the many miracles which he did before them, and which still increased the number of his disciples; but he, who knew their hearts, easily judged, that many of them would soon turn their backs upon him, especially when the sanhedrin and the *Pharisaic* sect came to denounce their sentence of excommunication against them (I).

However

<sup>1</sup> JOHN ii. 13, & seq.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid ver. 18, & seq.

(I) It is doubtless a matter of great wonder, how the *Jews* could see such a vast number and variety of miracles wrought by Christ on the sick, halt, maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, paralytic, lunatic, demoniac, and other objects of pity, and yet believe him a false prophet, a deceiver, or any thing rather than a person sent from God: how they could see him give sight to those that were born

However, though that sect was the most inveterate against him, we shall find some of them of a more upright temper,

born blind, life to one that had lain four days corrupting in the grave, feed so many thousands with a few loaves and fishes, still the winds and the seas by his single word; in a word, to display, as it were, his irresistible power over the universal creation; and yet either condemn him as a cheat, or be ever asking for some further and more convincing signs of his being the Messiah (25).

We have already accounted in part for this strange proceeding in the detail we gave of their several sects, whose tenets, being for the most part diametrically opposite to the doctrine and spirit of the gospel, proved so strong an obstacle against it, as few were able to surmount. To this we may add, that Christ, chusing the sabbath day for working the major part of those miracles, gave them still a greater offence; their foolish superstitious prejudices making them look upon even such works of mercy to be a violation of that holy day, notwithstanding all he could urge to the contrary; a flagrant instance of which we have in the cure of the man born blind, in the chapter last quoted out of St. *John*.

But what most helped to confirm them in this absurd judgment of him was, a passage in *Deuteronomy* (26), which, rightly understood, is only a prudent caution against their being drawn aside by false prophets, and pretended wonder-workers; but which they did, and still do, understand to this day, so literally and contrary to the plain design of the law-giver, as to infer a possibility of a man's working many and great miracles, either by the help of the devil, by magic, or other means, and without any other view, but that of withdrawing people from the service of God.

Now, when men are once prepossessed with such an absurd notion, what miracles can any person work that may not be reduced under that class, if they have any dislike either to his person or doctrine, or can find any plausible objection against his manner of working them? All which concurred here against those of our Saviour, and were upon those accounts rejected by the generality of the *Jews*, even to this day, as we hinted above. Accordingly, they are so far from denying him to have done great and signal miracles, that they have invented the most stupid stories to prove, that he did them either by magic, which they say he learned in *Egypt*, or by going privately into the temple, and stealing thence the ineffable name of God, by virtue of which he could perform all those great wonders; and many more such shameful and childish evasions, the bare mentioning of which is a sufficient confutation of them. Those that desire to know more of this *Jewish* trash, may consult, among others, the book intitled *Sepher Tholedoth Jesu*, or

(25) *Vid. int. al. John* vi. 1. ad. 30. ix. *pass.*  
xiii. 1, & *seq.*

(26) *Cb.*



per, who, making a more equitable judgment of his miracles and doctrine, came to be instructed by him; and became his disciples,

*the history or book of the generations of Jesus, and some others which the reader may find in the margin (27).*

But to give our *English* readers a short specimen of their opinion concerning him out of those books, some affirm him to have been the son of one *Panther*, begotten on a milliner of his debauching, and that the soul of *Esau*, whose memory they have in great abhorrence, passed into him, which is, according to their doctrine of the soul's transmigration, mentioned at the close of the last section. That he stole into the temple, and took from thence the name of God; and having made an incision into his thigh, stuck it into it, and let the flesh and skin grow over it. That he became by it a very great conjurer and wonder-worker. That *Judas* was another of the same stamp and his competitor. That they had a great number of contests, which we shall forbear inserting on account of their ridiculousness as well as impiety; and that *Judas* was still conqueror in all, and gave him at last a total defeat.

One would be apt to think these to be idle tales, invented only to amuse their children, and breed them up in a contempt of christianity; and some of them have even affirmed it, to wipe off the just imputation they would otherwise incur; and yet they are chiefly founded on some as ridiculous stories fetched out of their *Talmud*, where mention is made of Christ's miracles, and of the means by which he attained to the power of performing them; and pass as current amongst them, as the book out of which they are taken.

But what can they say for one of their greatest rabbies (28), who affirms one *Jesua*, the son of *Berachia*, or *Perachia*, to have been tutor to *Jesus Christ*, and to have taken him into *Egypt*, and to have turned him off for his debaucheries; though in order to these two having been contemporaries, the latter must have been born under *Alexander Jannæus*, and have died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in the reign of *Aristobulus*. This anachronism another learned rabbi (29) has endeavoured to rectify by substituting a second *Jesua*, who lived in the time of *Hillel* and *Shammai*, and was tutor to *Jesus Christ*. But this, like their history of the second temple, which makes *Pompey* to have taken him prisoner, doth but lessen, but not clear, the anachronism (30); and only exposes their ignorance, not to call it worse, in attempting to invalidate his miracles by such poor shifts.

But, lastly, if we consider the vast superstition which then reigned among the *Jews*, how addicted they were to astrology; what

(27) *Rab. Gedaliah Sbalsheth Haccabalah Gantz. Chronol. Nit-zachon. Abr. Ben. Dior. Tzemach. David, & al. mult.* (28) *Abr. B. Dior. ubi supra.* (29) *Gedaliah, ubi supra.* (30) *Vid. Bajnag. hist. Jud. lib. iii. c. 5. sect. 5.*



disciples, though privately, for fear of their unbelieving brethren <sup>a</sup>.

AMONG these was one *Nicodemus*, a venerable ruler, who rightly concluding that such stupendous works could not be wrought without the divine assistance, and in confirmation of some new signal doctrine, such as the thinking part of the *Jews* expected the Messiah to bring with him; came privately one night to have a conference with him about it. *Jesus*, who took a singular delight to encourage such sincere inquirers <sup>b</sup>; and knew him to be a doctor of the law, immediately entertained him with the main and grand point of regeneration, without which, he assured him, it was impossible for a man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. He expressed himself moreover in such terms, as he might have justly expected to be well understood by him, by comparing it to a new birth, such as the *Jews* affirmed to be that of their new proselytes, concerning which the reader may see what we have said in a former volume <sup>†</sup>. But *Nicodemus*, better versed perhaps in the reigning disputes of his and the other sects, than with such fundamentals of moral divinity, as had been quite swallowed up by the present polemic contagion, seemed wholly at a loss how to understand it. Our Saviour therefore having given him a further explication of that heavenly doctrine, requested of him to embrace it upon his own authority for the present, assuring him, that it was one main purport of his coming down from heaven, to teach it to mankind. He added; that the miracles which he had seen him work should not be the only proof he would give men of

*Nicodemus comes to be instructed by him.*

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. vers. 23. ad. fin. <sup>b</sup> Vid. int. al. MARK X. 21. <sup>†</sup> Vol. III. p. 296.

strange power they attributed to the heavenly bodies, or rather to the angels which presided in each of them; what prodigies they thought might be done by the right evocation of them; what supernatural efficacy they ascribed to the right pronunciation of the name of God; how extensive they supposed the power of magic to be; and that it was not only lawful, but necessary, to learn it in one's own defence; and lastly, that those were not the notions of a small number, but of the whole nation, except perhaps some few more judicious and unprejudiced; such as was *Nicodemus*, and some others, whom we shall mention in the sequel, and who made a more impartial judgment of Christ's miracles; we need not wonder, that the rest, who neither liked his person, character, nor doctrine, should attribute those stupendous works to any other cause, than to the power and finger of God.

his



his divine mission, since they should see him shortly lay down his life in confirmation of it ; and, in so doing, fulfil all the prophecies and types of the *Old Testament*, and the decrees of the divine love and providence, by dying a piacle for the redemption of mankind <sup>c</sup>. And therefore he justly concluded, that if men receive not his divine testimony, but will shut their eyes to that marvellous saving light which he has brought into the world, it is because their evil deeds, which are manifested and reprov'd by it, make them prefer their own darkness ; and this it is which aggravates their guilt, and will hereafter their sad punishment <sup>d</sup> (K). *Nicodemus,*

<sup>c</sup> JOHN iii. vers. 11, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. vers. 19, & seq.

(K) We have contented ourselves to give the bare substance of this divine colloquy, which contains indeed the quintessence of christianity, viz the redemption of the world by the death of Christ, and the reformation of mankind by the help of this new light which he brought down to them. This light upon due attention, not only to this discourse to the *Jewish* ruler, but on the tenor of the whole gospel, will appear to consist in these three particulars :

1st, That he came to teach us a more perfect rule of life, than human reason could, by its own unassisted strength, ever discover. For whatever some sanguine men may imagine concerning the sufficiency of that faculty, an impartial review of the world, and of the most polite parts of it, before the sacred writings of *Moses* and the prophets were published in other more known languages, will easily confute that fond conceit.

2dly, He came to communicate a superior degree of strength to our corrupt nature, without which the lessons of that divine master would have been lost upon the far greater part of mankind ; whilst, like persons infected with cuticular diseases, they would still have preferred the pleasure of scratching to the benefit of a cure ; and therefore to enforce the observation of this new rule of life, without which man could be happy, neither here nor hereafter, and to make him accept of and seek for that divine assistance, which alone could enable him to live up to it.

He was, 3dly, to enforce it by the worthiest and most powerful motives, the rewards and punishments of another life ; both which he has set before us in the strongest light, that those who could not be allured to the virtues of his gospel, by the beauteous prospect of the one, might at least be frighted into it, by the dreadful apprehension of the other. That is, in other words ; that since our too great attachment to the things of this world was the unhappy source of all our disasters, this double prospect of a future one might effectually wean us from them, by the assurance he has given us

of

*demus*, who felt the force of all these truths, became his disciple from that very night, but without daring to make open profession

of the fatal consequences of an inordinate pursuit after them, and of the ample rewards which a generous neglect of them will intitle us to at the end of our race. All which is still more strongly enforced upon us from a due consideration, that he who best knew the value of that immortal life, which he came to reveal, thought not his own life too dear a price to purchase it for us.

On this manifestation of the love of God to us, is founded our love to him as our sovereign bliss and benefactor, and of our neighbour, as partakers with us of the same divine favour. Nor is the fear of his punishments, low and base as it may seem at first, less conducive to it. For how can a man be rightly frightened out of the paths of sin and punishment into those of virtue and reward, without feeling a secret love and gratitude towards his gracious deliverer, insensibly kindled in his heart, and rising by degrees into most pungent remorse for his past follies, and into the most fervent desires of pleasing him for the future?

Now the foundation of all this must be laid on such a steadfast faith as Christ speaks of to *Nicodemus* (31), grounded on those irrefragable credentials which he brought with him, such as the many and plain prophecies concerning him, his innumerable miracles, his resurrection, effusion of his holy spirit, and several other concomitant evidences, which will further appear in the sequel. This heavenly testimony, he adds, therefore, will be rejected by many because their deeds are evil; for if his doctrine is confessedly so divine, and so excellently calculated for promoting our happiness here and hereafter, that men of unbiassed reason might embrace it without those heavenly credentials, there must sure be some evil root in the hearts of those that can oppose it, after they have seen it confirmed by so many miracles, prophecies, &c. and illustrated by his god-like example.

'Tis therefore to convince us of this, that he assures us in another place (32), that if any man will, or is sincerely disposed to, do his (God's) will, he shall soon know whether or not his doctrine be of God; if he has a real desire to be virtuous and holy here, in order to be happy hereafter, he shall receive a more feeling testimony of the divinity of my doctrine, than all those outward ones of miracles, &c. for these, through the depravity of man's nature, may in too many of them produce but a kind of historical faith, which, descending no lower than the head, seldom brings forth any other fruit than speculative systems. They were designed to convince the understanding, and silence the gainlayers; but the change of the heart and the conquest of mens inordinate passions, not being to be

(31) *John iii.* 18, 19.(32) *Ibid.* vii. 17.

attained



profession of it, for fear of the *Jews*. However, when their *sanhedrin* was once plotting to put him to death, he had the courage to oppose it <sup>e</sup>; and when they had really crucified him, he and *Joseph of Arimathea*, another *Jewish* ruler, were the only two of that high rank who joined to give him an honourable burial <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. ch. vii. ver. 50.      <sup>f</sup> Ibid. xix. 38, 39.

attained but by the assistance of the divine grace, which is now freely and more plentifully going to be offered to every believer, those only will receive and feel the efficacy of it, who seek and pray for it from a sincere desire to comply with the terms of the gospel, and from a due sense of their wanting that superior assistance to enable them to it. When these therefore come to feel the wonderful changes which this divine grace shall work in them; that it inspires them with new affections, new thoughts and desires; that it rectifies their corrupt nature, subdues their irregular appetites, enables them to live quite other lives, and to forego all things, even life itself, rather than lose the favour of God, and the assurance of heaven; it will prove an inexhaustible source of evidence of the truth and divinity of my doctrine, and of joy and comfort to them; because that blessed Spirit, which worketh all these wonders in them, will bear witness with their spirit, that they are now the sons of God (33); whilst the careless and self-sufficient will ever fall short of it, for want of this sincere desire after holiness, or of a sense of their standing in need of any other assistance to attain it.

Thus much we thought necessary to premise, in order to the better understanding of the design and œconomy of the gospel; for since the bare belief of it, or a faith in Christ, its divine author, without practice of his precepts, will never intitle a man to the rewards of it; and this practice, whatever may be pretended to the contrary, cannot be attained without the divine assistance; and this last is only to be obtained by prayer grounded upon a right belief in the truth and faithfulness of our heavenly redeemer and law-giver; but all three must co-operate towards that main end; the miracles and other outward testimonies of the christian dispensation were highly necessary to attract a degenerate world to a religion so opposite to theirs, and so contrary to their depraved appetites; but it is this wonderful change, which the divine grace it communicates, works in us, that gives the finishing stroke and strongest light to its other evidence; and the man, once thus happily transformed into a new, a heavenly, creature, becomes more sure of the truth and certainty of the gospel, than if he had seen its divine author giving sight to the man born blind, or raising *Lazarus* from the dead; because he justly thinks them alike the effects of an almighty and miraculous power.

(33) *Rom. viii. 16.*

*Jesus*

*Jesus* left *Jerusalem* soon after to go into the other parts of *Judæa*, where he set his disciples on baptizing those who received his doctrine. This brought on a dispute between them and those of the baptist, who was not yet cast into prison, but was still baptizing a little higher on the *Jordan*, in the neighbourhood of *Salim* and *Ænon*, more towards *Galilee* (L). The difference between them, being about *Jesus's* making a greater number of proselytes than *John*, was referred to the latter, who quickly decided it in favour of the former, adding thereto this noble testimony of him, that he was from heaven, and was above all, and testified the truths he had seen and heard; so that those who received his testimony, did set to their seal, that God is true, whereas those who reject it make him a liar, and are therefore obnoxious to his divine displeasure, whilst they continue in their unbelief<sup>g</sup> (M). Soon after this, *John*, whose extreme sanctity had raised him to the esteem, not only of all the *Jews*, but even of *Herod Antipas*, the then tetrarch of *Galilee*, this last often took pleasure in hearing and advising with him<sup>h</sup> for a time; till having ventured to take *Herodias*, his brother *Philip's* wife, into his bed, he received so many severe reproofs from that holy person for his incest, that he at last caused him to be thrown into a prison, where he soon after ordered him to be beheaded, through the hellish intrigues of that incestuous lady, and to all outward appearance much against his

Year of  
the Flood,  
3030.  
Of Christ,  
31



John the  
Baptist  
beheaded  
by Herod.

<sup>g</sup> JOHN iii. 22. ad fin.

<sup>h</sup> MARK vi. 20.

(L) *Ænon* was about eight miles south of *Scythopolis* (34); *Salim* in the neighbourhood of it was the same with the *Salem* of the *Old Testament*, where *Melchisedech* was king, and where some of the ruins of his palace were still to be seen in St. *Jerom's* time (35). The reader may see what we have said of it heretofore †

(M) Since the bare light of reason assures us, that the nature of God is incomprehensible, it follows, that he cannot make any revelation of himself to us, but what must include mysterious truths vastly above our reach; and that it must consequently be a strange perverseness in man to reject them upon that account, when they come attested to us with the seal of heaven, for that is in fact to give the lye to eternal truth. Whereas the belief of them, being only an open acknowledgment that God is true, cannot but be the most reasonable, as well as acceptable sacrifice we can make to him of that faculty,

(34) *Vid. Euseb. sub voc.*  
408. F.

VOL. X.

(35) *Loc Hebr.* + Vol. II. p.



own will<sup>i</sup>. The occasion of this unlawful marriage was as follows :

*The occasion of it.*

*Herod*, whose first wife was the daughter of *Aretas*, king of *Arabia* was since fallen in love with that of his brother *Philip*, whom he had seen at his castle, where he had stopped some days in his journey to *Rome*. *Herodias* was the daughter of *Aristobulus* and grand-daughter of *Herod the great*, as has been hinted in a former note. *Herod* made no difficulty to discover his passion and to propose marrying her, to which she consented, upon condition that he divorced his first wife. This last, having received some information of her husband's design, wisely concealed her resentment; and having obtained his permission to retire for some time to the castle of *Macheron*, which was then in her father's hands, she, instead of going thither, made all the haste she could to the *Arabian* court, where, being at length arrived, she acquainted the king with the whole intrigue. This caused a rupture between *Herod* and *Aretas*, which ended in a war, which lasted till the death of *Tiberius*, four years after their falling out. *Herod*, thus rid of his wife without a divorce, made no scruple to marry his sister-in-law, though she had had children by his brother *Philip*, which was contrary to the *Mosaic* law. *John the Baptist* was not the only person who condemned that marriage as incestuous; the whole nation ventured to cry out against; but, as his character gave him a freer access to the court, he had the courage to reprove both the king and his paramour in the severest terms. *Herodias*, being at length stung to the quick with his frequent reproaches of incest, and infidelity to *Philip*, resolved to ruin him, and easily persuaded the easy king to cast him into prison. His pretence for it, according to *Josephus* \* was his drawing such multitudes after him to be baptized; but the true reason was that given by the evangelists above-quoted, namely his and *Herodias's* resentment.

*John confined in the castle of Macheron*

THE place where he confined him is not mentioned by the latter, but the former tells us it was the castle of *Macheron*; though he should have told us how it came so soon again into his possession, after he had just hinted before that it belonged to the *Arabian* king. But it is not unlikely, that he regained it from him after their rupture. All this while *Jesus* continued preaching in *Galilee*, and working so many singular miracles, that the fame of it came to the *Baptist* in his confinement. *John* therefore, supposing his own death

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. Vid. & MATT. xiv. 1, & seq.  
c. 7.

\* Antiq. l. xviii.

to be near at hand, as he had formerly foretold it, sent two of his followers to inquire of him, whether he was the expected Messiah, not so much for his own satisfaction, as for that of his disciples. They came opportunely to him, whilst he was healing a number of sick, halt, maimed, and blind, so that he only bid them return, and acquaint their master with what they had seen, leaving it to him to explain the matter to them. All this while *Herodias* had not been able to prevail on the king to attempt the life of his prisoner. His fear of the people, who looked upon him as an extraordinary prophet, had hitherto outweighed his base complaisance to her. But she soon after compassed that by her hellish policy, which *Herodias's* her persuasions had not been able to do. *Herod's* birth-day <sup>as's bellish</sup> being celebrated with suitable solemnity, before a number of <sup>policy.</sup> his head officers, and other persons of distinction; she took the opportunity, when they were in the height of their mirth, and the king most probably heated with wine, to send her daughter *Salome* to dance before him; and she performed her <sup>dances be-</sup> part so well, that he promised with an oath to gratify her in <sup>fore He-</sup> whatever she should ask of him, even to the half of his king- <sup>rod.</sup> dom. This was what *Herodias* was waiting for, and for which she had given her instructions to her daughter; so that the young princess, taking the king at his word, desired the head of the *Baptist* to be given her instantly in a charger. *Herod*, surprised at her demand, expressed no small concern at it, whether out of respect to that holy person or the fear of a tumult. But, at length, the consideration of his oath and of his guests having turned the scale, he ordered an executioner to go and perform her bloody request; which being <sup>Her bloody</sup> done accordingly, his disciples, upon hearing of it, came to <sup>request.</sup> take away the rest of his body, and gave it an honourable burial. Thus fell that great good man, and more than a prophet, according to his own prediction\*; of whom *Josephus* in the place above-quoted, gives us the following character: That his whole crime was his exhorting the *Jews* to the love <sup>Josephus's</sup> and practice of virtue; and, first of all, to piety, justice, <sup>character</sup> and regeneration, or newness of life; not by the bare ab- <sup>of the bap-</sup> stinence of this or that particular sin, but by an habitual purity <sup>tist.</sup> of mind and body. Now, continues he, so great was the credit and authority of this holy man, as appears by the multitude of his disciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine, (for he could do what he would with them) that *Herod*, not knowing how far the reputation of a man of his spirit

\* JOHN iii. 30.



might influence the people toward a revolt, resolved at length to take him off, before it was too late, &c. He adds, that *Herod* was very unsuccessful in his war with the *Arabian* king, all which the *Jews* looked upon as a just judgment of God upon him for that impious murder. An antient father tells us † further, that when *Herodias* received the *Baptist's* head from her daughter, she pierced his tongue with a bodkin, and shewed it some other indignities, such as one may easily suppose from a person of her loose character.

Jesus goes  
from Ju-  
dea into  
Galilee.

WE return to *Jesus Christ*, who, upon the news of *John's* imprisonment on account of the great number of disciples that followed him, began, it is likely, to fear, lest *Pilate* should take some umbrage at him upon the same account. For there came, as we observed a little higher, rather a greater resort of people to be baptized by his disciples; for himself, the evangelist assures, baptized none. This made him therefore leave *Judæa*, after a stay of about eight months<sup>k</sup>, and depart for *Galilee*; when passing through *Samarita*, he converted the woman, and afterwards the inhabitants of *Sichem*, or, as the *Jews* by way of reproach called it, *Sychar*<sup>l</sup>, which signifies *drunk*, according to the phrase of the prophet, who calls the rebellious *Jews* the *Shicore Ephraim*, the drunkards of *Ephraim*<sup>m</sup> (N). After a few days stay at that place, he went on into *Galilee*, where he was well received by the *Galileans*, who had seen his late miracles at *Jerusalem* at the late passover, and preached in their synagogues. Whilst he was at *Cana*, the place where he had turned water into wine, a nobleman came about a day's journey to him, beseeching him that he would come down and heal a son of his, who was at the point of death, and expressed himself in such pressing terms, as sufficiently testified the sincerity of his faith. *Jesus* therefore, unto whom it was equally easy to heal at a distance, or at a greater nearness, disimisted him with these words: *Go thy way; thy son liv-*

The noble-  
man's son  
cured.

† Cont. Rufin.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. UssER. ann. sub A. M. 4034.

<sup>l</sup> JOHN iv. pass. See also Vol. II. p. 409, & F. IX. p. 560. & alib.

<sup>m</sup> ISAIAH xxvii 1.

(N) *Shicchem* or *Sychar* stood about forty miles from *Jerusalem* fiftytwo from *Jericho*, and ten from *Shiloh* (36), near unto *Jacob's* well.

(36) Vid. Euseb. & Hieron. loc. Hebr. & Reland. Palæst. in *Shicchem*

4th. He obeyed, and, upon his inquiring of his servants at his return, found that he had begun to recover from the very minute in which the promise was come out of *Jesus's* mouth; so that he and his whole family believed on him<sup>n</sup>. He went from thence into his old city of *Nazareth*, and being entered one sabbath-day into their synagogue, where the lesson out of *Isaiah* \* was given him to read, in which there is a lively description of the Messiah's preaching the gospel, and of his confirming it with many godlike miracles of mercy; he expounded it of himself, with such powerful and majestic grace, as raised the admiration of the whole audience. But some of them being offended at his exquisite wisdom, whom they knew to have had so mean an education among them, he reminded them of several other cities in *Judæa*, and of many persons in *Israel*, who had rendered themselves unworthy of the divine favours by the like unseasonable partiality. This reproof was so highly resented by the *Nazarites*, that they rushed upon him with one consent, and hurried him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, with a design to have cast him headlong down; but he, slipping through the croud, escaped their malice, and went to dwell at *Capernaum*, a city situate on the coasts of *Zebulun* and *Nephtalim*; and preached among them, according to another oracle out of the same prophet<sup>p</sup>, importing, that those regions of *Galilee* should in time be called, from their native darkness, unto the marvellous light of the gospel. Being on another day preaching in one of their synagogues, there stood a demoniac before him (O), in whom the unclean spirit

*Preacheth  
at Naza-  
reth.*

*Ademoniac  
cried cured.*

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. ver. 46. ad fin.      \* ISAIAH, lxi. 1. Vid. LUKE iv. 16, & seq.      <sup>p</sup> ISAIAH ix. 1, & seq. MATTH. iv. 14, & seq.

(O) We have already taken notice of the opinion of the *Jews* concerning these demons who possessed mankind, some, with *Josephus*, believing them to be the souls of the wicked, and others, that they were a kind of imperfect creatures, whom God was forced to leave unfinished on the sixth day, because the evening of the sabbath came upon him before he had given them the finishing stroke (37) Upon either of these accounts, they believe them to find some pleasure and refreshment in possessing and annoying the bodies of the living. Of this kind they reckon also the satyrs, incubusses, fauns, familiar spirits †, &c. The *Christians*, on the other hand believe them, with greater countenance from holy writ, to

(37) Vid. *Bereshith rabba*. cap. 1. & *lib. Zeror, Hammor, five fasciculum m. r. b. e.*      † See Vol. I. p. 165, (L).

be



cried with a loud voice ; and acknowledging him to be the holy one of God, expostulated with him, not to destroy him.  
Him

be fallen angels, who have borne a constant enmity to mankind ever since the creation of *Adam*.

But it is here objected against either hypothesis, that if those malicious spirits had such an extensive power, as these possessions seem to attribute to them, there would be no end of their mischiefs, till they had made an end of mankind. Whereas, whatever we may read of them in former days of ignorance and superstition, we see nothing like it now even pretended among the more civilized nations, and only hear some imperfect accounts among the more remote and less cultivated ones, which yet may be either mere cheats, or at best mere delusions ; and this has made a great number of our modern sceptics believe them all to have been of this last kind (38), as being less derogatory to the honour of God, than the supposition of his giving so great a power to evil spirits.

But these learned critics seem not to observe, that all these plausible pretences rather confute than countenance their notion ; for who can believe, that Christ, who was so jealous of his father's honour, would not only have overlooked, but both by his words and actions even countenanced and confirmed a national error so opposite to it, if he had not known, that God, for some ends best known to his infinite wisdom, had suffered those evil spirits, to afflict and punish mankind ? If he had known, that all these pretended possessions were the mere effects of melancholy, hypochondria, lunacy, and such like disorders, incident to our nature, would he not have equally displayed his miraculous power in curing of them under this notion ? and would not his pretended interrogations of those pretended devils, and their petitioning to him ? his (39) distinguishing between their several kinds, and the different means of expelling them (40), have been acting a farce unworthy of his divine character ? how much more his promising to his disciples the same power of casting them out (41) ?

That these devils are every-where represented in scripture as enemies to mankind, is beyond all dispute ; and that they are not as yet confined to the place of their punishment, appears not only from their frequent expostulations with Christ. *Art thou come to torment us before the time ?* but much more from that dreadful and definitive sentence to be pronounced against the wicked, *Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil, &c.* which, if only prepared for them, implies, that they are not yet sent into it. If

(38) *Vid. Le Clerc com. in loc. Becker Monde enchant. Bayle, & al.*

(39) *Matth. viii. 28. Mark v. 9, & seq & alib.* (40) *Matth. xvii. 20, & seq.* (41) *Vid. int. al Matth. x. 1. Mark xvi. 17. Luke x. 17.*

therefore

Him *Jesus* having put to silence by his powerful word, cast him out, and healed the man, to the admiration of the people, who spread his fame throughout all that region; insomuch, that before he had taken a little refreshment at *Peter's* house, and healed his mother of a fever, under which she had languished some considerable time, they had brought from that whole neighbourhood all that were afflicted with diseases, and set them before him; and *Jesus*, according to his wonted compassion, laid his hands on every one of them, and sent them all home healed <sup>1</sup>.

BEING come to the lake of *Genezareth*, or sea of *Tiberias*, the crouds followed him so thick, that he was forced to get into a boat belonging to *Simon Peter*, whom from a fisherman he had called to be one of his apostles, and bid him launch out a little way, and taught the people from thence. As soon as he had done speaking, he bid *Peter* cast his net for a draught; and was answered, that tho' they had toiled all night in vain, yet at his word they would try afresh. They did so, and caught such a large draught, as was like to have sunk the boat. *Peter* surpris'd at it, fell at his feet, and besought him to depart from such a sinner as he was; but *Jesus* taking him up, bid him be of good courage, for he would from thenceforth make him a fisher of men <sup>2</sup>. During his abode in *Galilee*, he continued still confirming his doctrine with such numbers of miracles, that his fame had reached all the neighbouring provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnice*, &c. insomuch, that many people came from thence to be healed of their infirmities by him. During his abode at *Capernaum* (P), a paralytic,

*Calls Simon Peter*

<sup>1</sup> LUKE iv. 31. ad fin.    <sup>2</sup> LUKE v. 4, & seq. MARK i. 17, & seq. & alib.

therefore we stick close to the plain and obvious meaning of the inspired writers, we must suppose those possessions to have been something very different from such pretended disorders of the body or mind; and where lies the unreasonableness of the supposition of a vast variety of spiritual beings, some of a good and benevolent, others of a bad and maleficent, nature, but all under the government of the supreme Being?

(P) This city was situate on an eminence by the lake of *Genezareth*, though the exact place be not known. Our Saviour exchanged it instead of that of *Nazareth*, where the stubborness and incredulity of the *Nazarites* had been an obstruction to his doctrine and miracles. He made it his chief abode during the three last years of his preaching, and wrought a great number of miracles there; but as they made him no answerable returns for those favours, he forewarns



Cures a pa-  
ralytic.

Matthew  
called.

paralytic, who had heard of his fame, got himself transported thither, in his couch born on mens sholders, to be presented to him; but the house, in which he was, being so thronged within and without, that they could get no access to him, they got him up to the top of the house, and having untiled part of it, let him down by ropes, and so set him before him. *Jesus* beheld their faith with pleasure, and addressing himself to the paralytic, bid him be of good chear, for his sins were forgiven; which, according to the *Jewish* notion, that such infirmities were the effects either of our own or of our parents sins<sup>f</sup>, was no more than telling him that he was healed of his palsy. But the scrupulous *Jews*, not understanding it in that sense, accused him in their hearts of blasphemy, in assuming a power peculiar to God; but *Jesus*, by the immediate cure of the sick man, soon convinced them of their error, and of his being equally impowered to forgive sins and to cure any infirmities<sup>t</sup>. It was his custom, by reason of the great resort of people that came to hear him, to go out of the city from time to time, and to teach them by the sea-side; and, upon his often passing to and fro, he observed a publican sitting at the receipt of custom, named *Levi* or *Matthew*, and bid him follow him (Q). *Matthew* did not hesitate one moment, but

<sup>f</sup> De hoc vid. JOHN ix. 2.    <sup>t</sup> MATTH. ix. 1, & seq. LUKE v. 18, & alib.

forwarns them, that though their city was then exalted up to the clouds, it should shortly be brought down to the lowest abyss (42); which came accordingly to pass in the *Jewish* war, so that no foot-steps remain of it.

(Q) The other evangelists give him only the name of *Levi*, which was his *Jewish* name; for he was a *Jew*, and the son of *Alpheus*, and native of *Galilee*. He is therefore thought to have called himself by that of *Matthew*, which is supposed to have been significant of his profession, to express his grateful sense of his vocation. His chief residence and office was at *Capernaum*, and there it was, that he was called, from the profession of a publican, to the dignity of an apostle and evangelist.

He has been highly reflected upon by *Porphyry* and *Julian*, surnamed *the apostate* (43) for thus lightly following a man, whom he had so little knowledge of; but as it is scarce probable, that he should live in the same city so long, and not have heard of his doctrine and miracles; so it is rather a wonder he did not become his disciple sooner, considering his great readiness in following him as soon as he was called; but it is likely, he thought his profession was

(42) *Matth.* xi. 23.    (43) *Vid. Hieron. in Matth.* ix.

but left his office and followed him ; and to express the sense he had for this gracious call, he made him a sumptuous feast at his own house, to which many of the same profession were also invited. This gave a fresh occasion of offence to the scrupulous *Jews*, who made some severe complaints of it to his disciples ; but *Jesus* soon silenced their clamour, by assuring them, that he was come to call, not the righteous, but sinners, to repentance <sup>u</sup>.

AFTER several other miraculous works done during his stay in this place, *Jesus* departed for *Jerusalem* to be present at the approaching festival of the passover, where there used to be a great concourse of *Jews*, who came beforehand to purify themselves against that feast. In this city there was a famous pool or reservoir, adorned with five porches or piazzas, and called in the *Hebrew* *Beth-esdab* (R), whose water, being

<sup>u</sup> MATTH. ix. 10, & seq.

odious to him, as it was to the *Pharisees* and the rest of the *Jews*, and would prove an obstacle to his reception. But as soon as this gracious invitation had convinced him of the contrary, he sufficiently shewed how ready and glad he was to embrace it, by his forsaking all to follow him.

His being here called the son of *Alpheus* has led some antients (44) into a notion, that he was the brother of *James*, who is also called the son of *Alpheus* (45) ; and they have, it seems, been followed in it by the generality of modern *Greeks* ; but there seems to be no foundation for it. The gospel gives us no further particulars concerning him, saving that he continued a faithful disciple of his master ; and therefore all we shall venture to add is, that he is universally allowed to have been the first that penned any succinct history of the gospel. He is said to have wrote it at the desire of the apostles and *Jewish* converts of *Palestine*, before his departure from it, to go and preach in the provinces allotted to him (46), about eight or ten years after Christ's resurrection. The last quoted father tells us, it was written in the *Chaldaic-Syriac* tongue, which was then the common one, and in *Hebrew* characters. We refer our readers for the further particulars of it to the controversy lately started about it. As for St. *Mattbew*, he is most commonly believed, by antients and moderns, to have preached the gospel in *Persia* and *Parthia*, and to have suffered martyrdom in *Laramania*, a province then subject to the *Parthians*.

(R) Probably, as some conjecture from the words בית חסדא

(44) *Cbrysoftom. Homil. 33. in Matth Theodoret. & al.* (45) *Matth. x. 3, & alib.* (46) *Euseb. Eccl. hist. l. iii. c. 24. Chrysoft. in Matth. i. Iren. l. iii. c. 1. Hieron. de vir. illustr. & al.*



Cures a  
paralytic  
on the sab-  
bath.

being at some particular seasons miraculously stirred, had the virtue of curing the first person that jumped into it of whatever disease he was troubled. Here *Jesus* beheld among the crouds of sick folk that waited for the motion, a man who had laboured under an incurable palsy thirty eight years, but, for want of some charitable hand to throw him into the water, had hitherto been deprived of the benefit of that place. *Jesus*, moved with compassion at his misery, healed him by his powerful word, and bid him take up his bed and go to his home. This cure, being done on the sabbath day, gave fresh offence to the *Pharisees*, who looking upon him as a sabbath-breaker, began to think of putting him to death for it. To disculpate himself, and to convince them that works of mercy were so far from being a violation, that they were the proper business of the sabbath, he expressed himself to them in words to this effect: *As my Father worketh hitherto, so do I work*: intimating thereby, that though God had rested on the seventh day from creating, in memory of which the sabbath had been instituted, yet did he not cease on that day from the work of preservation, which work himself was now

*beth chesdab*, the house of mercy, alluding to the merciful cures which were wrought there on the sick, lame, &c. The vulgate, however, read it *beth-zaida*, which some render the *Probatic pool*, on a supposition, that the sheep designed for sacrifice were first washed in it, which sheep so washed, were called *Probatae*. Others, who read it בית אשרה, *beth-esbdab*, render it the house of defluxion, from another supposition, that the waters in which the entrails of the victims offered in the temple were washed, emptied themselves by a subterranean sewer into this pool or reservoir, whence some have taken it into their heads, that the blood, dung, and other filth of those creatures running along with them, gave that medicinal virtue to the pool. Persons of such witty conceits are seldom solicitous about the character of the sacred historians, or else the evangelists, attributing those cures to a miraculous motion of the water, would make them more cautious, how they set up a bare conjecture against their testimony.

The five porches mentioned by *St. John*, seem to argue this pool to have been built in the form of a pentagon. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* (47), tell us, that they shewed still in their time a kind of double pool or reservoir, the one of which filled itself every year with rain water, and the other, which retained still a kind of redness, as if from the blood of those victims above mentioned, which the temple sewer carried into it. The reader may see what has been said of its remains in a former volume †.

(47) *Loc. Hebr.* † *Vol. III. p. 148, & (Q).*

imitating,

imitating, in preserving a number of wretched perishing objects, whose misery claimed his pity and assistance. But the *Jews*, ever watchful for matter of new accusation against him, instead of admiring his godlike imitation of that ever-beneficent Being, accused him of blasphemy, for having presumed to call him his father, making himself thereby equal to God. *Jesus* tried in vain to remonstrate to them, by *His defence* many convincing arguments, that he had arrogated nothing to *of it censured by the* himself, but what his miraculous works did evince his *red by the* undoubted claim to; and by assuring them, that they should *Jews* shortly see greater and more stupendous ones than those wrought by him, such as had never been done since the creation of the world. He tried in vain to convince them from the testimony of the prophets and other sacred writings, from that of *John the Baptist*, but especially of his heavenly father, who had declared him his beloved Son, and had given him moreover such a miraculous power over the whole creation <sup>w</sup>. He was at length obliged to silence their false accusation, by reminding them, that even the scripture gives the title of gods to mortal men <sup>\*</sup>. If then, added he, they be called *gods*, *against whom the sentence of mortality had been pronounced by God* (S) *himself*, why should you reckon me guilty of blasphemy, whom the father has thus sanctified and sent into the world, because I call myself the Son of God.

*Jesus* observing, however, how strenuous the blinded *Jews* *Works o-* were against his doing works of mercy on the sabbath, re- *ther mi-* solved, if possible, to convince them of their error, by chus- *racles on* ing that day to display some of the most signal ones, and ex- *that day,* ploding their censures by such cogent arguments as they could not gainsay. Accordingly, after his departure out of *Jeru-*

<sup>w</sup> JOHN v. 19, & seq.    <sup>\*</sup> Conf. Ps. lxxxii. 6, &c. JOHN x. 34, & seq.

(S) This is certainly the meaning of Christ's words here, and not as ours, and other versions render it, *Those unto whom the word of God came*. For the place referred to in the psalms is, *I have said ye are gods, but ye shall die like men*. So that, according to the most literal sense of our Saviour's words, they should run thus: *If they are called gods, against (not unto) whom the word of God came forth*, meaning this sentence of death. Those that are acquainted with the *Hebrew* idiom, to which the evangelists were used, know, that the context must decide the meaning of those particles, which are capable of several even opposite significations, which the sense alone can determine (48).

(48) *Vid. Nort. Knatchbul. Le Scene, & al. in loc.*

R r 2

*salem,*



*Salem*, he went into one of their synagogues, where there stood a man, *St. Jerom* says he was a mason, who had a withered hand. He began with asking the *Jewish* doctors, whether it was lawful on the sabbath; to do good or evil, to save or to destroy, intimating, that the omission of the one, when a proper occasion offered, was near equivalent to the commission of the other. As they had nothing to answer to this reasoning, they stood silent to let him do as he thought fit; but when he had restored the man's hand, by bidding him to stretch it forth, the ruler of the synagogue, instead of being convinced either by the miracle or argument, in a kind of indignation, fell a censuring those objects of pity for offering themselves to be healed on the sabbath, and not rather on any other day of the week. This strange behaviour extorted a severe rebuke from the meek *Jesus*; he asked him, whether they did not think it lawful to help an ox, an ass, or a sheep out of a ditch, or even to lead them to the water or pasture on that day? An undeniable argument, that they thought it lawful to do good to brutes on the sabbath; and how much more was it to do so unto men? He urged also upon the like occasion the circumcision of children on the sabbath, the priests killing and dressing their victims, and other such-like works, which were usually done on the sabbath, and yet were far from being reckoned a profanation of it <sup>y</sup>.

*His disciples  
censured  
for plucking  
the  
corn.*

BUT there had one thing happened to him in the going to that place, in order, as is supposed, to preach at that synagogue, which had already highly exasperated them. One of the evangelists observes <sup>z</sup>, that it was the second sabbath after the first <sup>\*</sup>; when as they were going through some corn fields, his hungry disciples ventured to pluck the ears, and rub them between their hands to eat them. The *Pharisaic* croud, who beheld this kind of labour with a malicious eye, began to exclaim against their master for suffering it, it being in their opinion a manifest violation of the sabbath. *Jesus* was forced to excuse it by reminding them of the prophet's words, *I will have*; or, more properly, *I delight in mercy rather than in sacrifice* <sup>a</sup>; intimating thereby, that necessity takes away the rigour of the law, and justifying it by the example of *David*, who, in the like emergency, ventured upon the sacred shew-bread, which was prohibited to all but the priests; and not only eat of it himself, but distributed it among his retinue. Their stubbornness was proof against all that he could urge in their or his own defence, and his silencing of

<sup>y</sup> LUKE vi. 10, & seq. MATTH. xii. 9, & seq. & al. <sup>z</sup> LUKE vi. 1.

<sup>\*</sup> De hoc Vid. Vol. III. p. 168. in fin. not. (M).

<sup>a</sup> Hos. vi. 6.

them,

them, by such convincing arguments, made them only the more inveterate, till they came at length to a resolution of putting him to death. *Jesus*, having timely notice of their wicked design, withdrew himself towards the sea-coasts, whither he was soon after followed by multitudes from all the maritime parts, and to whom he still extended his wonted compassion, both by his teaching them and healing their sick.

ONE night, having withdrawn himself both from them and from his disciples, he went up to a mountain apart, and spent the whole night in prayer; and on the morrow calling them together again, he chose twelve from among the rest, to be the more immediate witnesses, preachers, and recorders of his life and doctrine; and to whom he gave the title of *apostles*, <sup>Chuses the twelve a-</sup> which word signifies *messengers* or *embassadors*. The reader <sup>postles.</sup> may see their names in the margin <sup>b</sup> (T). All that we shall say

<sup>b</sup> LUKE vi. 14, & seq. MATTH. x. 2, & seq. MARK iii. 16, & seq.

(T) These were, 1st, *Simon*, whom he surnamed *Peter* and whom we have mentioned a little higher; and 2. *Andrew* his brother; 3. *James*, surnamed *The Greater*, an inhabitant of *Bethsaida*; and *John* his brother, who were the sons of *Zebedee* and *Salome*, often mentioned in the gospel. These, as well as *Andrew*, had lately been the baptist's disciples, but had left him to follow *Jesus*, and on the account of their resolute constancy, or more likely perhaps from that question they asked him, Wilt thou that we command fire from heaven, to consume, &c. (46) were surnamed by him *Boanerges*, or the sons of thunder or tempest; that word being only a corruption of the Hebrew בְּנֵי רָעַם *bene-rahām*, or rather רָעַם *rahām*; 5. *Philip* mentioned before; and, 6. *Bartholomew*, supposed the same with *Nathanael*; 7. *Levi*, or *Matthew*, the publican and evangelist; and, 8. *Thomas*, surnamed *Didymus*, which signifies a twin; 9. *James*, distinguished by the name of *The Less*, and the son of *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, and of *Mary*, the first cousin, if not the sister of the Virgin *Mary*, for which reason he is often called the brother of our Lord; 10. *Simon*, surnamed *The Canaanite*, from *Cana* the place of his birth, and *Zelotes*, probably because he had belonged to that sect; 11. *Judas*, otherwise called *Jude*, and brother to *James the Less*, surnamed also *Lebbeus*, and *Thaddeus*; and *Judas the traitor*, and surnamed *Iscaiot*.

Concerning the surname of this last, there have been various conjectures; some thinking that he was so called from *Keriot*, a city in the tribe of *Judah* (50), from which he is supposed to have

(49) Luke ix. 54. (50) Vid. *Josh* xv. 25. *Echard. Ecl. Hist. cent. 1. c. 4. Cabinet. sub vac. & al.*



Their character,

say at present of them is, that he did not give them this preference to all the rest, either on account of their great sense or learning, for they were some of the most rude and illiterate; nor for their credit rank or high birth; for they were mostly, if not all, poor fishermen, and either natives or inhabitants of *Galilee*, the most obscure and despised canton of the *Jewish* kingdom; much less for their courage, who proved all rank cowards in the time of danger. They had no relish or propensity to his pure and exalted doctrine; for they dreamt of nothing, but of an earthly kingdom and temporal happiness. In a word, they were in all respects the most unqualified for the great task to which they were appointed, the conversion of the world. But this was a work, which, as a great prophet had long ago foretold <sup>c</sup>, and the apostle, has since observed <sup>d</sup>, was to confound the counsels of the wise, swallow up the understanding of the prudent, and defeat the power of the mightiest. We have already seen it in a great measure fulfilled in the person and character of their divine master, and in the circumstances that accompanied his low and humble birth and education, as well as in that vast series of wonders, which he wrought since his entrance into his public ministry. And we shall see the same infinite wisdom display itself still more surprizingly, throughout the whole sequel of this chapter.

<sup>c</sup> *Isaiah* xxix. 14.

<sup>d</sup> *1 Cor.* i. 19.

come; *ish* in the *Hebrew* signifying a man. *St. Jerom* and *Eusebius* speak of a town in the tribe of *Ephraim*, called *Ischariot* (1); others, who make him of the tribe of *Issachar*, think *Ischariot* only a corruption or abbreviation of *Issachariotes*; others fetch their etymologies of it still further. The reader may see them in the vocabularies at the end of the vulgate and other bibles.

Were we to offer our conjecture on such a dark and dry subject, we should rather fetch it from the *Hebrew*, איש-חורט *Ish-chirret*, literally *the man of the bag*, or *the bag-bearer*. We have formerly observed †, that the proper signification of the word *chirret*, is a bag, in such a one *Naaman* is said to have tied his present to *Gebasi*, (2); and *St. John* acquaints us, that *Judas* was a thief, and carried the bag: Why might not this nick-name then have been given him on that account by the disciples, when they knew how fond he was of his office, and how unfaithful he was in the discharge of it.

(1) In *Isaiah* xxviii. 1.  
v. 23.

† *Vol.* II. 564, (B). (2) *2 Kings*

IN the mean time, the wondering crouds flocked to him from all parts of *Judæa* and the neighbouring provinces, attracted by that divine and efficacious virtue which flowed from him, insomuch, that the bare touch of his garments wrought the most surprizing cures, on the sick, lunatic, demoniacs, and other afflicted persons. He led them therefore one day to a convenient spot of ground (U), where he preached to them that celebrated sermon, commonly known by the name of *his sermon upon the mount*. We shall not take upon us to repeat it here. The reader may read it in its native, but powerful, simplicity, in the places quoted in the margin <sup>e</sup>. All that we shall observe of it is, that he began it with a most comfortable display of the blessed state of those, whom both *Jews* and *Gentiles* accounted most miserable; that, through the whole course of it, he not only exploded the wretched glosses, by which the *Jewish* doctors had almost obliterated every moral precept of the *Mosaic* law, but substituted such new and excellent ones of his own, as exalted them to a pitch, which the world till then had neither heard nor dreamed of. To instance in one or two of his precepts, amongst the many sublime ones there delivered, how highly had that negative precept been admired by all the wisest heathens, of not doing to others what we should not desire to be done to us! and yet how vastly short is it of that new and noble one of his, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, that do ye unto them <sup>f</sup>. We observed a little higher, that the *Pharisees* thought themselves free from guilt, provided they abstained from the very act of sin, though they indulged themselves in every thought, desire, and complacency, that came short of it; but here the ax is laid to the very root, and every sin, even in the least degree of it, condemned, even in the heart. Well might then his ravished audience cry out, that he taught

*His excellent sermon on the mount.*

<sup>e</sup> Matth. v, vi, & vii. pass. Luke vi, 20, & seq. <sup>f</sup> Matth. vii. 12.

(U) St. *Matthew* (3) tells us, that he went up into a mountain, and St. *Luke* (4) hints, that he stood in a plain, or champain place. The difference may probably be smaller than we are aware of. Those mountainous parts have their plains as well as vallies; so that he might only stand on a higher ground than his audience, for the conveniency of being better heard, whilst they stood or sat on the plain ground below him. For St. *Luke* doth not expressly say, that he preached in the plain; but that he came down to it, to heal those that waited for him.

(3) *Cb.* v. 1. (4) *Cb.* vi. 17.

with



with a power and authority, vastly above what they had observed in the scribes and *Jewish* doctors <sup>g</sup>.

He concluded this excellent discourse with assuring them, that not every one that should call him Lord should enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that performed the divine will, and complied with the precepts he had been delivering to them. For the latter, added he, like the wise man that builds his house on a rock, builds his hopes on a sure foundation; whereas the former, like the fool that builds on the sand, is liable to have them overthrown by every blast, by every wind of doctrine, and by every temptation. On his descent from the mount to return to *Capernaum*, he was addressed by some of the heads of the city in the behalf of a worthy centurion, from whom their nation had received some signal favours, and whose servant was then very ill of a palsy. *Jesus* offered to go to his house and heal him; but when the *Roman* officer heard of it, he sent him an humble message, in which he acknowledged himself equally unworthy to receive him under his roof, as he had been to come and offer his request in person, but that he wholly depended on his efficacious word for the cure of his servant; For, added he, if my authority, small as it is, can yet enforce obedience from those under my command, how much more will your all-powerful one be obeyed, where-ever you are pleased to exert it! His singular faith and humility did not go long unrewarded; and *Jesus*, highly pleased with him, healed his servant at that instant, and greatly commended his faith, as far surpassing all that he had beheld, even in *Israel*; upon which account he took occasion to assure his audience, that many strangers should be admitted from the four corners of the world into his heavenly kingdom, whilst the children of it should be miserably cast out for their disobedience and unbelief <sup>h</sup>. On the day following he went to *Naim* (W), and, upon his enter-

Heals the  
centurion's  
servant.

To be a  
good man  
+ Naim.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. ver. ult.      <sup>h</sup> Matth. viii. 5, & seq.      Luke vii. 1, & seq.

(W) This city was situate in the plain near mount *Tabor*, and within about two miles of that mountain, and was divided from it by the brook *Kedron* (5). The same author places it at a small distance from *Endor* and *Scythopolis* (6). There was another city of that name in *Idumæa*, where, *Josephus* tells us (7), *Simon* the son of *Gorias* made his retreat, after he had strongly fortified it.

(5) *Euseb. sub voce Naim.*  
*Beil. Jud. l. v. c. 7.*

(6) *Ibid. sub voce Endor.*

(7)

ing the city, he met a large croud of people accompanying the corpse of a young man, the only son of a poor widow, and, in compassion to her, touched the bier, and raised her son to life, whilst the astonished multitude spread forth his fame through all that country, and proclaimed him the prophet sent by God to redeem his people<sup>1</sup>. It was probably at this time, that the baptist sent his two disciples to him, of whom we have lately spoken, and upon which *Jesus* took occasion to censure the unjust judgment, which the unbelieving *Jews* passed upon that more than prophet, and himself: *John*, said he, was a very abstemious and mortified person, and you cried him down as a demoniac; me, who came in a more sociable and affable way to call sinners to repentance, you represent as a drunkard and glutton; but wisdom will, in spite of your slanders, be still justified by her children<sup>2</sup>. It was upon this account that he so severely upbraided those neighbouring cities, which had been witnesses of his stupendous works, assuring them, that their fall would be much more dreadful than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, whom such miracles would have wrought into the deepest repentance<sup>3</sup>. He concluded his discourse with a solemn thanksgiving to his heavenly Father, who, in his infinite wisdom, had chosen the humble and infant-like to impart the mysteries of his gospel to, whilst the proud and conceited worldlings rendered themselves unworthy of them; and with a gracious invitation to all, that laboured under their sinful burdens, to come and experience how easy the yoke, and how light was the burden, which he laid on his followers (X).

THIS

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. ver. 11, & seq.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. 29, & seq.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid. x. 13, & seq.    Matth. xi. 20, & seq.

(X) This is a truth indeed that is best understood by one's own experience; yet as there is not one positive or negative precept of the gospel, that is not excellently adapted to our own exigencies, and founded upon the solidest wisdom, it highly concerns us to listen to this, rather than to our corrupt appetites, which will always make us look upon God as a severe task-master, rather than a kind and skilful physician, whose sole aim is to cure us of our diseases, and to restore our souls to that perfect state of health, which alone can make us happy here or hereafter.

Were we indeed commanded to purchase this desirable state at as dear a rate as the miser doth his gold, the ambitious his rise, the soldier his fame, or the labourer his poor livelihood; though, even here, it would be our highest wisdom to comply with the conditions, since the consequence is of infinitely greater weight; how much



*His pity to  
a poor she-  
penitent.*

THIS discourse moved a *Pharisee*, named *Simon*, to invite him to take a meal at his house, where he had not been long, before he was accosted by a woman, formerly of a loose character, but now a sincere penitent. This woman came behind him in the humblest guise, accompanied with a flood of tears, with which she washed his feet; and, having wiped them with her hair, began to anoint his head with a costly perfume she had brought with her. A sight so shocking to the proud *Pharisee* filled his head with a strange notion, that, if his guest were a prophet, he would of course have spurned such a notorious sinner from him; but Jesus, whose peculiar character it was not to break a bruised reed, or quench the least good spark<sup>m</sup>, but rather blow it into a flame, viewed her with a more compassionate and unerring eye, and dismissed her with an answer as full of comfort, as her heart was of the sincerest repentance and love. Neither did he let his host go unanswered or unsatisfied; but, by a fit and pathetic parable, made him pronounce her a more worthy object of his mercy, and regard, than all his own pretended sanctity and hospitality could intitle him to<sup>n</sup> (Y).

UPON

<sup>m</sup> Isaiah xlii. 3. Matt. xii. 20, & al.  
& seq. Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 1, & seq.

<sup>n</sup> Luke vii. 36,

more must it be so, when every duty is not only easier and more worthy of a rational soul, but absolutely necessary to fit us for that happiness for which we were created!

Let those, therefore, whom a wrong bias has warped into a prejudice against christian duties, but view them with an impartial eye; and the more they consider them, the more they will be convinced of this truth, that they are so far from being the arbitrary impositions of a supreme Being, that there is not one positive one, but is as necessary to the soul, as food is to the body; nor a negative one, that is not as expedient as abstinence from gross food is to a man in a high fever, or from drink to one in a tympany; but with this sure and comfortable advantage, that the divine grace and assistance here promised will remove all difficulties and discouragements, and make every part easy and pleasant; so that our own happy experience, which it is our fault if we fall short of, added to God's infallible word, will make religion yield us the truest happiness we can be capable of in this life, as well as the glorious assurance of a better in the next.

(Y) None of the evangelists has told us where this last scene happened. Our *Lightfoot* and some others think it was in *Bethany*, a city of *Judea*; and that the *Simon* here mentioned, is the same with *Simon* the leper mentioned by the two other evangelists above-quoted, to which our bibles refer as a parallel; but it doth not appear

UPON his return to *Capernaum*, he was followed with such throngs of people, on account of his continual miracles, particularly the cure of a poor demoniac, deaf and blind, which he had just then wrought, that his mother and relations fearing, lest he should be stifled (Z) by the croud, came to disengage him from it. As they could not get into the house for the throng, they sent to desire him to come to them; but when it was told him, that they stood without, desiring to speak to him, he told the audience, that none were more nearly related to him, than those who came to him to hear the word of God and practice it. In the mean time, whilst his miracle on the demoniac had extorted an open confession from the better part of the by-standers, the *Pharisees*, moved with their usual indignation, cried out, that he cast out devils by *Beelzebub the prince of devils* †. Jesus easily confuted that slander, by shewing the folly of supposing *Satan* so far divided against his own interest; and that nothing, but a superior power to his, could force him to it; but, to assure them farther of the fatal danger of such malicious and impious suggestions, he added, that tho' every sin or blasphemy against the Son of man would, upon due repentance, be forgiven, yet that those against the Holy Ghost should find no forgiveness, either in this or the next world • (A); and therefore he concluded

*The sin against the Holy Ghost*

† De hoc vide supra., Vol. I. p. 105.  
31, & seq. Mark iii. 28, &c.

• MATTH. xii.

pear, that this woman was the *Mary* mentioned by St. *John*; and we find our Saviour immediately after in *Galilee* working miracles, followed by a great multitude, particularly by some pious women, who attended on him, and assisted him with their purses, whilst he was taken up with his ministry.

These were *Mary Magdalen*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel; *Johanna*, the wife of *Cbusa*, *Herod's* steward; *Susanna*, and some others, who became part of his holy college.

(Z) So the word ought to be properly rendered and not, as ours and most versions do, that he was beside himself (8).

(A) It is neither our design nor province to repeat here, either the various opinions of divines concerning the nature of this sin, or the dreadful effects which a wrong notion of it has caused among weak and melancholy christians, especially among some sectaries in the predestinarian system. It might indeed be of greater com-

(8) Vide *Le Scen. eff. on anew vers. Echard, & al.*



with this warning, that men would give a severe account for every pernicious or hurtful (B) word at the day of judgment. Here

fort to insert some of those elaborate expositions, which confine that sin to those *Jews* only, who made so perverse a judgment of Christ's miracles, against the light of reason and conscience; but as we cannot come into that notion, so neither would we lead our readers into it.

A late critic (9) has endeavoured to take away all the difficulty, by affirming, that what we render blasphemy, or sin against the Son of man, means no more than the offences which one man commits against another. But if none but such are to be forgiven, and those against the Holy Ghost, or, as he understands it, against God, are either wholly excluded, or, at best, will, with great difficulty, be pardoned, it is to be feared we are left in a more woeful case, than that out of which he endeavoured to extricate us; but who doth not see, that whenever Christ speaks of the Son of man, he always means himself, and not man in general?

Might we presume so far as to give our opinion of this sin, it would be this, that every slander or blasphemy committed against Christ whilst upon earth, and his divine mission as yet wanting some of its most authentic evidence, should be capable of pardon; but after these last seals of his mission were superadded, *viz.* his resurrection from the dead, ascension, and effusion of the Holy Ghost, attended, as it was, with such miraculous gifts, such as prophecy gift of tongues, miracles, and the like; there remained no excuse for unbelief, and consequently no forgiveness either to the present or future generation of the *Jews*, who should obstinately persist in it, nor indeed to any other persons or nations, who should reject the glorious light and evidence of his gospel when offered unto them.

This may be thought to lean a little hard against our modern unbelievers; but let them consider, whether the pretended grounds on which they reject the gospel, bear any proportion in point of evidence with those upon which we believe and embrace it; and if they do not, as all their united force never could, nor, we may safely add, never will be able to prove they do, let them lay the blame at the right door. Now, the gospel plainly tells us, that nothing but faith in Christ, accompanied with a sincere repentance, can obtain us the pardon of our sins; how should they then hope for it, who have neither the one nor the other to intitle them to it? Hence, we think, it plainly follows, that this is that only unpardonable sin pointed out by our Saviour. See the next note but one.

(B) That this is certainly the plain import of the phrase *πρὸς ἀπὸν*, which ours and other versions render *idle* or *unprofitable word*,

(9) *Le Scen. ubi supra, part 2. c. 4. sect. 10.*

Here the *Pharisees*, being stung to the heart, began, according to their usual custom, to ask him for a more convincing sign of his divine mission; but he left them with this remarkable answer, that since those he had already shewed them were not able to convince them, there should be no other or greater given them than that of *Jonah*; for as that prophet was three days and nights in the fish's belly, so should the Son of man be as many in the bowels of the earth, or grave, and rise again on the third <sup>P</sup> (C).

FROM

<sup>P</sup> Matth. xii. 38. Luke xi 29.

appears from what goes before, *that they proceed from an evil heart*, which is therefore no more capable of producing better, than a corrupt tree can bear other than bad fruit (10).

(C) This saying confirms what we lately, and elsewhere before observed, that the resurrection of Christ was to give the finishing stroke to the evidence of his mission. Before that, if his other miracles had convinced them that he was the Messiah, they would not have put him to that shameful death, which yet it was decreed and foretold he should undergo; and it is upon this account that St. *Peter* excuses that atrocious deed, as being done through ignorance. But after this his resurrection was proved by so many irrefragable tokens, those who rejected him became inexcusable, and made way for the *Gentiles* who embraced christianity. All which the reader may be fully satisfied of, by comparing, among a great number of others, the places quoted in the margin (11).

There are two difficulties started against what Christ here says of himself and *Jonah*, the one, that whatever the latter might be, Christ was far enough from being three days and three nights in the grave; and this has made some affirm, that he must have been crucified on the *Thursday*, and not on the *Friday*. But the objection will easily vanish, when we observe, that, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, the particle *ve*, and, is often used for *or*, and that it may, and ought properly, be rendered three days *or* nights.

The other is from the impossibility of a whale's swallowing up a man whole, seeing the diameter of its swallow, when stretched at farthest, is little above three inches. To which it is rightly answered, that the word here used signifies no more a whale than any other large fish that has fins; and that there is one commonly known in the *Mediterranean* by the name of *charachias* and *lamia*, of the bigness of a whale, but with such a large throat and belly, as is able to swallow the largest man whole. There was one of

(10) *Vide Le Scen. ubi supra, c. 6 sect. 2.* (11) *Conf. Acts*  
ii. 31, & seq. iii. 17, & seq, & alib. & xiii. 46. xviii. 6.

this



Teaches in  
parables.

FROM thence he went to the sea-shore, still followed with great multitudes, and being got into a boat, he began to teach them again, not indeed in the manner he had lately upon the mount, but by a more familiar way, and more suitable to their gross understanding ; namely, by parables, such as were very well known and understood by all the eastern nations, and not (as ours and other versions sadly intimate) that they might be lost upon his ignorant audience ; but as we have spoke fully on this important point in a former volume, we shall desire our readers to turn to the place \*. When he had finished his discourse, he ordered his disciples to get him a ship to cross the sea of *Galilee*, into the territories of *Philip* the tetrarch, *Herod's* brother. Before he entered into the ship, there came some men who expressed a desire to become his disciples and follow him. One of them in particular just begged, that he might go and bury his dead father ; and another to go bid farewell to his relations and friends. To the first of these he answered, Let the dead, such namely as are so to the hopes of a future life, perform that office<sup>1</sup>, and come thou and preach that eternal life which I am come to bring to light ; but to the second he gave this severe rebuke, that such a retrospection, as he expressed after those worldly considerations, was wholly inconsistent with the character of one of his disciples, whose mind and heart should be so fixed on the concerns of another life, as to be wholly indifferent to all besides ; and so bid him follow without delay<sup>2</sup>.

Still the  
winds and  
sea.

BEING entered into the ship, whether to refresh himself from the fatigues of the day, or to try his disciples faith and manifest his own power, he withdrew himself into the stern, and there fell asleep. There arose soon after such a furious storm of wind as was like to overset them, and made them run to him, and awake him, crying, *Master, save us, else we perish*. Jesus, seeing them in such consternation, blamed their pusillanimity and want of faith ; then, with his powerful word, rebuked the wind and sea, which immediately obeyed. When his disciples and the rest of the company had beheld their danger and deliverance, they came and threw themselves, trembling, at his feet, wondering, as well they might, what kind of man he was, who

\* Vol. III. p. 462. I.).

<sup>1</sup> Matth. viii. 18, & seq. See

also before p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Luke ix. 61.

this kind caught within these twenty or more years, on the coasts of *Portugal*, in whose throat, when stretched out, a man could stand upright. We may add, that the word used in *Jonah*, is דג גדול dag gadol, a great fish.

could

could command those unruly elements to be so quickly calmed ; soon after which they landed on the other side, in the country of the *Gergasenes* † (D).

HERE he was met by two demoniacs, so very fierce, one *Cures two* especially more than the other, that no chains could confine *demoniacs*. them ; but they chose their habitation among the tombs, and made it unsafe to pass by that way, till the sight of Jesus brought them trembling at his feet, where the devils began to acknowledge him to be the son of God, and besought him not to torment them before their time. Our Saviour beheld the poor possessed with his wonted pity, and asked the most furious of them, What was his name ? and was answered, *Legion*, because a multitude of those evil spirits had taken possession of him. These therefore besought him, that, if he cast them out, he would permit them to migrate into the neighbouring herd of swine ; which being permitted, the whole herd was immediately seen to tumble headlong down into the sea, to the number of two thousand, whilst the two poor objects were restored to their health and senses (E),  
The

† Matth, viii. 23, & seq. Mark iv 36, & seq. Luke vii. 22, & seq.

(D) So the Greek manuscripts of St. Matthew have it. Those of the other evangelists call them *Gadarenes*. Some read *Gerasenes*, which makes it very difficult to know the situation of this canton, or of the city from which it took its name. Origen (12) thinks the name of the city to be neither *Gedara* nor *Gerasa*, since none of those two cities were near any sea or lake, but *Gergesa*, situate on that of *Genesareth* or *Tiberias*, where they shewed still in his time the rocky declivities, from which the swine were hurried down into the water. If so, that place might still retain its name from the *Girgashites*, antient inhabitants of *Canaan*, of whom we have spoken in a former volume \*.

This canton, where ever it was, must have been inhabited partly by heathens, which is the reason of the herd of swine being suffered to feed in that neighbourhood, which was not permitted in any place where they were all *Jews*, because that creature is forbid by the *Mosaic law* (13).

(E) Those who pretend to censure this miracle, as a wrong done to the owners, would do well to consider how they question the justice and authority of a person, who had given such irrefragable proofs of both. Had the evangelists supposed any men capable of such a presumption, it is likely they might have given us such reasons for this action, as would have stopped their mouths.

(12) In *Johann. Vide Calm. sub Gerasa.*

\* Vol. II. p. 182,

‡ (D).

(13) Vide Levit. xi. 7, & alib.



The news of this singular miracle were presently spread through that whole region, and brought vast multitudes to the place ; where they beheld with wonder the two men cloathed and in their right minds ; but whether through fear, lest any ill consequence should attend the loss of the swine, or, which is as likely, lest they should receive some further and more grievous punishment from him, they meekly besought him to depart their coasts which he readily complied with .

*Raises the  
ruler's  
daughter.*

UPON his return to *Capernaum*, he was addressed by the sorrowful ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter, about twelve years of age, was then expiring, and followed him to the house, attended, as usual, with numerous crouds, among which was a poor woman, who had laboured a long time under an unnatural hemorraggy, and consumed her substance in seeking for the vain help of the physicians. She had such a strong faith in the world's Saviour, that she thought the bare touch of his skirt would give her an immediate cure ; and so it really did, but not without being perceived by him ; for notwithstanding his being so thronged by the multitude, he knew, by the virtue that was gone out of him, that some-body had touched him, and inquired of his wondering disciples, who it was ? The woman, finding, by this question, that she could not go undiscovered, fell trembling at his feet, and owned herself the blessed object of

\* MATTH. viii. 23, & seq. MARK. iv. 35. & seq. LUKE viii. 22, & seq.

If the owners of the swine were of that kind of apostate *Jews*, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some former sections, the punishment must be allowed to have been rather too mild than too severe. If they were *Romans*, *Syrians*, or of any other nation, they were still guilty of a breach of faith to the *Jews*, who, though under a foreign yoke, were to be governed by their own laws ; so that they might as well have introduced some of their idols into that country, as herds of a creature forbid by their law, and abhorred by the whole nation.

However, if the singularity of the miracle proved a means to convert them to christianity, that was abundantly sufficient to repay their loss ; and it is perhaps for this reason that *Jesus* would not suffer the cured persons to follow him to the other side, but bid them stay in their own country, to be standing monuments of his miraculous power and goodness ; and that the change he had wrought in them was not a transient action, done by some delusion or fascination, but a permanent and real, and consequently miraculous cure,

his miraculous power, and had this gracious answer superadded to her cure, *Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole* (F). By this time they were come so near the ruler's house, that they could hear the mournful tunes and cries that were made over the dead damsel, who had expired in the interim; and Jesus, who beheld with pity his paternal grief, bid him not fear but firmly believe; and entering the house with him, and with two or three only of his disciples, ordered the mourners to cease their doleful music, since the child was only asleep; but, whilst these derided him, he took *Peter, James, and John*, with the girl's father, into the upper room, and taking her by the hand, bid her rise; which she immediately did<sup>u</sup>. This miracle did still the more increase his fame, notwithstanding all his prudent cautions to prevent it (G).

HE

<sup>u</sup> MATT. ix. 18, &c. MARK v. 22, &c. LUKE viii. 41, & seq.

(F) *Eusebius* tells us, that the woman, out of gratitude, erected a brass statue to her miraculous physician, in which she was carved kneeling behind him, and laying her hand on the skirt of his coat. The story is much questioned, and if ever there was any such monument of this miracle; she can hardly be supposed to have been in a capacity of rearing it, because *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* tell us, that she had spent all her substance on physicians; so that it must have been done by some of the inhabitants of *Cæsarea Philippi*, of which city *Eusebius* says she was.

(G) Christ, often enjoining secrecy to the persons whom he cured, has been censured by some of our unbelievers, as unseasonable, and contrary to the design for which they were wrought, the proving of his divine mission. But he had several cogent reasons for preventing his miracles being too much blazed abroad, at least till after his resurrection; one of which was most probably, that he might not hasten the effects, as well as aggravate the guilt, of the *Pharisaic* malice, which, he knew, was to fall on him, before he had gone through every part of his work.

But there was a much greater motive to have these miracles concealed for the present; for the multitudes, who had already beheld so great a number of them, had conceived such notions of his being the Messiah, that, upon his feeding five thousand persons with a few loaves, they made a bold push to take him by force to make him a king (14); so that he was obliged to withdraw himself from them into some private mountain. Such attempts might therefore have proved of dangerous consequence, either by caus-

(14) *John* vi. 15.



comes to Nazareth. HE soon left *Capernaum*, to go and revisit his ungrateful city *Nazareth*, and, in his way thither, cured two poor blind men. He went, as usual, into their synagoue, and preached to them with such powerful eloquence, as astonished the whole audience; but they, remembering the meanness of his education and parentage, were offended at him, instead of admiring him the more for it. This stubbornness of theirs prevented his working any signal miracles there; so that he contented himself with healing such sick persons as offered themselves in his way, and departed, never to visit them again. By this time *Sejanus* having been put to death at *Rome*, and *Tiberius* been undeceived with regard to the false accusations of that hellish minister against the *Jews*, sent orders to all his governors to have them treated with greater mildness, as we observed a little higher out of *Philo*; and *Tacitus* <sup>w</sup> observes thereupon, that they enjoyed a long peace under that emperor; which could mean no more, than that they neither disturbed his government, nor he their tranquillity; but they were at this time in too great a ferment among themselves to be properly said to have been at peace. But these intestine feuds of theirs were beneath the notice of a *Roman* historian, if he knew any thing of them; for these troubled themselves no farther about what was done in foreign provinces, than the interest or fame of their commonwealth was concerned in it; and this, as a judicious historian of our own observes <sup>\*</sup>, is probably the reason, why they are so silent about the glorious transactions of these three last years of our Saviour's life.

Sends his  
apostles to  
preach.

WE are now come to the third year of his public ministry, which he began with making a thorough progress through all the cities of *Galilee*; where beholding, with his wonted compassion, the multitudes that followed him every-where, and how few the labourers were in comparison of the plentiful harvest in view, he sent his twelve apostles, two and two, to preach also through all that country. To qualify them for this high office, he endowed them with his own miraculous gifts, commanding them to dispense them with the same gratuitous liberality as they had received them, and at the same time forbidding them to incumber themselves with any worldly conveniencies, but depend upon providence for a supply

<sup>w</sup> Annal. l. vi. c. 25.

<sup>\*</sup> ECHAR. cent. 1. ch. 4.

ing an insurrection, and bringing the civil power upon him; all which, and many others of the like nature, were opposite to his design, and the scheme of providence concerning the time, nature, and manner of his death.

and

and reward worthy their charitable labour. He reminded them, however, that they must not expect it so much in this life as in the next; for, added he, I send you as lambs among wolves; and since you have been witnesses of the ill returns which I have met with from this blind and ungrateful generation, you must not expect to fare better than your master; but rather rejoice to be, like him, despised, rejected, and persecuted; for they will hurry you many a time to the judgment-seat, and inflict many a grievous punishment on you; but be not terrified at it, nor solicitous what answer you shall make to their puzzling and ill-natured questions; for ye shall be endued with such wisdom at those times, as all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay<sup>1</sup>. In other cases, remember always to join the innocence of the dove to the cautiousness of the serpent (H). Blessed indeed will be the case of those who receive you and your doctrine; but miserable and dreadful, beyond that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, shall be the fate of those who reject you. And as for yourselves, depend upon it, that he, without whose permission not a sparrow falls to the ground, will be still your sure guide and protector<sup>2</sup>. With these excellent gifts and instructions they departed, whilst Jesus tarried still at or in the neighbourhood of *Capernaum*, where he heard, about this time, the news of the baptist's death, mentioned a little higher, and whither his disciples soon after returned, and with no small joy acquainted him with the success of their late mission<sup>3</sup>.

*Herod* all this while had only laid his conscious fears asleep by the death of his troublesome monitor, which were soon awaked again at the fame of Jesus, whom he supposed to be that prophet risen from the dead, whilst others took him for *Elias*, or some other of the antient prophets. This obliged him

<sup>1</sup> Vide LUKE xxi. 15.    <sup>2</sup> MATTH. ix. 36, & seq. x. 1, & seq. MARK vi. 7, & seq. LUKE ix. 1, & seq.    <sup>3</sup> MATT. ibid. & seq. MARK vi. 30.

(H) That seems the most obvious sense of the Greek *φρονιμος*, and not *wise*, as most versions render it. We have elsewhere shewed upon what account that creature is ironically called cunning and crafty in several parts of the scripture, and refer our readers to what has been said there †. But here our Saviour only bids his disciples to imitate their cautiousness or presence of mind, they being known to guard with their heads the rest of their bodies and to dart it with surprizing quickness where-ever the other parts are in danger.

† See IV. p. 116.



*Feeds five  
thousand  
with five  
loaves.*

*Walks on  
the sea.*

to withdraw himself, with his disciples, into a desert place, where he was, however, followed by a great multitude, and taught them there. The day being far spent, and victuals scarce in such a place, Jesus, unwilling to send them away fasting and faint, made the troops sit down in a convenient place, and having blessed his mean and scanty provision, which consisted in all of five barley loaves and a few small fishes, multiplied, and distributed it amongst them; and, after they had all eaten to satiety, his disciples were ordered to gather the remaining fragments, and filled twelve baskets with them, over and above what had been eaten by the multitude, which amounted to five thousand men, besides women and children. This stupendous miracle made them look upon him as the promised Messiah. They therefore were consulting to have made him king by main force; but, as soon as he perceived it, he resolved to convey himself far enough out of their reach <sup>b</sup>. He bid therefore his disciples to cross over the lake towards *Bethsaida*, whilst he stayed to dismiss the people, after which he was to follow them. Whilst they were on the water, he withdrew into a retired part of the mountain, to spend some part of the night in prayer. The wind, being then contrary and very fierce, hindered them from reaching the shore; but whilst they were rowing and toiling in vain, Jesus came towards them, about the fourth or last watch of the night, walking on the boisterous waves, and made as if he would pass by them; at which they gave a hideous cry, supposing that they had seen what the Jews call a *mazik*, or spectre of the worst kind, concerning whose power of doing mischief their rabbies tell us wonders too absurd to deserve a place here <sup>c</sup>. Jesus soon recovered them of their fright, by assuring them that it was he; but *Peter*, between doubt and surprize, answered him, *Lord if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water*; and being permitted, ventured to walk towards him. A sudden gust of wind having swelled the surges, and his faith beginning to fail, he found himself sinking, and cried out to his master for help. Jesus stretched forth his hand to save him, upbraided his want of faith, and led him into the boat, where himself being also entered, there followed a calm, and they were agreeably surprized soon after with the sight of the wished-for shore <sup>d</sup>. Here he was again met by innumerable multitudes, who brought him their

<sup>b</sup> MATTH. xiv. 14, & seq. JOHN vi. 5, & seq. ad 17. <sup>c</sup> Vide auct. Tzeror. Hammor, & Hebr. comment. in Psal. xci.  
<sup>d</sup> MATTH. ubi supra, ver. 24, & seq. MARK vi. 46, & seq. JOHN vi. 16, &c.

diseased from all parts to be cured. Among them were a great number of those whom he had lately so miraculously fed, who had missed him, and came seeking after him, and expressed a more than ordinary joy when they had found him. Jesus, however, blamed their untimely diligence, because it did not so much proceed from a love to his doctrine, or from an earnest desire after that eternal happiness which he preached to them, as from the temporal advantages which they expected from his carnal reign, as they believed him to be the Messiah. He therefore exhorted them to seek after those more spiritual ones, which he was come to tender to them. This unexpected turn had a strange effect upon them, inasmuch that they, who, at the first sight of his late miracle had cried him up as the great deliverer promised by *Moses*, began now to question him, and to ask for some fresh and surer tokens of his being so. *Moses*, they said, had proved his mission, by giving their forefathers manna from heaven; but as for him, he had done nothing like it for them, but only talked of his coming down from heaven, tho' they knew him to be the son of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and promised them no other food and drink than that of his body and blood, which was still a stranger and more offensive doctrine. Jesus tried in vain to persuade them, that these were not so imaginary or unnatural food as they apprehended, but such a real and efficacious one, as could alone fit them for, and raise them to a happy immortality. All these, and several other, spiritual topics, served only to convince them, that he was not the Messiah they wanted, and were taught to expect; so that the greatest part of them forsook him from that very hour. Jesus was nothing less surprized at this defection, which, he observed to his disciples was owing to a want of such a true disposition of mind, as nothing could work in them, but the miraculous grace of his heavenly father, since nothing less than that could rectify the carnal warp, which their prejudices had given to their minds. He addressed next to his disciples, to know of them, whether they felt any inclination to leave him, as the rest had done? To whom *Peter* gave this glorious answer in the name of the twelve, *Lord, whither, or to whom noble can should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we are now fully assured, that thou art the Christ, the son of the living God.* Jesus took occasion here to hint to them, that he had indeed chosen them twelve, but that one of them was a

*Reproaches  
the carnal  
zeal of the  
multitudes.*

\* Conf. DEUT. xviii. 15. JOHN vi. 14, & 30, & seq.



devil, meaning *Judas Iscariot*, who was to betray him<sup>f</sup>, though he continued to follow him with the rest (I)

THESE

<sup>f</sup> JOHN vi. 30, ad fin.

(I) The choice of this traitor into the apostolic college was not without a manifest providence, not only as he was thereby to fulfil that prophecy, that Christ should be betrayed by one of that number (15), but as his character and actions justified the admission of him into it. It is plain from what Christ says here of him, and the apostles elsewhere, that his offering himself a candidate for the apostleship was wholly from sinister motives, and this made him put in presently after for the office of treasurer.

On the other hand, he saw enough to have made him a true convert to Christ and his heavenly doctrine, for he not only was a witness to all his stupendous works and excellent sermons, but was, like the rest, endued with the same miraculous power and christian knowledge; so that if he continued in the same hellish disposition of mind, it was not out of any doubt concerning either the miracles or doctrine, much less from any knowledge, or even suspicion he could possibly harbour, that his master was acting some grand imposture; for had either of these been the case, he would have been so far from hanging himself out of remorse for his treachery, that he would have gloried in the action, and justly too. The great horror therefore which he expressed for his guilt, and his desperate end, when he saw him unjustly condemned by the sanhedrin, could proceed from nothing else but a full conviction, that the person whom he had thus betrayed was the true Messiah, that his miracles were real, and his doctrine altogether divine.

If it be asked, how a man, under such conviction, could act such a perfidious deed? it may be answered, that he did it in a fit of anger and resentment, when he disdainfully beheld the profusion of a precious ointment bestowed on his master, which, he thought, might have been better sold for three hundred pence, and put into his bag (16). He might perhaps not foresee all the ill consequences of his treachery, but might suppose, either that the sanhedrin would acquit him, or that he would work some signal miracle to extricate himself out of their hands; so that when he found it quite otherwise, it threw him into that horrid despair and madness in which he died.

We shall have occasion in the sequel to speak more fully of the nature of his death. In the mean time, we beg leave to observe, after an eminent critic, an error which has crept into most translations concerning him, which seems to intimate as if there had been some worse place than ordinary appointed for him in the o-

(15) *Conf.* Psal. xli. 9. & John xiii. 18.  
 & seq.

(16) John xii. 3,

THESE things happened a little before the third passover after his entrance into his ministry ; for the evangelist <sup>a</sup> hints, that that festival was at hand ; but whether Jesus went up to it, or stayed in *Galilee*, is no where expressly said. Only the former is most probable, not only from his constant and zealous attendance on all other festivals, but because his absence at this time, on any pretence, might have shewn an ill precedent to his disciples, and given the *Pharisees* an occasion of scandal and accusation. But, if he went up to *Jerusalem*, he did it so privately, and stayed so short a time there, by reason of the plots which the heads of the *Jews* had laid against his life that it was not known to them till he was gone back into *Galilee*, where we find him presently after <sup>b</sup>. It is at this passover, that *Pilate* is supposed to have made such a severe example of the rebellious *Galileans* or *Gaulonites*, whose blood he mingled with their sacrifices, as they were performing their devotions in the temple <sup>c</sup> ; the news of which being afterwards brought to *Jesus*, as well as the misfortune of those eighteen men, whom a tower in that metropolis, named *Silam*, crushed to death, he assured them, that neither of them came to such a dreadful end, because they were greater sinners than the rest ; but that, without a speedy repentance, they should all share in some such-like dreadful fate.

THE feast being over, the scribes and *Pharisees*, who misfed him there, sent some of their spies after him to watch his words and actions, and to catch some matter of accusation against him. The first thing these laid hold on was, his and his disciples eating with unwashed hands, contrary to the traditions of the antients, and the constant custom of the *Pharisaic* sect. *Jesus* easily exploded this accusation, by shewing them the hypocrisy of cleansing the hands, dishes, and other vessels, whilst their hearts, which did most want it, were carelessly left in all their filth of rapine, deceit, and other real defilements. But he went further to show the mischiefs

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. ver. 4.  
& seq.

<sup>b</sup> John vii. 1, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Luke xiii. 1,

ther world on account of his crime. The words run thus in the version (17). *Lord—shew whether of these two thou hast chosen, that he may take part in this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go into his own place.* Whereas these last words ought more properly to be rendered, that he, viz. the person now to be chosen, may go into his (that is, *Judas's*) place, that is, may fill his vacant office (18).

(17) Acts i. 24, 25.

(18) *Le Scene, essay ubi supra.*

arising



arising from too close an adherence to those traditions, a great part of which, though plainly opposite to the divine law, were yet preferred to it in point of authority and observance. He instanced in several particulars, especially that abominable one, by which they had made void the only command with a promise, that of children honouring and succouring their parents\*. He not only shewed them the impiety of some, but the unreasonableness and stupidity of others, of those traditions; such as those that absolved a man that swore by the temple, but not him that swore by the gold of the temple, or him that swore by the altar, though not him that swore by the gift that was on it; though, as he justly observed to them, it was the temple that sanctified the gold, and the altar that sanctified the gift. These severe reflections did so much the more gravel these *Pharisaic* spies, as they seemed to come down to the capacity of the meanest of his audience, and could not but intire the people with a singular contempt for those expounders of the law, as well as with a great veneration for himself.

To avoid therefore the persecutions which were likely to be raised against him from that quarter, he withdrew himself towards the coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and entered into a house privately, being unwilling to be known there; but it was soon beset by a great number of sick folk, who flocked to him to be cured. Among these was a *Pagan* woman (K), who yet addressed him with the title of *Lord*, and *Son of David*, and earnestly intreated him in behalf of her daughter, who was tormented with a devil. *Jesus* at first seemed so far to overlook her, that his disciples begged of him either to grant her suit, or dismiss her with a denial. The woman, becoming thereupon more importunate, received this unexpected repulse from him, that it was not fit to deprive the children of their bread, to cast it unto dogs; but she, nothing discouraged at so mortifying an answer, threw herself at his feet, and owned herself indeed unworthy of a child's

\* Matth. xv. 1, & seq. Mark vii. 1, & seq. & alib.

(K) St. *Mark* calls her a *Syro-Phœnician*, because she was an inhabitant of *Phœnice*, of which *Sidon* was the metropolis, that province having been joined by conquest to that of *Syria*\*, St. *Matthew*, who wrote in *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, calls her a *Canaanite*, because *Phœnice* was the antient seat of the *Canaanites*, *Sidon* being the eldest son of *Canaan* (19).

\* See before, Vol. II. p. 295, & Vol. VIII. p. 500.  
Vid. Genes. x. 15. & Vol. II. p. 302,

(19)

portion:

portion; but at the same time humbly expostulated with him, that the whelps were permitted to feed on the crumbs that fell from their masters table. *Jesus* highly commended her singular faith, and pronounced her daughter healed; and the woman highly satisfied with his promise, returned home, where she found her daughter sitting on the bed and perfectly cured <sup>1</sup>. *Heals the Syro-Phoenician's daughter.*

SHORTLY after this, *Jesus* went more eastwards towards the head of *Jordan*, and took a progress through *Decapolis*, (L), where, among other miraculous cures, he gave speech and hearing to a man born deaf and dumb, insomuch, that the astonished multitude cried out; *That he had done all things well, and made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak* <sup>m</sup>. He was followed by the multitude from thence into some desert mountain, where he tarried three days with them, teaching them, and healing all their sicknesses of whatever kind. But as they had brought no sufficient quantity of provisions, *Jesus* pitying their case, and being unwilling to send them away empty, signified his design to his disciples; and finding that they had still seven loaves and a few fishes, he multiplied both, as he had done before, into a sufficient quantity, to satiate four thousand men besides women and children; and seven baskets full, which the disciples gathered of the remaining fragments <sup>n</sup>; after which he dismissed the multitude, and crossed the lake of *Tiberias* towards the south-east parts of *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha* (M). Here he was accosted again by

*Multiplies seven loaves among four thousand.*

<sup>1</sup> Matth. *ibid.* ver. 21, & seq. Mark vii. 24, & seq. <sup>m</sup> Matth. *ibid.* 31, & seq. Mark viii. 1, & seq. <sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* *ibid.* & seq.

(L) A canton in *Palestine*, so called from its ten cities, situate some on this, and some on the other, side of *Jordan*, the capital of which was *Scythopolis*; it was mostly inhabited by *Gentiles*.

(M) It is not easy to know, whether these be two names of the same place, or two different ones, nor to guess where their situation was, only some where upon the coasts of the sea of *Tiberias*. For so much St. *Mark* intimates, when he says, that *Jesus*, crossing that sea, came to *Dalmanutha* (20); and St. *Matthew*, speaking of the same thing, says, he came to the coasts of *Magdala* (21). Some manuscripts of this last have *Magedan* and *Magdan* instead of *Magdala*. This makes it next to impossible to guess with any probability at their situation; for which reason we shall refer those

(20) c. viii. 10.

(21) xv. ult.



Cures a  
blind man.

by some of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, who came to ask of him a sign; to whom having answered as formerly, that they should have no other but that of the prophet *Jonah*, he sailed back, and left them to make the application. In their passage, he bid his disciples beware of the leaven of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, which caution gave them a strange kind of an alarm, because they had forgot to take some provision with them; but after he had put them in mind of his two late miracles on the loaves, they came at length to understand, that the leaven, he forewarned them against, was the pernicious doctrines of those two sects<sup>o</sup>. Upon his landing at *Bethsaida*, the native place of some of his disciples, a blind man was brought to him to be restored to his sight. *Jesus* could not refuse his help to such objects; but, as he had received such ungrateful returns from the people of that city, for the many miracles he had wrought among them<sup>p</sup>, he was unwilling to aggravate their guilt by fresh ones. Taking therefore the blind man with him out of the town, he restored him to his sight, and bid him go directly to his home, without entering into the city again<sup>q</sup>.

BEING come to the borders of *Syria*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea Philippi*, a city built by *Philip* the tetrarch

<sup>o</sup> *Iid.* xvi. 1, & seq. *Mark* viii. 10, & seq.  
xi. 21.

<sup>p</sup> *Vid.* *Matth.*

<sup>q</sup> *Mark* viii. 22. & seq.

who have a mind to know the conjectures of the learned, to the authors quoted in the margin (22).

The last quoted author supposes *Dalmanutha* to be the same with *Medan*, a pleasant place near the *Phiala*, or spring of the *Jordan*, where a kind of fair is kept, and much resorted to all the summer. *Hegesippus*, it seems, calls that place *Melda* and *Meldan*, from which he thinks *Dalman* to be a corruption, by degrees stretched out into *Dalmanutha*. This is going very far for an etymology, and yet it is by far the best we have met with, and perhaps nearer than that of our learned *Hammond*, who takes it to be the *Meggiddo* mentioned by the prophet (23), and famous for the death of two Jewish kings, *Abaziah* and *Josiah* (24).

*Magdala* is a corruption of the Hebrew *Migdol*, signifying a high tower. There might be many places of that name in *Judea*, as well as in the neighbouring provinces; and if this *Medan* or *Meldan* was the same with *Dalmanutha*, then *Magdala* may have been some famous tower or land-mark leading to it, or some strong castle or fortress belonging to it. All which is at best but conjecture.

(22) *Euseb.* *Hieron* in loc. *Hebr.* *Reland.* *Lightfoot,* *Hammon,* *Calmet,* & al. (23) *Zechar.* xii. 11. (24) 2 *Kings* ix. 27. xxiii. 29.

of that canton, the son of *Herod the Great*, as was hinted a little higher, he began to question his disciples, who had by this time been about a year chosen into the apostleship, what the *Jews* commonly thought of him? Being answered, that he was supposed by some to be *John the Baptist*, by others *Elias*, or some other prophet, he asked them, what their own opinion was of him? To this *Peter* answered for himself, as well as for the rest, whose judgment concerning him he could not but know, and affirmed him positively to be *the Messiah, the Son of God*. It was upon this noble confession that Christ surnamed him *Peter*, or *Rock*, and promised him upon that rock to build his church, to give him the keys of his heavenly kingdom, and the power of binding and loosing; so that which of the two sentences he pronounced upon earth, should be ratified in heaven. But he charged him and the rest of his colleagues not to let it be so much as whispered abroad, that he was the *Messiah* or *Christ*, till he was risen from the dead<sup>r</sup>.

*The Jews opinion of Christ.*

*Peter's noble confession of him.*

FROM this time finding their faith so well founded, he began to open a mystery to them, which they little dreamed of, but which it was high time for them to be acquainted with; namely, that of his sufferings and death at *Jerusalem*. *Peter*, thunder-struck as it were, at such an unexpected discovery, could not forbear crying out, *Lord, far be it from thee, that ever any such thing should befall thee*; but he presently received such a severe rebuke from him, as gave him to understand, that he was but a novice in the doctrines of man's redemption and self-denial. He took therefore that fair opportunity to rid them of all their prejudices concerning a temporal kingdom, and to assure them, that there was no way for them, or any other of his disciples, to enter into his heavenly one, but by treading in his steps, and going from the cross to that glorious crown, which waited for them at the end of their race. He concluded this sorrowful discourse with assuring them, that some of those that were there present should not see death, till they had seen the beginnings of this his kingdom powerfully displayed before them<sup>r</sup> (N).

*Christ foretells his sufferings and death.*

But

<sup>r</sup> Matth. xvi. 13, & seq. Luke ix. 18, & seq. & alib <sup>r</sup> Matth. ibid. vers. 22, & seq. Luke ubi supra, vers. 22, & seq. Mark viii. 31, & seq.

(N) Accordingly he gave them soon after several sure indices of it: First, in his glorious transfiguration, then in his resurrection, ascension, in the wonderful change that was wrought on them by



But as he had given such a kind of foretaste of his sufferings and death, as could not but make a deep effect upon them, considering that they had always looked on him as the restorer of the kingdom of *Israel*, and continued to do so even after his resurrection<sup>r</sup>; he thought fit to give some of the most intimate of them a specimen of his future glory.

*Transfigured upon the mount.*

THESE were *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*, whom he took up with him to an exceeding high mountain, generally believed to have been mount *Tabor*, or *Thabor*, described in a former volume †, and was there transfigured before them. This happened whilst he was at prayer<sup>u</sup>, when they suddenly beheld a lustre darting from his face, outshining even that of the sun. His garments contracted a splendid whiteness exceeding that of snow. *Moses* and *Elias* appeared immediately after, in all the brightness of their glorified state, and conferred with him about the sufferings and death which he was shortly to undergo at *Jerusalem*, and for which he was to be exalted above every name in heaven or earth<sup>w</sup>. During this extraordinary intercourse the three apostles, whether overpowered with the heavenly vision, and fallen into a kind of trance; or whether it happened at night, when their eyes were used to be closed with sleep; they found themselves in a kind of slumber for some time, from which being at length recovered, they beheld the glory, wherewith their master and his two heavenly visitors were surrounded; and *Peter*, in a kind of ecstatic surprize, cried out, *Lord, how good is it for us to be here! Let us make three tabernacles, one for you, one for Moses, and the third for Elias* (O),

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Acts i. 6.    † See Vol. III. p. 101, & A.    <sup>u</sup> See Luke ix. 28, & seq. and the parallels.    <sup>w</sup> Conf. Pl. cxxxviii. 2, & Philip. ii. 9, and Vol. IX. p. 536, note.

the descent of the Holy Ghost, when they came to see and taste of that spiritual kingdom, which they had before but the most imperfect notion of; in the success of the gospel through the greatest part of the world, in spite of all the opposition of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and, lastly, in the dreadful vengeance he took against the former, by the arms and power of the latter, according to his formal prediction of that last catastrophe. All which will be best seen in the sequel.

(O) *Bede* informs us (25), that, in consideration of this request of the apostle, the christians in after-times built three sumptuous churches on the top of that mount, which were had in great reverence, and very much resorted to by the devout pilgrims.

(25) *Homil. in Matth. xvi.*

being

being scarcely sensible of what he said. Their surprize increased, when they found themselves surrounded by a bright luminous cloud; soon after which they heard a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him.* At these words they remained prostrate on the ground, struck with wonder and amazement, till their master came and raised them up; when, upon their looking about, they were surprized to find him alone, and in his usual dress and appearance\*.

THEY came down soon after to rejoin the rest of their company, and, in the way, *Jesus* gave *Peter*, and his two associates, a strict charge to conceal the vision till he was risen from the dead. These last words caused a fresh question among them, what the expression of his rising from the dead should mean; for, it seems, they could not yet persuade themselves of what he had so lately told them concerning his death at *Jerusalem*. However, they took care not to speak of his transfiguration till after his resurrection. *St. Peter*, by his second epistle, which he wrote a little before his own death†, appears to have retained still the most lively impression of it by that short, but elegant description he gives of it there‡, though he owns at the same time the evidence which is drawn from the testimony of the prophets to be superior to it. By that time they were got to the foot of the mountain, where a great multitude, and among them some *Pharisees*, waited for them, and had had no small strife with those disciples of his, whom *Jesus* had left behind him; before he could well inquire into the occasion of their dispute, a man pressed through the croud, and fell prostrate at his feet, and implored his assistance in the behalf of his son, who was miserably tormented with a dumb demon, by whom he was sometimes hurried into the fire, and at other times into the water, and was become such a dismal object of pity, that he had brought him to his disciples, but that they had not been able to give him any relief. *Jesus*, moved with the deepest compassion at this doleful story, could not forbear upbraiding both his disciples and the whole *Jewish* generation with their want of faith; and, to convince them the more powerfully of it, ordered the child to be brought before him; and, whilst he was in the strongest convulsions and agonies, and his sorrowful father beseeching him in most moving terms, only returned him this answer, that, if he could believe, the cure of his son would be easily performed. At these words

\* Matth. xvii. 1, & seq. Mark ix. 2, & seq. Luke ix. 28, & seq.  
† Chap. i. v. 13, 14.      ‡ Ibid. v. 16, & seq.



*Heals a  
demoniac.*

the father immediately cried out, *Lord, I believe, supply my unbelief*; and *Jesus*, rebuking the evil spirit, forced him to go out, not without hideous cries, and leaving the boy breathless on the ground, insomuch that the by-standers believed him dead. But *Jesus* soon undeceived them, and, taking him by the hand, raised him up, and delivered him to his father perfectly cured. As soon as they had withdrawn themselves from the astonished multitude, his disciples begged of him to know the reason, why they had in vain attempted to cast this devil out? to whom he answered, that all their disappointments in general were owing to their want of faith; but that this particular one was owing to their neglect of fasting and prayer, which alone could obtain a sufficient power from heaven to expel that kind of evil spirits<sup>a</sup>.

*Foretels his  
crucifixion  
and resur-  
rection.*

*Jesus* having observed the three, at their coming down from the mount, questioning about his resurrection, took this opportunity, as they were moving towards *Capernaum*, and freed from the crouds, to speak to the twelve afresh concerning his approaching death; and to assure them, that he should be betrayed into wicked hands, to be crucified, but that he should rise again on the third day. But their heads seem to have been so filled with a notion of an earthly kingdom, that, instead of desiring him to explain further to them the grating mystery of his cross, they were rather debating how he was likely to dispose of his new dignities, which they had more immediately in view. This dispute lasted till they were got to the city, where the collectors asked them, whether their master did not pay the usual tribute (P)? and *Peter*, who knew his disposition to give God  
and

<sup>a</sup> Matth. xvii. 14, & seq. Mark ix. 14, & seq. Luke ix. 37, & seq.

(P) Several interpreters have thought the tribute-money here exacted, to have been that which every one was to pay yearly to the temple; and that *Jesus* pronounced himself exempt from it, on account of his being the Son of God. But we rather think with *Beza*, that it was the capitation-money, which had been made in the time of *Cyrenius*, after *Archelaus's* banishment; of which we have lately spoke. For, as our Saviour seems to observe to *St. Peter* here, it was a tax imposed upon the *Jews* by the arbitrary will of *Cæsar*, against justice and equity; because, by their former alliances with *Rome*, they were to be free from all such imposts. However, to avoid giving offence, or too great a countenance to the pernicious *Gaulonitish* faction, *Jesus* rather chose to work a miracle, than refuse to conform to the law of the conqueror,

and *Cæsar* their due, answered them in the affirmative. *Je- Pays the*  
*sus*, however, expressed himself to him in such manner, as *tribute.*  
 plainly hinted that tribute to be due only from strangers, and  
 not from the children, or those who are free-born. Never-  
 theless, added he to *Peter*, to prevent giving any offence on  
 that account, go and cast thy hook into the lake, and in the  
 mouth of the first fish thou takest, thou wilt find a piece of  
 money (Q); pay that for thee and me <sup>b</sup>.

As soon as *Peter* was returned, *Jesus* asked them, what *Reproves*  
 they had been disputing about in their way thither, whilst *the ambi-*  
 they, conscious of their ill-timed ambition, held their peace. *tion of his*  
 But *Jesus*, who knew it perfectly well, taking a child in his *disciples.*  
 arms, expressly told them, that the only way of becoming  
 great in his heavenly kingdom was, to become like that little  
 child in innocence and humility; and that the more nearly  
 they resembled him in those two excellent virtues, the pecu-  
 liar foundation of his religion, and of all christian virtues,  
 the greater and higher would their rank be there; whereas  
 pride and ambition, the bane of his new and divine institu-  
 tion, were the ready means to exclude them from having  
 any share or title to that glorious kingdom. Here one of the  
 apostles interrupted him, to acquaint him, that they had ob-  
 served a man take upon him to cast out devils in his name,  
 and had forbidden him, because he thought himself above fol-  
 lowing them. But *Jesus* blamed his untimely zeal, since no  
 man could work miracles in his name, but out of some due

<sup>b</sup> Matth. ibid. 22, & seq. Mark & Luke ubi supra, ad fin.

queror, and bring thereby a greater mischief upon himself and na-  
 tion.

It seems, as if by this law or tax every man had been obliged to  
 enrol himself in some city, whether of his nativity or abode. *Je-*  
*sus* had made his chief residence at *Capernaum*, after he had for-  
 sook *Nazareth*. *Peter* had done the same in all likelihood, and  
 that is the reason why he bids him give the piece of money for  
 them both, without mentioning any thing of the other apostles,  
 who might be enrolled at *Bethsaida*, or some other town near the  
 lake.

(Q) This piece the *Greek* calls *Stater*, and the *Hebrew* or *Syriac*  
 אַסְתִּירָא, *astira*; it was equal to the double shekel, and was  
 worth about half a crown of our money (26).

(26) De hoc vid. int. al. Brerewood de ponder. Bernard de men-  
 sur. & Prideaux in præf. ad connect. Beza, & al. in Matt. ubi  
 supra.

regard



*Recom-  
mends hu-  
mility.*

regard to his person and character<sup>c</sup>; then, resuming his figurative discourse, he told his audience, that whosoever should receive one of these little children, or meek and humble disciples, the least favour bestowed on them, though but a cup of water, in his name, should not fail of a reward. On the other hand, added he, whosoever shall presume to despise or give them just cause of offence (as it is indeed scarcely possible for men of that low and humble character to escape such a contemptuous treatment from a haughty and degenerate world), such indignities will meet with the same severe punishment, as if offered to my own person, or even to God himself, whose greatest favourites they are. But whilst mankind entertain a spirit so contrary to that of my gospel, they will hardly ever be free from such pernicious offences; and this is the reason why I, who am come to save that which is in danger of being lost, am so earnest in warning you against them. If a good shepherd find, that one in a hundred of his sheep is gone astray, how readily doth he leave the rest, to go and fetch back the straggling one! and how much greater pleasure would it be to me to recal every poor straggling mortal, who know how desirous my heavenly father is that none of them should perish, but that they may all be saved!

*Charity.*

BUT I tell you moreover, that you should be so far from offending these meek disciples of mine, who are incapable of giving you the least just provocation to it, that you ought to avoid even retaliating the wrongs and offences that are done to you. You all stand in great need of forgiveness from your heavenly father; but how can you ever expect it from him, if you refuse it to your fellow-creatures? In offences of a different nature, and of ill tendency to religion, your duty is to admonish the offender, first in the privatest manner; if this fails, repeat it before one or two witnesses; if this doth not reclaim him, declare his offence to the church; and if he rejects their admonition and censure, let him be rescinded from it; and, till he return and submit, look upon him as an infidel; pity and pray for him, but avoid all familiar intercourse with him. For here I repeat it again, whatever sentence is thus regularly passed upon such an obstinate offender by you here on earth, shall be ratified in heaven. For whatever any number of you, though ever so small, thus gathered in my name and spirit, shall agree to ask from above, I will surely be in the midst of them, to di-

<sup>c</sup> MARK *ibid.* ver. 38, 39. LUKE ix. 49.

rect and help their prayers, and send them home with the desired blessing.

HERE *Peter*, finding that an offender was to be forgiven, *Forgiveness.* if private admonition reclaimed him, asked his master, how often he must repeat that forgiveness? whether so far as seven times? and was answered, not only as far as seven, but as seventy times seven times. But to prevent their being scared at such an unlimited number, he explained to them the unreasonableness, as well as danger, of an unforgiving temper, by the significant parable of a wicked servant, who, having had the vast debt of ten thousand talents mercifully forgiven by his lord, went and arrested a fellow-servant for a poor hundred pence, and, without any regard to his intreaties and tears, threw him into a gaol; for which merciless cruelty his lord condemned him to a condign punishment. The application was easy, and the force of the parallel easily felt; but *Jesus* was pleased to corroborate it, by assuring them on his infallible word, that they must expect no forgiveness from his heavenly Father, unless they were willing and ready to forgive each other their trespasses<sup>d</sup>.

AFTER a short stay at *Capernaum*, the feast of tabernacles drawing near, some of his near relations, who were, it seems, the backwardest to believe in him, observing what a long stay he had made in *Galilee*, and how the fear of the *Jews* had made him avoid going into *Judæa*<sup>e</sup>, took upon them to reprove him for it, telling him, that, if his design was to make himself known to the world, he ought to go and shew himself at *Jerusalem* to the great concourse of people that were just ready to flock to that feast, instead of hiding himself in those obscure corners of *Galilee*. *Jesus*, instead of reproving their temerity, only took occasion to remind them, that they indeed had nothing to fear there from the *Jews*; but that it was otherwise with him, against whose life the heads of that nation were more busily plotting at this time than ever. He therefore told them, that they might go thither as soon as they pleased; but as to himself, he would take his own time. He staid not long, however, after them, but went thither in the privatest manner he could, for fear of awaking the jealousy of his enemies<sup>f</sup>. He chose to go through some parts of *Samaria*, and sent one or two of his disciples to prepare a lodging for him at one of their towns on the road; but these, according to their usual rancour, understanding that he was going to *Jerusalem* to the approaching feast, refused to give him any entertainment; which so exasperated his company, that

*Jesus goes to the feast of tabernacles.*

<sup>d</sup> MATTH. xviii. 15, ad fin. & alib.

<sup>e</sup> JOHN vii. 1, & seq.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. ver. 4, & seq.



the two *Boanerges*, whom we mentioned in a late note, were for bringing down fire from heaven to consume that ungodly place. But *Jesus* gave them so severe a rebuke, as made them sensible how diametrically opposite such a revengeful and murdering spirit was to that meek and charitable one, which brought him from heaven to save mankind <sup>g</sup>.

Appoints  
seventy  
disciples.

Teaches in  
the temple.

BEFORE he reached *Jerusalem*, he was pleased to appoint another college of disciples, to the number of seventy, answering to the number of the elders chosen by *Moses* to be his assistants <sup>h</sup>, as that of the twelve apostles did to the twelve tribes of *Israel* (R). These he sent also by two and two, and with the same instructions and miraculous power which he had given to the twelve apostles; with this difference only, that the former were permitted to go to any city of *Israel*, but these only to those particular cities where himself designed to come after and preach <sup>i</sup>. By this time the feast of tabernacles was come, when there was no small search after, nor small strife about, him; some doubting whether he would venture himself there, some affirming him to be a prophet, others an impostor. He appeared at length publicly in the temple about the latter end of the feast, and, to their great surprize, taught boldly and openly there; and displayed such a superior knowledge of the sacred books, that they could not forbear asking one another in a kind of amazement, whence a man of so mean an education could ever attain to it? When *Jesus* heard this reasoning, he assured them, that his doctrine was not from men, but from heaven; and that if any of them

<sup>g</sup> LUKE ix. 51, & seq. <sup>h</sup> Vid. Exod. xviii. pass. DEUT. i. 9. See also Vol. II. p. 547, & Vol. III. p. 3. & (H). <sup>i</sup> LUKE x. 1, & seq.

(R) The names of these seventy or seventy-two (for they are indifferently called by either number, the first because expressly mentioned by St. *Luke*, and the latter from a supposition that he uses the round number instead of that of seventy-two, answering to seven out of each of the twelve tribes) are mostly unknown to us. We find only twenty-eight of them in *Eusebius* (27), *Epiplanius* (28), and *Papias* (29), chiefly mentioned in the acts, they are as follows: *Matthias, Mark, Luke, Barnabas, Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolas, Justus, Apelles, Sosthenes, Rufus, Niger, Cephas, Thaddæus, Aristion, John, Barsabas, Andronicus, Junius, Silas, Lucius, Ananias, Ananias*, and *Ananias*, the same who baptized St. *Paul* (30).

(27) *Ecc. hist. l. i. c. 12. Vid. & Mills in Luke x. 1.* (28) *De Christ. c. 4.* (29) *Ap. Euseb. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 39.* (30) *Acts ix. 10, & seq.*

were

were but sincerely disposed to do the will of God, they would soon be convinced of the truth of what he said. Whilst therefore some admired his courage, in speaking such bold truths at the hazard of his life, and affirmed his miracles to demonstrate him to be the true Messiah, others, more obstinate, objected the meanness of his birth and parentage. To these he answered, that whatever they might know of his earthly descent, they were wholly ignorant of his heavenly one; all which he enforced by such irrefragable proofs, that a great number of them began to believe openly in him, which when the *Jewish* magistrates knew, they sent some of their officers to apprehend him. But as his time was not yet come, instead of following their instructions, they came back filled with admiration, and told those chiefs, that they never heard a man speak like him. \*

ON the last day of the feast, in which they used the ceremony of drawing water, and bringing of wood into the temple, concerning which the reader may see what we have said in a former volume \*, *Jesus* took occasion to entertain his audience with a discourse on those living waters, which were to be imparted to those who believed in him, alluding, as the evangelist observes, to those gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, which were shortly after to be poured on his church. This last speech caused a fresh division among them, some believing that none but the Messiah could express himself in that exalted manner; others objecting his being an obscure *Galilean*, whereas the Messiah was, they rightly said, to be born in *Bethlehem*; for so he was, though they knew it not. But the *Pharisees*, more exasperated than the rest, to hear such numbers of the multitude, and particularly the officers sent to seize on him, declare themselves so openly for him, were the loudest in their invectives against him and them, alledging, that none of their learned rabbies or rulers, or indeed any but an accursed ignorant mob, had believed on him. Here *Nicodemus*, who was his disciple, though secretly, undertook to moderate the difference, by reminding those hot headed zealots, that the law did not permit them to condemn a man in that rash and merciless manner, and without hearing what he had to say in his own defence. This speech galled them so much the more, because though they were conscious of the charge, they dared not bring it to so fair an issue. They therefore asked him in a tumultuous manner, whether he was a *Galilean*? and bid him go and search the scriptures, and he would find that that province never yet produced a pro-

*The Pharisees in-  
veigh  
against  
him.*

\* JOHN VII. 11, &amp; seq.

\* Vol. III. p 183, &amp; 266.



phet (S); after which the assembly was broke up for that time <sup>1</sup>.

An adul-  
tress  
brought  
before him.

*Jesus* went that night out of the city, and retired towards the mount of olives, and returned again early in the morning, and taught in the treasury of the temple, where the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* brought an adulteress before him, said to be taken in the very act (T). We have seen in a former volume, that the *Mosaic* law condemned such offenders to death †, and they failed not to remind him of it; but pretended to have a desire to know what he thought was to be done in this case, that they might find some accusation against him, such as his too great severity, if he condemned; or if he did not, his too great indulgence and disregard to the law; or, in either case, his assuming a judicial power. *Jesus*, who easily perceived their malicious design, stooped down, and made as if he did not hear them, but was writing something with his finger on the ground. This made them more earnest to make him declare his mind, upon which he rose up, and told them, that he, who was free from sin, should cast the first stone, and then returned to his former attitude. This unlooked-for answer filled those hypocrites, not only with wonder, but with such shame and remorse, that they withdrew themselves one after another, and left the woman alone with him. When *Jesus* stood up and found all her accusers gone, he dismissed her with this mild reproof, *Go thy way, and sin no more*, and then resumed his discourse to his audience <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> John *ibid.* vers. 37, ad fin.

† See Vol. III. p. 318.

<sup>m</sup> John viii, 1, & seq.

(S) And yet we have formerly shewn, that *Jonah*, who is universally acknowledged by them to have been a prophet, was a native of *Gathhepher*, a town in the tribe of *Zebulun* in *Galilee* †, so that these men must have been either very ignorant or perverse to have affirmed such a palpable falsehood.

(T) This whole story of the woman is omitted in the *Syriac* and some other antient versions. Those who conclude from our Saviour's absolving or rather refusing to condemn her, according to the *Mosaic* law (31), that adultery ought not therefore to be looked upon as a capital crime under the gospel, may as well argue against the lawfulness of dividing inheritances, because he refused in the like manner to intermeddle with such an affair, when desired by one of the parties (32).

† *Vid. sup. Vol. IV. p. 62, (A).*  
*Luke xii. 13.*

(31) *Deut. xvii. 7.* (32)

HE began with telling them, that he was the true light of the world, and that those who followed him were free from darkness. This expression exasperated the *Pharisees* afresh, who thought that title to belong to them alone. They therefore despised him, as bearing testimony of himself, but were answered, that they indeed were peculiarly famed for bearing a pompous testimony and complimenting one another; but as for him, he had the testimony of *Moses* and the prophets, of *John the Baptist*, and above all, that of his heavenly father, of which the stupendous works, which he wrought before them, were an undeniable proof. But, added he, this will more evidently appear after ye have lifted me up on the cross; for then shall my disciples find themselves truly freed from that yoke and thralldom, under which the rest of the world doth groan. Here the *Pharisees*, not perceiving that he spoke of the freedom from sin and guilt, told him with their wonted assurance, that they being *Abraham's* children, it was out of his power to make them freer than they were, since they had never been in bondage to any; but *Jesus*, instead of exploding the falshood, told them, that if their actions were to determine whose children they were, their pride, avarice, persecuting and murdering spirit, and their perverse opposing of all saving truths, rather proved them the children of the devil and the slaves of sin, than the free-born off-spring of a righteous *Abraham*. The *Jews*, unable to reel so just a censure, contented themselves with calling him a *Samaritan* and a *demoniac*, but were answered, that the zeal which he had constantly expressed for his father's honour, and the malice with which they had as constantly opposed him in it, could easily determine which of the two did most deserve the appellative of *demoniac*. However, he added, turning to his audience, this I assure you of, that he who obeys that divine law which I am preaching unto you, shall never die. This equivocal expression raised new arguments, as well as new invectives, from the carnal *Jews*, which, in this and some other occasions, we shall for brevity omit; tho' they rose to such height, that they attempted several times to stone him, but he as often miraculously conveyed himself away from them<sup>n</sup>.

UPON his departure from the city, the seventy disciples rejoined him, and with no small joy acquainted him with their success, and that the very devils became subject unto them. *Jesus*, though pleased with the approaching downfall of satan's

*The seventy return with joy.*

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. vers. 12, & seq.



power, yet observing that his disciples seemed to express too great a satisfaction at their miraculous power, bid them rather rejoice at their having their names written in heaven. Whilst he was giving them some further directions for their rightly dispensing of these new gifts, a certain doctor of the law asked him, what he must do to be saved? *Jesus* referred him to the *Mosaic* law, the sum and substance of which consisted in loving God above all things, and our neighbour as one's self. But as the strait-laced *Jews* scarcely accounted any but those of their nation and sect for their neighbour, the lawyer asked him further, whom he ought to look upon as such? Upon which *Jesus* put forth that most excellent parable of the *Jew* that fell among thieves; and, after having been overlooked and neglected by priest and levites, was at length happily relieved by the charitable *Samaritan*. From which he concluded, that our duty to our neighbour was not confined to sect, nation, or any other circumstance, but extended to all mankind. In his way to *Galilee*, he stopped at a small village called *Bethany*, situate on the furthest part of the mount of olives, where he was entertained by *Lazarus* and his two sisters. These upon his arrival were very differently employed, *Martha* in preparing an elegant supper, and *Mary* in listening at *Jesus's* feet to his heavenly discourse. *Martha*, vexed to see her sister *Mary* (U) leave the whole care of the feast to her, went and complained of it before him; but, instead of her help, she received this severe rebuke from *Jesus's* mouth, that she incumbered herself too much about the trifling affairs of a supper, whilst her wiser sister was minding the one thing necessary, the concerns of another and a better life °.

Teaches in Galilee. FROM *Bethany* he proceeded to *Galilee*, where he went about teaching in every synagogue, and other convenient places, instructing his followers with many excellent parables,

° Luke x. 17, ad fin.

(U) This *Mary* has been wrongfully confounded with that sinful woman, mentioned a little higher, out of the same evangelist, who doth not tell us her name, but only that she came to be absolved by *Jesus*. It doth in no case appear, that *Mary*, *Lazarus's* sister, was ever a woman of that loose character; on the contrary, *Jesus*, who often lodged at their house, is expressly said to have had a particular affection for the whole family; we shall see a pregnant instance of it in the sequel.

and

and confirming all still with some new miracles <sup>p</sup>. Among the last, he wrought one on the sabbath day, in some *Jewish* synagogue, on a poor decrepid woman, whom old age and sickness had so bowed down, that she had not been able to raise herself up during the space of eighteen years. *Jesus*, moved with her misery, called her to him, and having laid his hands on her, pronounced her free from her infirmity, not without moving the *Pharisaic* indignation and resentment; but *Jesus* retorted their reproofs with such powerful arguments and familiar parables, as did at least silence them, though all too little to convince them, that doing such good deeds was the proper work of that day. The following is a very pregnant instance of it.

*Jesus*, after frequent peragations through *Galilee* and *Judea*, was come to the feast of the dedication of the temple, instituted by *Judas Maccabeus*, and mentioned in a former section \*. He chanced one day, which was the sabbath, to meet in the street a man that was born blind, concerning whom his disciples asked him, whether the sins of his parents, or his own, had brought that calamity upon him (W)? *Jesus* answered, that neither his own nor his forefathers sins were the cause of his blindness; but that God suffered such things to happen for the greater manifestation of his unlimited power, adding that he was chiefly come to make a fuller display of it. Having thus said, he spit upon the ground, and anointed the blind-man's eyes with the moistened earth, and bid him go and wash himself in *Siloam's* pool. He did so, *Cures a* and obtained his sight, to the no small admiration of all that *man that* saw him, who could hardly persuade themselves that he was *was born* the same person, till he had assured them of it. The news *blind.* of this wonderful cure was soon brought to the sanhedrin, whither the man was also brought, and carefully examined; but, upon his acquainting them with the circumstance of *Jesus's* anointing his eyes with the clay made with his spittle, a great dissension arose among them, one side affirming this action to be a breach of the sabbath, and the other asking them, how they could suppose it possible for a sinner and sabbath-breaker to work such an extraordinary miracle? To

<sup>p</sup> Luke cap. xi, & xii pass.  
seq. & note (W).

\* See before, p. 12, &

(W) This question plainly proves, that the *Jews* believed the doctrine of the soul's sinning in a pre-existent state, and being punished for it in another. Else a man born blind could not be supposed to have been born so on account of his own sins.



*The sanhe-  
drin con-  
demn him.*

be therefore satisfied of the truth of the fact, they ordered his parents to be brought before them, who, upon examination, owned the man to be their son, and to have been born blind; but pretended to be ignorant how he had recovered his sight. Upon their receiving this further evidence, they called the young man in again, and bid him ascribe the glory of his cure to God alone; for as to the man who had wrought it, they knew him to be a sinner and a cheat. After several other inquiries, in which they betrayed the most unaccountable partiality, and inveterate rancour against his divine physician, the young man at length took the liberty to plead in his defence; and to remind them, that since the creation of the world no such cure had ever been wrought on a man born blind, and that it was consequently not only above the power of such a hateful sinner as they represented him, (since all such are in the highest detestation with God) but even above the power of any but a true prophet sent from above.

SUCH strong reasoning, accompanied with so much candor and honest boldness, might have wrought on any hearts but those of the *Pharisaic* mould; but these, exasperated to hear themselves so justly reprov'd by a man whom they accounted altogether born in sin, after a severe and contemptuous rebuke, ordered him to be turned out of the assembly<sup>a</sup> (X). But *Jesus*, who found him soon after in the temple, gave him a more gracious reception, and then, turning to the audience, took occasion from the late partial behaviour of the sanhedrin, to exclaim against those false and pernicious teachers, under the similitude of shepherds and their flocks, and to shew them, that many of those climbed up into the sheep-fold by private and unlawful ways, like thieves and robbers, only to kill and destroy the sheep. That others, who were only hirelings, and had neither property in, nor

<sup>a</sup> JOHN ix. per tot.

(X) The text doth barely say, that they ordered him to be turned out; but some understand it of his being cast out of the synagogue, or, in other words, that they excommunicated him. It is true, they had passed that sentence on every one that should *Jesus* acknowledge to be the Christ (33), and his actually doing so before them all, had laid him liable to it; but it doth not appear from the evangelist, that they pronounced excommunication against him: if they did, he seems to have been the first confessor, as *John the Baptist* had been the first martyr, for the testimony of Christ.

(33) *John ix. 22.*

true

true concern for their flocks, minded nothing but their fleece and their milk; so that when they saw them in danger from ravenous beasts, they left them to become a prey, instead of protecting and defending them. Hence he proved himself to be the true shepherd, because he came to give his life for his sheep, and to procure them wholesome and lasting pasture. He concluded with telling them, that he had other sheep than those of the *Jewish* kind, to bring into his fold, which would prove more tractable and obedient to his voice, intimating thereby the conversion of the heathen world.

THIS discourse had likewise a different effect on his audience, some calling him a demoniac, and blaming the rest for listening to him; others asking, when they had ever known a demoniac utter such excellent truths, or open the eyes of a man born blind?

WE pass now to the fourth and last year of his public Year of ministry, an epoch full of the most surprising and signal events the flood, that ever the world beheld; the redemption of mankind by the blood of the Son of God; his resurrection, ascension, mission of the Holy Spirit; miraculous change wrought on the apostles and first preachers of christianity; the church of Christ planted by the powerful preaching of a few plain and illiterate fishermen, confirmed by great and glorious miracles wrought by them, by many supernatural gifts bestowed on them, and by them on the first believers and preachers, and in a little time cemented by the blood of innumerable martyrs, and founded on so firm and immoveable rock, that neither the powers of earth or hell have since been able to destroy it. We shall omit a great number of his excellent sermons, parables, strenuous struggles with the incredulous *Jews*, and frequent persecutions from the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*; but especially a much greater number and variety of miracles which he wrought within this short interval, to come to that celebrated one, which determined the sanhedrin at length at any rate to put him to death. We mean the raising of his friend *Lazarus* from death to life, after he had been four days buried, and corrupting in his grave, and in the presence of a great multitude of considerable *Jews*, who, by reason of the nearness of *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, were come thither from that metropolis to the burial, and were eye-witnesses of this stupendous fact.

*Jesus* had designedly conveyed himself away at some distance from him, during the time of his sickness, and had at last acquainted his disciples with his death, adding to it, that

*He raises Lazarus from the dead.*

<sup>r</sup> JOHN X. pass.

Y y

VOL. X.

he



he would now go and raise him up to life. Upon his approaching to *Bethany*, *Martha*, who was informed of his coming, went to meet him at some distance from the place, and complained to him with tears, that if he had been there, her brother would not have died. *Jesus* comforted her with the promise of his rising again, but she understanding it of the last resurrection, earnestly intreated him, that he would now use his never-failing intercession with his heavenly father to have him restored to life. Having obtained a gracious promise from him, she went in haste to call her sister, who came accordingly, accompanied with a great number of *Jews*, who were come to comfort her, and, by her hasty departure, supposed that she was going to vent her tears at her brother's grave. As soon as she came in sight of *Jesus*, she fell on her knees, and expressed her grief in such a pathetic manner, as drew some sighs and tears from him, as well as from the rest of the by-standers. At length, seeing fresh multitudes coming towards him, he desired the two sisters to conduct him to the grave, the sight of which drew a fresh shower of tears from him; insomuch that the *Jews* wondered, that he, who could give sight to a man born blind, should not interpose the same miraculous power to have saved so dear a friend from death. Whilst they held this discourse, *Jesus* ordered the grave-stone to be removed, at which *Martha* cried out, *Lord, by this time he stinketh!* But he, after a gentle reproof for suffering her faith to fail so soon, addressing himself to heaven in a pathetic prayer, called out aloud, *Lazarus, come forth.* Upon which he that was dead came out, bound as he was in his funeral dress (Y); from which he was, at *Jesus's* desire, immediately loosed<sup>f</sup>.

IT

<sup>f</sup> JOHN xi. 1, & seq.

(Y) This circumstance, expressly mentioned by the evangelist, renders the miracle still more authentic and unquestionable. We are told by him in another place (34), that the custom of the *Jews* (those at least that could afford it) was to embalm the dead with an aromatic mixture of myrrh, aloes, and other gums, mixed with spices, with which they rubbed their bodies all over, more or less profusely, according to their circumstances, or regard to the dead person; after which they wrapped their heads all over with a napkin, and their whole body with a shroud or winding-sheet, both which they afterwards sweathed as tightly as they could with proper bandages (35).

(34) *xix.* 39. (35) *De his vid. Jo Nicolas sepult. Hebræor. Calmet. dissert. in ead. Læo de Moden. cerem. Jud. part. 5. c. 8. Lamy apparat. & al.* We

IT is easy to imagine either the joy of the two sisters, or the surprise of the rest of the *Jews*, at the sight of so stupendous a miracle; and indeed it wrought such a conviction in the greatest part of them, that they began now to confess him in good earnest to be the Messiah. And not only those who had been witnesses of it, but vast multitudes of others, who, hearing of it from them, came flocking to *Bethany* to be further satisfied of it, believed also in him. The sanhedrin was soon acquainted with this transaction, and were in no small concern how to put an effectual stop to this dangerous increase both of his fame, and of the number of his disciples. For, *The Jews* as they rightly argued, if we let him alone and suffer him to *consult to* work such signal miracles, all men will believe on him; the *put him to* consequence of which will be, that the *jealous Romans will death.* *come and destroy both our place and nation.* At length *Caiaphas*, *Caiaphas* the then high-priest stood up and spake to this effect: You *propheies.* seem to know nothing at all, nor to consider that it is expedient that one man should die to prevent the ruin of a nation<sup>t</sup>. Little did he or they think he was then inspired from above, and that he was delivering the will and decrees of heaven, that *Jesus* should suffer death, not for the *Jewish* nation only, but for the faithful, which were to be gathered together in him, from the four corners of the earth. For being high-priest that

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. vers. 47, & seq.

We formerly observed also, that they buried their dead very soon †, seldom or never keeping them twenty-four hours above-ground. *Lazarus* therefore having been dead four days, must have lain at least three of them in his grave, which was a cave cut into the rock and covered with a large stone; so that it was impossible for any cheat or imposture to be transacted with all those circumstances, since if it could be even supposed, that a person could live so many days in such a damp and airless cave, yet the linen sweathed on his face and body, and over such a gummy composition, must have smothered him in less than so many hours.

This was so plain and unquestionable, that neither any *Jews* there present, nor even any of the sanhedrin, pretended to deny or doubt of the fact, but rather condemned him upon the notoriety of it, and as tending to give rise to a new sect, which would endanger their church and state. Of the same nature afterwards was the apostle's cure of an old cripple; which, though the whole sanhedrin owned and acknowledged to be a miracle (36), yet they endeavoured, by the like unjustifiable means, to suppress, and upon the same account.

† *Vid. sup. Vol. III. p. 360, & seq.* (36) *Vid. Acts iv. 14, & seq. Conf. cum cap. iii. 4, & seq.*



year, it pleased God to give him the spirit of prophecy, to utter this great and comfortable truth, and thereby further manifest the accomplishment of the divine oracles, concerning the Messiah's dying for the sins of the world. His advice was readily embraced, and after they had once resolved on his death, they were easily determined to cut off *Lazarus* also, the sight of whom daily increased the number of believers.

BUT *Jesus*, who knew his own appointed time, as well as the result of their last consultation, withdrew himself into a small city, called *Ephraim*, in the neighbourhood of the wood or wilderness of that name<sup>u</sup>, and there continued with his disciples till the approaching feast of the passover. He left the place six days before that feast to go to *Jerusalem*, and took *Bethany* in his way, where *Lazarus* and his sisters entertained him and his disciples at a sumptuous supper; it being a sabbath night, at which times they kept a more plenteous table. Whilst they were eating, *Mary*, to shew her extreme regard to their guest, came and anointed his feet with a precious ointment of spikenard, whose fragrantcy filled the whole house. Whilst the disciples were wondering at her profuseness, *Judas*, whom we observed to have been their knavish treasurer, could not conceal his indignation at it, and asking, why the ointment was not rather sold and the money given to the poor? the rest of the twelve seemed also in some measure to join with him in it<sup>v</sup>, till *Jesus* had severely rebuked him, and excused her generous action, as an anticipation of his burial rite; adding moreover, that the memorial of it should be preserved to her honour, as far, and as long as, the preaching of his gospel should reach, or endure<sup>y</sup>.

ON the very next day (Z), *Jesus*, knowing his time to be just at hand, marched now boldly towards *Jerusalem*, whilst his disciples, to whom he had more than once or twice foretold all the circumstances of his future sufferings and death<sup>z</sup>, accompanied him with heavy and trembling hearts.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. 2 SAM. xviii. 6, & seq. <sup>v</sup> Conf. MATTH. xxvi. 8, MARK. xiv. 4. & John. xii. 4. <sup>y</sup> John ibid. 7. & seq. <sup>z</sup> Vid. MATTH. xx. 17, & seq. MARK x. 32, & seq. LUKE xviii. 31.

(Z) This happened in this year on the tenth day of the month *Nisan*, answering to the twenty ninth of our *March*, and was the day on which the passover lamb was taken up and presented at *Jerusalem* (37).

(37) Vid. *Usher. & Eclard. & sup. Vol. III. p. 170, & seq.*

As for the traytor *Judas*, he conceived such a grudge against him at the last night's action; that he resolved to betray him into the hands of his enemies upon the very first opportunity. When they were come to *Bethphage* upon mount *Olivet*, within a small mile of *Jerusalem*, *Jesus* directed two of his disciples to a place where two roads met, and bid them bring from thence a she ass, with a young colt by her, that had never been backed; and if the owners asked them any questions, they should only answer, that the Lord had occasion for them, and they would readily permit them to be brought to him. They brought the ass and colt accordingly, and having spread a garment upon the latter, set *Jesus* on it, and accompanied him to *Jerusalem*, in a kind of triumph, attended by great multitudes; some of whom going before, strewed the way with their garments and green boughs, crying out *Hozanna* (A); *blessed is the son of David, and blessed is the king of Israel, who cometh in the name of the Lord*. Thus was that famous prophecy of *Zechary* fulfilled; *Fear not, O daughter of Sion, behold thy king cometh to thee, just, humble, and meek, and riding on the sole of an ass*<sup>2</sup>. The multitudes still increasing as they went on, the *Pharisees*, which beheld the sight and heard those acclamations with no small indignation, drew nearer to him, and earnestly desired him that he would command at least his disciples, if not the whole croud, to be silent. But *Jesus* rather chose to silence their own envy, by assuring them, that if those should hold their peace, the very stones would cry out, and proclaim the divine author of so many glorious miracles. But he took a much more effectual method to suppress the pomp and noise of that mock triumph, as well as the *Hozannas* of the multitude, which, he but too well knew, would in a few days be changed into the blasphemous cry of, *Away with him, crucify him*. For as he drew nearer to *Jerusalem*, the sight of that rebellious and unhappy metropolis having revived in his mind the more dreadful prospect of that approaching ruin, which was now hastening on upon it, and which he himself had more than once

*Jesus*  
*weeps over*  
*Jerusalem.*

<sup>2</sup> Conf. ZECH. ix. 9. ISAIAH lxii, 1. MATH. xxi. 1. seq. MARK xi. 1, & seq. & alib.

(A) Or rather, according the *Hebrew*, *Hosbah na*, *Save, we pray*; so that this was a kind of prayer or blessing used by the *Jews*, and taken from the hundred and eighteenth psalm (38), and signified *Save, preserve, and prosper, Lord, this Son of David*.



foretold to his disciples (B), it was then a proper time to damp their untimely joys, by reminding them of it; and here

(B) Particularly in that full, elegant, and pathetic description he gave to them of it, when being near the same place, the twelve desired him to look back, and behold the beauty and magnificence of the temple; the strength and prodigious size of its stones, and the like (39); and where he foretold them, that before the present generation was dead and past, not only that stately and stupendous fabric, but the whole city, would be reduced into a heap of rubbish (40).

And on this occasion it was, that from the likeness of the destruction of the *Jewish* polity, and that of the world, or, (as other perhaps more rightly understand it) the final end of idolatry, irreligion, and every wicked work; ushering in the millennium, in which Christ and his doctrine shall be universally acknowledged and professed throughout the world, during a thousand years; from the near resemblance, I say, of those two dreadful catastrophes, of which the former seems to have been a lively type of the latter; whether as to its prognostics, such an universal degeneracy and apostacy, a general deception by false prophets, lying wonders, abominable wickedness, cruelty, oppression, wars, tumults on the earth, dreadful signs in the heavens, and the like; or, as to its dismal consequences, the horrid destruction of the *Jews* by war, pestilence, and famine, in the former, or of the sinful race of men in the latter, typified by that of *Gog* and *Magog*, and other figurative expressions preceding the millennium; Christ takes occasion to make such a natural, but almost unperceptible, transition, that the primitive christians could not easily distinguish them, but were led into a notion, that he spoke of one and the same catastrophe, which was consequently to happen before the extinction of the then living race.

For it was in this sense that they took the word *generation*, according to which it was also meant, and really fulfilled with respect to the *Jews*; but the word דור *dor*, was no less capable of a larger sense; the *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, &c. having none other or better to express a much longer series of time. Thus they indifferently speak of the generation of the antediluvians, of that under the judges, kings, priests &c. and we have elsewhere more than once observed that they divided the world into three epochas, or, in their style, into three generations, consisting each of two thousand years. The first before, the second under, the law, and the third under the messiah. It was therefore to the exit of this last, that the second part of his prophecy had an eye, when that thorough change was to be wrought in the world, elegantly expressed

(39) *Vid. Matth.* xxiv, 1, & seq.

(40) *Ibid. ver.* 34. in

here it was, that the dismal scene, having quite disarmed him of his anger and resentment, made him break out into the following compassionate expostulation, mixed with a flood of tears: *Oh that thou hadst but known, at least in these thy latter days, the things that would have conduced to thy peace! but now are they hidden from thee; and now the sad appointed time draws near, when the enemy shall surround thee with trenches, and inclose thee on every side, butcher thy children within thy bosom, and level thee with the ground, so that not a stone shall be left standing upon another, because thou wouldst not know the time of thy visitation* <sup>b</sup> (C). The people, however, more

<sup>b</sup> Conf. LUKE xix. 37, & seq. & JOHN xii. 12, & seq.

in the prophetic writings by a new heaven, and a new earth, a new *Jerusalem*, &c.

As long therefore as the mistake of the primitive christians in cutting that epocha so very short, had no other tendency than to make them more fervent, zealous, and heavenly-minded, more patient and heroic under sufferings and persecutions, and more fervent and diligent in preaching the gospel; the inspired writers might have thought it a sufficient warrant for their overlooking it. But St. *Peter*, among others, seems to have taken particular care to rectify it, and to obviate the objection which might be raised from their non-completion at the expected time, by reminding them that what they mistook for a delay, was not really such, since with God a thousand years were but as one day (41). A phrase well understood then by the *Jews*, to whom he wrote, and which alluded most probably to the notion of the six days of the creation, presignifying the six thousand years duration of the world, before the great and glorious change, which it was to receive at Christ's second coming.

(C) Those who maintain the doctrine of predestination, though even in the more moderate sense of it, called by them the *Sublapsarian system*, would do well to consider, what a horrid scene of mockery and injustice they make the son of God, and Redeemer of the world, to act here upon this melancholy occasion. For if the *Jews* blindness and infidelity, their persecuting and murdering of him, their obstinacy in rejecting him and his doctrine, and those dreadful punishments which were shortly to be the consequence of it, were not only absolutely unavoidable by them, but were owing to the want of that supernatural grace and power, which he only came to impart to some few elect, whilst he wholly excluded the rest of mankind from it; with what sincerity could he say to them, even with tears, *Oh that thou hadst known at least*, &c. or with what

(41) 2 *Peter* iii. 8. Conf. cum *Revel.* xx. 6.



more full of the present triumph, than mindful of his distant threatenings, went and entered the city with their usual acclamations, and drew such a vast concourse after them, to know who this prophet was for whom they made all this bustle, that the whole city was in an uproar; and well it might, when they heard them say, that it was *Jesus of Nazareth*, the promised Messiah, and remembered at the same time what a severe sentence the sandedrin had passed against not only him, but every one who should acknowledge him to be the Christ.

Monday  
before his  
passion.

*Jesus* repaired immediately to the temple, and, as he had formerly done, expelled all the mercantile brood from that sacred place, and convinced them of his authority in so doing, by working several cures there on the sick, lame, and blind, whilst the wondering multitude continued their loud acclamations of *Hosannah to the son of David*\*, to the great scandal of the *Pharisees*, who did all they could to silence them. But *Jesus*, who knew the main spring of all their pretended zeal, not only stopped their investives, by reminding them of that prophecy out of the psalmist; *Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise*; but exposed their malice and obstinacy by such strong arguments and pungent parables, that they would doubtless have laid hold on him, had not the sight of so great a multitude overawed them<sup>d</sup>. There were at this time a number of *Greeks* (D), who were come to the

\* Conf. Pf. viii. 2, & MATTH. xxi 15.  
24. ad fin.

<sup>d</sup> MATTH. ibid.

justice cry out against them, *Oh Jerusalem, that murderest the prophets, &c. how often would I have gathered thee and thy children, with the same care and tenderness that a hen doth her chickens! and ye would not, therefore, &c.* (42); but there is something so monstrously shocking and impious both in that supposition, and in the doctrine from which it flows of course, that we may justly wonder, that neither this, nor all the learned treatises which have been written against it (43), have hitherto been able to explode it; but as the argument belongs no further to our province, than as we are bound to vindicate the divine justice and mercy displayed in the gospel, we shall gladly dismiss it.

(D) These were properly neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, but what the former called *proselytes of the gate*, of whom we have spoken more fully in a former volume †.

(42) *Matth. xxiii. 34. & seq.* (43) *Vid int al. Le Clerc, Poling, Whitby.* † See Vol. III. p. 293.

feast, and expressed a desire to see him. *Jesus* readily caused them to be called in; and to take off the scandal of the cross, by which he was going to procure the salvation of both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he entertained them with a discourse on his sufferings, and closed it with assuring his audience, that those only, who, after his example, were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of heaven, would be intitled to it. Reflecting next on the glory which God would receive from his death, he broke out into this ejaculation, *Father, glorify thy name*; and was answered by a voice from heaven, *I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again*. This was probably meant of the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost, and that conversion of the *Gentile* world, which was shortly to follow his death; but the people, not rightly attending to it, mistook the voice, some for that of an angel speaking to him, some for what they called the *bath-col* (E), and others for a clap

(E) This word which literally signifies *the daughter voice*, or *daughter of the voice*, is what the *Jews* have substituted to the gift of prophecy, after this last had been extinct in *Zechary* and *Malachi*, the last of the prophets. For though they allow, that several eminent men among them have been since endowed with it, such as we have seen some of the *Essenians*; yet they looked upon them in an inferior view to the former, who received theirs by immediate inspiration, whilst these had it chiefly by the help of the *bath-col*.

They are, however, divided in their notions concerning this last, having no other guide to go by than their pretended tradition, which they make no difficulty to understand, every one in his own way, and as it best serves their turn. Whilst therefore some pretended, that it was a plain, loud, and articulate voice, such as was heard by young *Samuel* (44); others looked upon it as a kind of soft whisper, and others again as a kind of internal voice speaking to the heart of the person.

Whether there is any foundation for the two former, is hard to affirm upon so tottering a testimony as that of the rabbies, who all own to have lived long after they had in some measure ceased to be common. Of this nature was that which is affirmed to have been heard to pronounce rabbi *Akiba*, happy in the next world, after he had been sent out of this by order of the emperor *Hadrian*; and another, which declared two famous doctors, *Hillel* and *Samuel*, to be worthy to receive the Holy Ghost; and some others (45), which if really heard, might be yet owing to some juggle of those who were concerned in it. As for the last, or inward one, though it

(44) 1 Sam. iii. 4, & seq. (45) Vid. de his Basnag. hist. de Juifs, tom. 3. ch. 5. sect. 8, & seq.



clap of thunder; till he assured them, that it was a real voice sent from heaven, not for his but their sakes; and to warn them to make a right use of that light, or irrefragable evidence, which he had afforded them, lest they should bring upon themselves a judicial blindness. For, added he, when I am once lifted up, alluding to his death upon the cross, I shall draw all men unto me<sup>e</sup>, intimating thereby doubtless, that his laying down his life in confirmation of his doctrine, joined

<sup>e</sup> JOHN. xii. 20. & seq.

were hard to disprove good men having such secret motions or impulses, yet they may be of too uncertain a nature to be always depended upon.

But if we examine the practice of the compilers of the talmud, or even of those that lived before them, we shall find them consulting this *bath-col* in a much different way, and not unlike that of the Romans in their *sortes Virgilianæ*, and other heathenish superstitious methods; of which the two or three following, taken out of the talmud (46), will be a sufficient proof. “ *Rabbi Jochanan* and “ *Rabbi Simeon*, desirous of seeing the face of *Rabbi Samuel*, a prince among the *Babylonish* doctors, said, Let us follow the directions of the *bath-col*. As they were passing by a school in their travel thither, they heard one of the boys reading these words out of the book of *Samuel*; *And Samuel died*; from which they inferred, that the person they were in search after was dead, and so it actually proved.”

Two other doctors going to see a friend of theirs, and hearing a woman speak the words, *The lamp is going out*, and her next neighbour answer, *May the lamp of Israel never go out*, took this also for a warning from the *bath-col* (47). But the most surprising was, that of one *rabbi Asher*, who had been guilty of so many notorious crimes, that upon his being led through thirteen different synagogues, in each of which they examined the verse which the readers were then upon, they were every one found to be reading a grievous sentence against him, such as in one, the words, *There is no peace to the wicked*; in another, those of the psalmist, *Unto the wicked God says, What hast thou to do to preach my laws?* &c. and so of the rest (48),

The whimsical way likewise of prying into futurity by the casual opening of a book, was not confined to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, but was even practised by the christians in the times of ignorance and superstition, of which the reader may see some instances in dean *Prideaux* in the place last-quoted out of his connection.

(46) *Traſtat. Shabbath. fol. 8. col. 3. Vid Prid. connect. ſub an. c. 29.* (47) *Otho, hiſt doct. Miſhn. ap. Baſnag. ubi ſupra, ſect. 9.* (48) *Vid. Hotting. excerpt. gemar. & Baſnag. ubi ſupra.*

to all the other evidences, that had preceded and were to follow it, and to the excellency of his precepts and rewards, would be sufficient to draw all sincere and well-disposed persons to his gospel and religion.

THIS heavenly discourse made a deep impression on many of his audience, and amongst them upon some of their chief rulers, who yet did not dare own themselves his converts, for fear of being thrust out of the synagogue. When the evening came, *Jesus*, to avoid the croud, withdrew himself and his disciples for that night to *Bethany*; and on the next morning they returned to *Jerusalem*. In his way he observed a fig-tree afar off, full of leaves indeed; but upon his approaching nearer it, as expecting to have found some fruit upon it, according to the season of the year (F), and finding himself

(F) It is strange, that all versions, except the antient *Saxon* one, have made *St. Mark* there say, that the time of the figs was not yet come, when the very time of the year, the warmth of the climate there, as well as the tenor of the story, the design and justice of the curse (for who can think the judge of all the earth could pronounce an unjust one?) all shew, that the time of the figs was come (49).

The design of this sentence on a fruitless tree, like that other, *Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground*, was, to shew the *Jews* what they must expect to be their lot, if, after having received so many incentives to repentance, especially of late from the preaching of the baptist, of *Christ's* apostles and his own, they continued still, like this fig-tree, barren and fruitless. This should therefore have made the interpreters see, that there was either some error crept into the text, or a manifest one in the version; and, upon due consideration, they would have found, that, without any violence to the former, the latter should have been rendered, *For where he was, the time of the figs was come, or it was the time of the figs there*.

This version will likewise justify the act, since it could be no injustice to the owner to rid his ground of a plant which sucked its nourishment from it, without making any return to him; and here we beg leave to observe, that except this withering of the fig-tree, and that of sending the swine into the lake, of which we have spoken in another note, all the other miracles were of the beneficent and merciful kind; so that to complain of two miracles of severe justice, if they were really such, against him, who, setting aside his absolute power, has given us so many thousands of goodness and mercy, argues a mind so extremely perverse and ungrateful, as ought to make them fear lest something worse should befall them.

(49) *Vid. Heins. in loc. Le Scene Essay, part 2. c. 6.*



Tuesday.

Confutes  
the Pha-  
risees,

disappointed, he cursed the tree, upon which it presently withered down to the very root. On the next morning; which was the *Tuesday*, *Peter* casting his eye upon it as they went to *Jerusalem*, could not forbear wondering at the suddenness of the change; upon which *Christ* took occasion to assure them, that if they had but a stedfast faith in God, they might work much greater wonders than this; which they did accordingly, when their faith was soon after miraculously strengthened by the supernatural effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them. Being arrived at the temple, the *Pharisees* began to ask him again for some surer tokens of his authority, than those miracles he wrought before them. *Jesus*, who knew that nothing could convince them, if these did not, appealed immediately to the testimony of the baptist, asking them at the same time, whether or no they acknowledged it from heaven? Here they found themselves sadly intangled; if they answered in the affirmative, they condemned themselves; and if negatively, they were in danger of being condemned by the audience; so that they were forced, after some deliberation, to have recourse to that pitiful shift of owning that they knew not whence it was, for which *Jesus* justly pronounced them unworthy of any further evidence from him<sup>f</sup>.

It was upon this occasion, that he tried to awaken them to a sense of their obstinacy and dangers, by several familiar but pungent parables, such as that of the unjust and murdering husbandmen; of the wedding supper; and of the ingratitude and inhumanity of those that were invited to it; and some others of the same nature. But these, though feelingly enough understood by that hypocritical tribe, wrought no other effect upon them, than to set them upon seeking for some more effectual means to cut him off; and since they found it dangerous, by reason of the admiring multitude, to make any attempt upon him, to expose him at least to the resentment of the civil power. It was with this view that they sent their disciples, with some of the *Herodians*, to intangle him with the grand question about the lawfulness of paying tribute to *Cæsar*, of which we took notice in the last section; and which being easily perceived, *Jesus* as easily defeated their malicious intent, by calling for a piece of *Cæsar's* coin, and exposing their hypocrisy, in making use of his money and protection, and yet refusing to pay tribute to him, as affirm-

<sup>f</sup> MATTH. xxi. 23, & seq. MARK xi. 27, & seq. LUKE xx. 1, & seq.

ing it inconsistent with their duty to God<sup>s</sup>. Next to these came the *Sadducees*, armed, as they thought, with such a puzzling question against the resurrection, as all his learning could not elude the force of. It was of a woman, who, having been married, according to the *Mosaic* law<sup>a</sup>, to seven brethren, had died at length, without having any children by any of them. They asked him therefore, if there was any resurrection, whose wife she must be, since they all had her to wife?

*Jesus* prefaced his answer to their stupid question with this excellent one; *Do ye not therefore err, because ye know not the scriptures nor the power of God?*<sup>i</sup> implying thereby that their denial of the resurrection proceeded from their either not acknowledging (G), or, if they did, from their not rightly considering

<sup>s</sup> MATTH. xxii. 15, & seq. LUKE & MARK. xxv. 5.

<sup>a</sup> DEUT.

<sup>i</sup> MARK xii. 24.

(G) We think the words, *not knowing*, might be more properly rendered, according to the *Hebrew* idiom in other parallel places, *not acknowledging the scriptures and the power of God*. Thus *St. Paul* is introduced, as not knowing the high priest (50), who presided at the judgment seat, before which he was brought to be tried; when it is plain every child could not but have known him, both by his garb and the place where he sat. Those who understand it, that the apostle, in the height of his resentment, had forgot, or did not consider, that he was the high-priest, make him say something unworthy of his great character and usual behaviour on such occasions; besides, that it puts some strain upon the plain meaning of the word *know*, which cannot be properly used to imply to *consider*, *call to mind*.

But the sense which with some critics we give here to that word, is both more agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, and to the known zeal of the apostle; and he may justly say, *I do not acknowledge him to be high-priest*; since we have seen throughout the two last sections, that that dignity was become so venerable, that the vilest wretches might obtain it, provided they proved but the highest bidders. All which was contrary to the *Jewish* law. In this sense then, the *Sadducean* error will be founded on their unbelief of, and not on their not understanding the scriptures, or the power of God; and, indeed, considering their denial of the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments of another life, they can scarcely be supposed to have believed either scriptures or the divine power.

(50) *Acts* xxiii. 5.

But



Silences  
the Saddu-  
cees.

His questi-  
on about  
the Christ.

considering the sense of the scriptures and the extent of the divine power. For, said he to them, the state of the blessed after the resurrection is not to be measured by the exigencies of this life. Here marriage is necessary to keep up the race of mankind; there they will, like the angels in heaven, be free from such carnal and superfluous appetites, where their life will be wholly spiritual. He concluded with proving the truth of the resurrection from those of the sacred books, which they professed to acknowledge; which not only put a final end to that dispute, but forced even an approbation from the contrary sect of the *Pharisees* <sup>k</sup>. He next received a singular applause from one of the scribes for his excellent answer concerning the grand and chief command in the law <sup>l</sup>; after which he ventured to propose a question to them concerning the Messiah, namely, Whose son they thought he was to be? To which they answered with one accord, the son of *David*; if so, said he to them, how came *David* to call him Lord by the Spirit, *Saying, the Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand?* How then think ye he could be at once his Lord and his son (H)? This last question quite nonplused his whole audience,

<sup>k</sup> MATTH. xxii. 23, & seq. Vid. & parallel.  
34, & seq.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. vers.

But if we take the word in the other sense, and admit, that their error proceeded from the want of a right and due understanding of both, and not through a questioning or disputing of either; yet as long as they took upon them to limit the sense of the one, and the extent of the other, by the shallow scan of their reason, they did but pretend to believe, or at best fancied they did so, though in fact they denied them. If we were to examine the source of that scepticism and infidelity which reigns now so much among us, and opposes all gospel truths with such seeming assurance, we should find it flowing from this *Sadducean* leaven, which is ever ready to limit the divine power and will, as soon as their reason cannot keep pace with it.

(H) It doth not indeed appear that they had any notion of his divine nature, and therefore might be easily puzzled to answer this question; though it seems from some expressions in the gospel, that they had had some higher idea of him, than that of his being the bare son of *David*, or deliverer of *Israel*. Thus *Nathanael*, being convinced of his being the Messiah, addresses him with these words: *Rabbi, thou art the son of God, thou art the king of Israel* (1). Thus *Peter*, and *Martha* also, to name no more, affirmed him to be the Christ the son of God, that was to come into the world (2).

(1) *John* i. 49. (2) *Ibid.* xi. 27. *Matth.* xvi. 16.

However

audience, infomuch, that they never ventured to put any more puzzling questions to him from that time <sup>m</sup>. It was probably on this night, that being retired with his small attendance to *Bethany*, he was there invited by *Simon*, surnamed *The Leper*, and where *Mary* came and anointed his head and feet with a fresh quantity of the same precious ointment, which she had lately bestowed on him on the like occasion (I); and gave a new subject of murmuring, not to *Judas* only, but to the rest of the twelve. *Jesus* excused her a second time as he had done before, and perhaps to the satisfaction of the rest; but *Judas*, who thought it an unreasonable profusion, resolved that night to go and betray him to the sanhedrin <sup>n</sup>.

IN the mean time, *Jesus* knowing his time to be just at hand, and recollecting how oft the twelve had quarrelled among themselves about precedency, and perhaps they had started the same dispute on this very night <sup>o</sup>; to give therefore an effectual check to their unreasonable ambition, so contrary to the spirit of his gospel, and to leave them a lasting memorial of the contrary virtue, instead of rebuking them as he had done heretofore, he rose up from the table, and having

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. vers. 42, & seq. MARK xii. 34. LUKE, &c.    <sup>n</sup> MAT. xvi. 6, & seq. MARK xiv. LUKE, &c.    <sup>o</sup> Vid. LUKE xxii. 24.

However, the *Jews* have since found out a more effectual way of evading the force of this question, by affirming, that *David* did not there speak of the Messiah, it never being the custom any where for the ancestors to give any of their successors the pompous title of their lord; but the meaning of *David*, according to them is, the Lord (God) said unto my Lord Abraham, Sit thou on my right hand, &c. (3), for *Abraham* being superior to *David* in point of generation, might be properly called lord by him.

(I) The circumstances of these two actions are so alike in all parts, except the first being said to have happened at the house of *Lazarus*, and this last at that of *Simon*, the leper (so called, perhaps, because he had been lately cured of that distemper, either by *Jesus*, or by some other means) that it is not easy to know whether they were really two, or one and the same. We should be apter to suppose the last, were not the generality of commentators for the first. The house might belong to *Simon*, and go by his name, and *Lazarus* might be a tenant and the master of the feast, and so both evangelists be reconciled.

(3) Vid. Munst. vers. Hebr. Matth. not. ult. in cap. xxii.



*Washes his  
disciples  
feet.*

laid aside his upper garment, and girded himself with a napkin in the guise of a waiting servant, came with a basin of water, and began to wash their feet, and wipe them with the towel which girded him. *Peter*, however, was so offended at this condescension, that he could not at first be prevailed upon to suffer it; whereupon *Jesus* told him, that though he could not see the reason of it now, he should be made sensible of it in time. But *Peter*, still stiffly persisting in his refusal, was commanded immediately to submit, under the penalty of forfeiting all his right and title in him<sup>p</sup>; which terrible threatening frightened him at length into a ready compliance (K). After *Jesus* had gone round with his humble task, he took up his upper garment, and addressed himself to the twelve in words to this effect: Ye rightly call me Lord and master, for such I really am; if then you have seen me, for your example and encouragement, condescend so low as to wash your feet (which among the *Jews* was reckoned the lowest office<sup>q</sup> a man could do to another), know and remember, that those who pretend to be my disciples, must never think themselves above performing the lowest office of charity to one another. It is by such acts of mutual and sincere love, that men will know, and I acknowledge, you for mine. A new command I leave with you, that as I have loved you, and did not think my life too dear a price to save you, so ye also love one another, and stop at no difficulty or discouragement, where the good of your fellow creatures, especially fellow christians, calls for your charitable assistance. Upon these conditions I leave you my peace, such a peace as neither the world can bestow on you, nor any thing make you capable of

*Recommends  
charity to  
them.*

<sup>p</sup> JOHN xiii. 8.

<sup>q</sup> De hoc vid. 1. SAM. xxv. 41.

(K) If ever a non-compliance to a command was justifiable, or even, we had almost said, commendable, it was certainly on this occasion, where it apparently flowed from the deepest regard which that apostle had of his master, as well as from the humblest sense of his own unworthiness. Since therefore *Jesus* was so far from admitting it as an excuse, that, without giving him any further satisfaction, he bids him to obey under the most severe penalty; this whole circumstance seems to be transmitted to us as a warning, how we make our short-sighted reason the standard of our faith or obedience, in things plainly revealed or expressly commanded. Since God is not obliged to give us, nor we indeed capable of comprehending his all-wise ends and purposes, whose ways and reasons must be allowed to be infinitely above our comprehensions.

tasting

tasting the sweet influence of, but the divine virtue I am recommending to you <sup>r</sup>.

AFTER these and some other heavenly discourses, with which he chose to entertain them, during the short time he had to stay, that they might make the stronger impression on them, he concluded the whole with an elegant and pathetic description of the last day, when every man should receive the rewards of his deeds done in this life, according as they were either good or evil. And because he knew how apt men were to be more apprehensive of the divine anger for the commission of wilful crimes, than for the omission of such necessary duties, as he had been enforcing, and to find out a salvo to excuse their neglect of them; he chose to awaken them from that fatal mistake, by describing the general enquiry of that solemn day, as running chiefly on these last; that is, whether they had, or had not, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited the sick, and the like; and the retribution of his rewards or punishments, as chiefly dispensed according to their performance or neglect of those essential duties <sup>r</sup>.

*Describes  
the day of  
Judgment.*

WHILST he was instructing his disciples in these and many other excellent truths <sup>r</sup>, the sanhedrin were holding their consultations how to lay hands upon him, at some proper season, when the multitude were out of the way. As they therefore feared doing it during the approaching festival, lest they should cause some insurrection among the people, Judas came to their relief, and offered to betray him unto them for a certain reward, which they gladly agreed to, and paid him out of hand. The sum covenanted had been long ago foretold by one of the prophets, and we shall have occasion to speak more of it in the sequel. The feast of unleavened bread or passover being then just at hand, the Jews set about removing all the leaven from their houses, according to the *Mosaic* law, and preparing themselves for the celebration of that grand festival.

*Judas be-  
trays him.*

Thursday being come, in which Jesus was to celebrate his last, and most solemn, passover, he directed two of his disciples by a special token to a house in Jerusalem, where they should prepare all things for it; and he followed them thither with the rest of the twelve towards the evening. When they were set down on their couches, according to the custom of those countries, he drank a glass of wine, with which the master of the family always began the solemnity of the paschal lamb;

*Thursday.*

<sup>r</sup> JOHN. *ibid*, & seq. <sup>r</sup> MATTH. xxvi. 31. ad fin. <sup>r</sup> JOHN

xiv, xv, xvi, xvii. *pass*.

VOL. X.

A a a

after



Christ's  
last supper.

after which, whilst they were eating, he told them with some concern, that one of them should betray him, pointing to Judas; that Peter, who had always appeared the most zealous, should thrice deny him; and that the rest should all forsake him on that very night, and reminded them of some prophecies, in which these things were written concerning him. At the conclusion of the supper, Jesus took the bread, and, having broke and blessed it, distributed it among them, saying, *Take eat, this is my body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.* Then taking and blessing the cup of wine also, he said, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sin* (L). He ended this solemn rite, with assuring them, that this was the last wine he should drink; for the traitor's hand, which was shortly to betray him, was just ready to deliver him up to death; when all

(L) We have contented ourselves with repeating the bare words of this divine institution, without venturing to give them any gloss that should seem to lean towards any of those various systems, which every church and sect has severally formed from them; and which, being not only endless, but out of our province, we gladly forbear entering further into, to avoid giving any offence.

The opposition which a considerable writer has of late met with from several quarters, upon his venturing to give the world his own particular one on that sacred subject, shews, how dangerous it is to revive a controversy of this high nature; in which every side is so jealous of any word that glances even the least contradiction to their received doctrine.

And yet we cannot but own, that too tenacious a zeal seems in this last instance to have carried his opponents censures farther than is, perhaps, consistent with christian candor and charity. The small regard that is paid to that sacred institute by very great numbers, on the one hand, and the visible neglect of it in others, from some mistaken dreadful apprehensions about it, might incline that writer to think his book and system excellently well calculated to obviate those two grand obstacles to a more frequent use of it.

As for those men, who from a firm and sincere persuasion, that God displays some further miracles of grace and mercy in that sacrament, find themselves inspired with greater love to God, and charity to men; with a great propensity to virtue, and abhorrence to vice; and, in a word, feel their minds and hearts more effectually attracted from earth to heaven; that author must be supposed too sagacious to have wrote his book for such men, since they could not come down to his notions of it, without being considerable losers by the change.

things

things, that were written of his being numbered with the transgressors, would have their full accomplishment<sup>u</sup>. The whole ceremony was closed as usual with a proper hymn (M); after which, *Jesus* having again exhorted his disciples to continue stedfast in their faith and reliance on him, and recommended them to the protection and care of his heavenly Father, by a most fervent and pathetic prayer, he ordered them to follow him over the brook *Kedron* w.

WHILST they were going to the mount of olives, to a place called *Gethsemane* (N), *Judas* slipped from them, and went to the high-priest's palace to get a sufficient number of hands to come and surprize *Jesus* in his retirement. *Jesus*, on the other hand, being entered into the garden, where he usually resorted, bid some of his disciples to stay and watch near the entrance of it, whilst he took *Peter*, *James* and *John* further into the garden; that as they had been the witnesses of his glorious transfiguration, they might now be so of his present sorrows and dreadful agonies. Having therefore earnestly enjoined them to be watchful, he parted from them about a stone's cast; where his human nature feeling the most violent struggles between flesh and spirit, at the apprehension of his future sufferings, he threw himself prostrate on his face, and with utmost fervency, mixed with the most submissive resignation to the heavenly will, he prayed, that, if it were possible, the dreadful cup might pass from him. He repeated the same prayer twice more, but with such fervency and resignation, that the vehemency of the struggle between those two passions, joined to the prospect of what

*Enters the  
doleful gar-  
den.*

<sup>u</sup> MATTH. xxvi. 20, & seq. MARK. xiv. 18, & seq. LUKE xxii. 1, & seq. &c.      w JOHN xvi, & xvii. pass.

(M) Or rather what the *Jews* call the *Hallal*, consisting of six eucharistical psalms, beginning at the hundred and thirteenth, and ending with the hundred and eighteenth, and with which they used to close all those solemnities (4).

(N) So called probably from the Hebrew גת השמן, *gath basb-emen*, the oyl press. For as the mount had its name from the quantity of olive trees that grew upon it, it is probable, that this garden, which was at the foot of it, had a press in it; and this reconciles the evangelists, two of whom mention only the mount (5), another the garden (6), and the fourth the *gethsemane* or oyl-press (7),

(4) Vid. הגדה של פסח *al ritual. Jud.*  
xxvi. 30. Luke xxii. 39.  
xiv. 32.

(6) John xviii. 1,

(5) Matth.  
(7) Mark



*His agony  
and prayer.*

*Is betray-  
ed and ap-  
prehended.*

he was to undergo from the malice of men and devils, threw him into an agony and bloody sweat, insomuch, that there was an angel sent on purpose to comfort and strengthen him under it \* (O). By this time the traytor *Judas*, at the head of his armed gang, was far advanced into the garden, whilst the disciples were fallen into a sound sleep. *Jesus* therefore, having awakened them with the news of his enemies being at hand, went forward to meet them, whilst *Judas*, who led the van, came to offer him the treacherous kiss, which was to be the signal to the rest; who thereupon surrounded and made sure of him. In the interim, *Peter* drew his sword, and struck off the ear of one of the high-priest's servants, but was severely rebuked for it by his master, who, by a miraculous touch, healed the wounded person, and then suffered himself to be bound and led away as a malefactor, without any other mark of resentment, than his observing to them, that it was now their hour, in which the power of darkness was let loose against him. When the eleven heard this saying, they immediately forsook him and fled, according to his prediction (P), and the soldiers conveyed their prisoner first to

\* LUKE xxii. 40, & seq.

(O) This dreadful scene must be confessed to contain some mysteries far enough above our utmost capacities; but which, we think, may be much more reasonably and safely believed on the authority of the sacred writers, than the latter disputed on the account of the former. The whole œconomy of man's redemption is every-where represented to us as an unsearchable mystery of divine wisdom and goodness, and as the object of our belief, and not of our comprehension.

For this reason therefore it is, that God has taken such care to confirm it to us by the most irrefragable evidence, by types and prophecies from the beginning, and by innumerable miracles and supernatural gifts accompanying the preaching of these saving truths. It was on that divine authority, that the primitive christians received them, and sealed their faith in them with their lives; and it is on the same grounds, that they have been conveyed to us through a succession of near seventeen centuries; and it will be time enough for us to give up the one, when infidelity has overthrown the other. Till when the imperfect notion we have of the mutual action of our souls and bodies will be an effectual check, how we presume to call in question, or to reconcile, those opposite passions in the human to the divine nature of Christ.

(P) Which he quoted to them out of the prophet (8); *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.* In the like man-

(8) Zechariah xiii. 7.

ner

to *Annas*, the late high-priest and father-in-law to *Caiaphas*, who was now in possession of that dignity, as we hinted a little higher out of the *Jewish* historian<sup>†</sup>.

HERE they found the sanhedrin sitting, though at that late time of night, and waiting for *Jesus* to be brought before them, as he was accordingly; upon which the high-priest began to ask him several questions concerning his doctrine and disciples, in hopes to find either some heresy in the one, or rebellion in the other. *Jesus* contented himself with referring him to these last, whom he told them he had always taught in the most public manner, and who were therefore fittest to bear witness against him, if he had taught them any thing amiss. For this answer, just and modest as it was, an officer struck him a violent blow on the face; and *Jesus*, having given him a gentle reproof for his rashness, stood before them, with astonishing patience and humble silence, whilst the instruments of the sanhedrin were busy in seeking out fresh evidence to put him to death. After much ado, they brought a couple of fellows, who deposed, that they had heard him brag, that he would destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days; but even their evidence jarring in some particulars, as the expression of *Jesus* was figurative, they dared not condemn him upon it; but were forced to have recourse to another expedient, which was to make him turn his own accuser. *Caiaphas* therefore rising up, adjured him by the living God, to answer directly to the supreme court, whether he was the Christ the son of God or not (Q); and, upon his readily answering in the affirmative, and adding, that they should hereafter be convinced of it, when they beheld him sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven; fell a rending his cloaths, which was not law-

*Tried before the sanhedrin*

<sup>†</sup> Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. Vid. & LUKE ubi supra, v. 54. MATTH. xxvi. 57 JOHN xviii. 12, & seq.

ner the whole scene of his sufferings is most lively described by another prophet (9), who is therefore called evangelical, because his prophecy seems rather a rehearsal of things past, than a prophecy of what was to happen so many centuries off; as the sequel will presently shew.

(Q) Nothing could be more cunningly excogitated than this question; to which if he answered in the affirmative, they were ready to condemn him as a blasphemer, and if in the negative, as an impostor and deceiver of the people.

(9) *Isai. liii. pass. & alib.*

ful



Condemn-  
ed

ful for an high-priest to do <sup>a</sup>, and pronounced him guilty of blasphemy. The rest of the court did readily join with him, and having pronounced him guilty of death, and ordered him to be brought early on the next morning to receive his sentence, they left him to the mercy of the guard, who made it the cruel diversion of that night to use him with the vilest indignities and blasphemies <sup>a</sup>.

Denied by  
Peter.

WHILST this melancholy scene was acting *Peter* and *John*, the latter of whom was known to some of the family, having recovered themselves from their last fright, had got admittance into the hall, willing to know what was likely to be determined concerning their master. Their courage, however, was soon cooled again, when they saw what treatment he underwent from an enraged and insulting rabble; so that *Peter* being thrice challenged for one of his disciples, as often stiffly denied it, and, rather than not be believed, bound it the last time with an oath. The cock crowing now the third time, put him in mind of *Jesus's* prediction; but that which gave him a more lively sense of his cowardice and perfidy, was a pitying look which he received at that instant from that gracious and forgiving Saviour; upon which the tears gushing plentifully out of his eyes he was forced to leave the hall to go and hide his grief and shame <sup>b</sup>.

Friday.

EARLY on the next morning, the chief-priests and sanhedrin, being convened at their usual place, sent for *Jesus* to have him further examined, and to pronounce their final sentence upon him, in order to have it ratified by the *Roman* governor (R). In the mean time, *Judas*, being surprised at what had

<sup>a</sup> Vid. LEVIT. xxi. 10, & alib. <sup>a</sup> MATTH. xxvi. 57 ad fin. MARK xiv. 53 ad fin. LUKE & JOHN. Vid. & ISAI. l. 6. <sup>b</sup> JOHN xviii. 15. & seq. MATTH. LUKE &c.

(R Not, as some have imagined, because the *Romans* had some years ago deprived that court of the power of life and death; for we shall meet with several instances of the contrary in the sequel; in particular that of the protomartyr *Stephen*, who was regularly tried, condemned, and stoned, by their single authority (10), about a year after. But they seem to have had a double end in it; the one to throw the odium of his death, as much as possible, upon *Pilate* and the *Romans* as if he had condemned him for raising some rebellion against them; and the other, to make him undergo a more severe and ignominious punishment, and such a one as they could not inflict upon him by their own power, because it was not one

(10) Acts vi. 8. & seq. vii. per tot.

had passed within the sanhedrin, was stung with such lively Judas's remorse, that he came and threw the reward of his treachery down before them, owning himself the vilest of wretches, for having betrayed an innocent person to them; but they, regardless of his sorrow and despair, bid him look to it; upon which he went, and, as most versions render it, hanged himself (S). But those hypocritical judges were soon

~ \* MATTH. xxvii. 5.

of those that were prescribed by their law; concerning which the reader may, if pleases, turn to our third volume †. So that their pretence of its not being lawful for them to put any man to death was no farther true, than in cases where the crime was against the state; of which the governor was the proper judge. But as to blasphemy, or any other crime against the *Jewish* religion, the instance above related of St. Stephen plainly shews that they made no scruple to put the guilty person to death without the governors consent.

Yet nothing of this was done without the direction of providence, since crucifixion was the death which it had been foretold by David he should undergo (11), and which he himself had likewise often hinted, both to the apostles and to the rest of the *Jews* (12). Accordingly therefore, the accusation, which they intended against him before Pilate, was of a civil nature: We have found, said they, this turbulent fellow raising up seditions, and forbidding to pay tribute to *Cæsar* (13)

It is true, indeed, when they found that this accusation could not determine that governor, who saw through their malice and injustice, to condemn him; they tacked the other of blasphemy to it, and insisted, that their law made it capital; but this was only added to give more weight to their other accusation; upon which they wanted him to be condemned, as the sequel will shew.

However, it was necessary to observe these circumstances thus far here, against those, who, from the notion of the whole power of life and death being taken away before this time, have inferred, that the sceptre spoken of by Jacob (14) was also departed from Judah. The contrary of which will be seen in its due place.

(S) The difficulty which interpreters have found to reconcile what is said of his hanging himself here, with what St. Peter says in another place (15), *That he fell headlong, and burst asunder, and his bowels gushed out*, has made them fall into several conjectures, such as the breaking of the rope before he was quite dead, and his throwing himself down some precipice, which brought on the last

† Page 310, & seq. (11) *Psal.* xxii. 16. (12) *Vid.*  
*John* iii. 14. xii. 32, 33. (13) *Luke* xxiii. 2. (14) *Gen.*  
*xliii.* 10. *Vid.* & *Vol.* II. 441, (G). (15) *Acts* i 18.  
dismal



soon after taken with a quite different qualm of conscience, thinking it now unlawful to refund those thirty pieces of silver into the treasury, because it was the price of blood, tho' they had made no scruple to take them out of it, to purchase that very blood. After some deliberation therefore, they agreed to buy a potter's field with them, for a burying-place for strangers; and in so doing fulfilled an old prophecy, in which the number of pieces, the design for which they were given, the purchase made with them, and the potter to whose share they came at last, were expressly foretold <sup>d</sup>. The field was accordingly bought soon after the feast was over, and from thence was called in their tongue, *Haceldama*, or *the field of blood*<sup>e</sup>. It stood on the south side of mount Sion, within a stone-cast of the pool of *Siloam*.

<sup>d</sup> Conf. ZACHAR. xi. 12, 13.    <sup>e</sup> Vid. MATTH. ubi. supra. ver. 7, & seq. ACTS i. 19.

dismal circumstances of his death, and the like \* ; all which is said without foundation.

What the same apostle says a little lower, and which the versions have, as we observed in a former note, misrendered, *that he might go into his own place* (16), has led others to look upon his fall, bursting, &c. as a further judgment on that unhappy wretch (17), who did yet shew the most lively tokens of a sincere repentance, viz. the most public acknowledgment of his crime, restitution of the ill-gotten money, reparation to the best of his power to the injured person, and an open condemnation of their unjust proceedings against him. Now all these difficulties might be easily removed, if they had rendered the words of St. Matthew, according to *Le Scene*, *that he was suffocated*, namely with grief, shame, and remorse, or, which is the same thing, *died of a squinancy* occasioned by it (18).

*His falling on his face* which, as the same critic observes, is all that is implied by what we render, *he fell*, and others, *he thrust himself headlong, and burst asunder*, is, it seems, no more than what is common to people in that distemper; who fall down on their faces for want of breath, and commonly burst after it (19). This sense therefore will easily reconcile the two sacred historians, without either doing violence to the text, having recourse to improbable conjectures, or introducing the divine vengeance pursuing even his breathless carcase.

\* Vid. Theophylact. Maldonat et al in loc. (16) Acts Ibid. ver. 23. (17) Vid. int. al. Taylor's life of Christ, in loc. Echard eccles. hist. Tremell. Beza, et al. (18) Le Scene's Essay, part 2 c. 7. sect. 3. (19) Vid. eund. & aut. ab eo citat.

As

As soon as the sanhedrin had ended their process against Jesus, he was hurried before the *Roman* tribunal, and there brought before accused of perverting the people, raising seditions, setting up for a king, and forbidding tribute to be paid to *Cæsar*. They would not, however, venture into the prætorium, or judgment-hall, for fear of polluting themselves, and becoming unfit for the approaching solemnity; but desired the governor to come out to them, whilst they stood in the open place before his palace-gate. When *Pilate* heard the accusation, and found that it was cognizable by himself alone, he caused Jesus to be brought before his tribunal, where he asked him, whether he was really a king? Jesus readily answered him in the affirmative (T); but added at the same time, that his kingdom was not of this world; for if it had, his servants would have fought in his defence, and saved him from falling into the hands of his persecutors. This was enough to convince the governor of the injustice of his accusation, which he already knew was the effect of some private malice they had against him. However, that he might know something more concerning his imaginary kingdom, for such and no other he seems to have supposed it, he asked him again, Art thou really a king? To which he replied, I am indeed. For this cause was I born, that I might bear witness to the truth; and none are my subjects, but such as obey the voice of truth. *Pilate*, being still more out of conceit with this new kind of kingdom, contented himself with asking what he meant by truth? and, without staying for an answer, went out to the people, and told them, that he could find no fault in their pretended criminal. When the *Jewish* rulers heard this, they were still more vehement in their accusations. *Pilate* therefore urged him to give some kind of answer to them; but he, who knew how vain it was to attempt it, made then no other defence, than that of a surprizing and invincible silence.

THE *Jews* took this opportunity to be more vehement in their invectives, in order to exasperate the fluctuating governor against him, by assuring him, that he had filled not only *Jerusalem* and all *Judæa*, but even all his own country of *Galilee*, with his seditious doctrine. As soon therefore as *Pilate* heard that he was of that country, and belonged to

(T) Ours and some versions make his answer somewhat ambiguous, as if he dared not to speak out, *Thou sayest it*, or, *thou sayest that I am a king*; whereas, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, it should properly be rendered, *It is as thou sayest, I am indeed a king.*



Sent to  
Herod.

*Herod's* jurisdiction, he ordered him to be immediately sent to him, in hopes at once to lay an obligation on that tetrarch, with whom he had been at some variance, and to throw the whole burden of this intricate and dangerous trial upon him ; he being then come to *Jerusalem* to the feast. *Herod* was no less glad to see a person, of whom he had heard such wonders, and from whom he expected to have seen some signal miracles ; but *Jesus*, ready and liberal as he was of them to the poor and afflicted, disdained to work them, either to gratify the curiosity of such a tyrant, or to silence the malice of his enemies ; so that, in spite of all their vehement accusations and of *Herod's* scornful treatment of him, he would not so much as vouchsafe him an answer to any of his questions. *Herod*, affronted at his obstinate silence and his own disappointment, began to treat him as a despicable person, and turned him over to his guards, with orders to send him back to *Pilate* ; and these, after several rude indignities, arrayed him in a gorgeous robe of mockery, and brought him back to the hall of judgment. From this time, however, *Pilate* and *Herod* laid aside all their resentment, and were perfectly reconciled to each other.

Brought  
back to  
*Pilate*.

*Barabbas*  
preferred  
to him.

WHILST this was doing, *Pilate's* wife had sent to warn him against having any hand in condemning that just person, on whose account she had been terrified with some dreadful dreams that night. The *Romans* were very observing of these kinds of superstitions ; so that this message made him still more afraid to yield to the pressing instances of the tumultuous *Jews*. As soon therefore as *Jesus* was brought back to him, he came out to them, and plainly told them, that he could not condemn a person, in whom, after the strictest examination, he had not been able to find the least capital crime ; nor even *Herod* himself, who, tho' much better acquainted with their laws, had sent him back to him absolved. I will therefore, added he, inflict some lighter punishment on him, and let him go. This proposal, instead of mollifying them, made them more instant to have him crucified. He bethought himself at length of another expedient, which he expected would have both saved him, and assuaged their fury. You know, said he to them, that it is a custom for your governors to release to you some one criminal on these festivals, whom you shall name. Tell me therefore, shall I deliver you this man, or *Barabbas*, who lies in prison for an insurrection and murder ? He judged indeed, and reasonably too, that they would not carry their resentment or boldness so far, as to prefer a rebel and a murderer before an innocent person ; and therefore it was, that he gave them only the choice of these two.

two. But, to his great surprize, the people, instigated by the priests and rulers, demanded *Barabbas* to be released, and *Jesus* to be crucified, in spite of all he could say in his behalf.

SINCE therefore he could not work on their reason and conscience, he resolved to try what he could do on their pity, and ordered *Jesus* to be sent to the pillar, and to be severely scourged (U); which was accordingly done, and (as we may suppose, from the natural barbarity of the *Roman* soldiers, as well as from the additional indignities which they offered to him presently after) was executed with utmost severity. After they had untied him, the whole cohort gathered about him, threw a ragged purple robe about his mangled body, set a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand; and whilst some bowed the knee to him in mockery, and saluted him king of the *Jews*, others did buffet him, spit upon him, and use him with utmost insolence and inhumanity. *Pilate* thought this a proper time to bring him forth to them in this sad and deplorable guise, not doubting, but the sight of so dismal an object would have melted them into pity and remorse. But he little knew the temper of the *Jews*, and that the more abject and miserable the person appeared, on whom they had fixed such great hopes and expectation, the more they would detest and abhor him. And so he found it happened on this occasion, tho' to his greatest surprize; and the

*Jesus  
scourged  
and mocked*

(U) This punishment was not like that used among the *Jews*, of which we have given an account in a former volume †, and did neither exceed forty stripes, nor was reckoned dishonourable, since even their monarchs were subjected to it. But among the *Romans*, it was very severe and shameful. The person being stripped naked, at least down to the girdle, had his hands tied to a ring fastened to a stone pillar, not above a foot and half high, if so much, so that his body was bent forward almost double, which gave such an advantage to the executioners, that the blows came down, as it were, with double force.

This particular part of our Saviour's suffering is rightly supposed to be foretold by the psalmist (20), in these words; *The plowers plowed upon my back, and made long furrows.* As likewise that of his being buffeted, and scornfully spit upon in the halls of the high-priest, and of the governor, by the prophet *Isaiah* (21) in these terms; *I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; neither did I hide, or defend, my face from being shamefully spit upon.*

† Vol. III. p. 310, § (A).  
l. 6, § seq.

(20) Ps. cxxix. 3.

(21) Ch.



very people, who, but six days before, followed him with their loud *Hosannas*, could not now behold him in that abject state, without crying out with greater vehemence, *Away with him, crucify him.* *Pilate*, surprized at this horrid cruelty, refused again to comply, alledging, that he found no fault in him; upon which the priests and elders, finding it impossible to get him condemned for sedition, began to accuse him of blasphemy: We have a law, said they to him, which condemns him to death for calling himself the Son of God. At these last words, *Pilate*, still more terrified, took him again to his tribunal, and asked him several questions, to which *Jesus* disdainingly to answer, he tried again to provoke him to it, by reminding him, that it was in his power to condemn or release him. *Jesus* gave no other answer to it, than by reminding him in his turn, that all his boasted power came to him from above, and that he should therefore be accountable for his abuse of it, though the greater guilt did fall on those who had delivered him up unto him. These last words made such an impression on the governor, that he went out to the people, fully determined, as he thought, at any rate to release him. But during this interval the priests and rulers, who knew but too well the temper of the *Roman* prætor, bethought themselves of an expedient which would quickly bring him into a compliance; so that, before he could well discover his resolution to them, they began to cry out, with one accord and in a threatening tone, Thou art not *Cæsar's* friend, if thou lettest a man go, who, by assuming the royal title and forbidding to pay the usual tribute, has declared himself his open enemy. This argument proved more powerful than all the rest, and *Pilate* now no longer daring to refuse their unjust demands, for fear of bringing his loyalty to *Cæsar* into question, having first washed his hands (W) before them all, and declared himself innocent of the blood of that innocent person, delivered him up to be crucified, and released the seditious murderer, according to their desire f.

Accused of  
blasphemy.

Condemned  
to the cross

f Vid. *Matth.* xxvii. per tot. *Mark* xv. pass. *Luke* xxiii. per tot. *John* xviii. & xix. pass

(W) This mock ceremony seems to have been a kind of form used by judges in cases of this unjustifiable nature. Else *Pilate* could not but be conscious, that all the water of the sea could not wash away the guilt of his unrighteous sentence; no! not, though the impious *Jews* did then pray that the sin and punishment of it might fall on them and their unhappy posterity (22).

(22) *Matth.* xxviii. 25.

As

As soon as *Pilate* had pronounced that most unjust sentence against the most innocent of men, the *Roman* soldiers led him back to the hall, where they stripped him of his mock royalty, and put on him his own garments; and having laid his cross on him, they led him with two other criminals out of the city (X), to a place called in *Hebrew*, *Golgotha*, and in *Latin*, *Calvary*, to be crucified. His tender body, quite spent with watching and sufferings, beginning to sink under its weight, they compelled a *Cyrenean Jew* †, named *Simon*, to help to bear his cross after him. In this doleful march he beheld some women melting into tears at the sight of his deplorable condition; but it seems, as if the more dreadful fate, which waited the unhappy *Jews*, had made him quite insensible of his own misery; for turning to them with usual compassion, he bid them rather weep at the more dismal prospect of their future ruin, when their calamities would make them wish their wombs had been barren, and their breasts incapable of yielding any nourishment to a generation, whose infidelity would shortly render them the sad objects of the divine vengeance, and the scorn and hatred of the world<sup>§</sup>.

† De his vid. Vol. IX. pag. 561, & (D).  
27, & seq.

§ Luke xxiii.

(X) The *Jews* suffered no criminals to be put to death in any of their cities, much less in the metropolis; and this was done in imitation of what had been practised in their camps in the wilderness (23), and was typified by the red heifer and scape-goat, of which we have spoken in a former volume \*; so that Christ the grand propitiatory victim, was led, laden with the sins of mankind †, to be offered up without the gates of *Jerusalem*.

*Golgotha* or *Calvary* was a rocky hill on the west side of the city (24), and was a kind of charnel store house from which it had those names, which signify *the place of a skull*, probably from its resemblance to it; and was also made use of for a place of execution.

It is supposed by the antient fathers to have been the mountain where *Abraham* went to sacrifice his son. Some of them add, on the authority of a *Jewish* tradition, that the skull of *Adam* had been there buried by *Shem*, to whom his father gave it in charge after the flood, as it was he who was to people the holy land (25).

(23) De hoc vid. int. al Vol. III. p. 11. & 71, & note. \* Ibid. 205, (V). 210, & (Z). † Ibid. in fin. note (Z). (24) See the map of the city. (25) Hieron. Euseb. Tertul. Orig. & al. mult.



IT was now about the sixth hour of the day, answering to our mid-day (Y), when they came to the place, where they offered him some wine mixed with myrrh (Z), which, when he

(Y) The difference between St. Mark, who calls it *the third hour* (26), and the other two evangelists, who call it *the sixth* (27), is easily reconciled by their different ways of dividing the day, namely, either into twelve hours, beginning at the sun-rise (28), which the two last follow, and into four parts, called also hours; but which they distinguished only by three, six, nine, and twelve; and these were the usual hours to repair to the temple or synagogues, &c. to pray (29); and to this last way of reckoning the former seems to allude, calling it the third hour, probably because the sixth was not quite begun. Perhaps also is he there speaking, not of his real crucifixion, but of the Jews obtaining Pilate's sentence of it against him, which was certainly near the third hour, or our nine of the clock in the morning.

(Z) This mixture was probably given to intoxicate the sufferers, that they might be less sensible of their torment; and Jesus might refuse it upon that very account, because it became him, who was then going to offer himself a free and voluntary sacrifice to God for the sins of men, and was to shew them a pattern how to bear afflictions with due resignation to the divine will; to avoid a thing which might too far discompose his thoughts, and shew too ill a precedent to his followers.

One of the evangelists makes this mixture to consist of myrrh and wine (30), and another of vinegar and gall (31). Hence some suppose, that though the former was usually given on such occasions, yet the soldiers, out of spight and contempt, gave him the latter, which would have a contrary effect. But we much doubt, whether the Romans, naturally delighting in being cruel to persons in misery, could be capable of so much compassion towards criminals. Their barbarous sports and spectacles argue rather the reverse. Besides, the *vinum myrrhatum*, we are told (32), was highly esteemed by them, insomuch that one of the laws of the twelve tables forbade their dead to be washed or sprinkled with it. And who can imagine, that they would bestow it on such criminals as they condemned to this kind of death, which was held in the greatest ignominy and reproach among them?

It is more likely, that the evangelist, who wrote in the Hebrew, or Syriac, made use of the word מר, *mar*, which signifies *bitterness*, or any bitter ingredient, and that his translator mistook it for מור,

(26) *Cb. xv. 25.* (27) *Luke xxiii. 44. John xix. 14.*

(28) *Vid. Matth. xx. 3, & seq. John xi. 9.* (29) *Ut*

*Act. iii. 1. x. 9. De his vid. & Drus. in loc. Goodwin. Moses &*

*Aar. l. iii. c. 1. seq. 6, 7, & seq.* (30) *Mark xv. 23.* (31)

*Matth. xxvii. 34.* (32) *Vid. Plin. l. xiv. c. 13.*

*mor,*

he had tasted, he refused to drink. They then stripped him Jesus crucified between two thieves. of his cloaths, and, extending his body on the cross, fastened him to it, with nails driven through his hands and feet, whilst he was earnestly praying to his Father, to forgive them a deed, which they committed through ignorance. After which they reared up the cross, and fixed it on the ground, so that his body hanged on four wounds, made on the most tender and sensible parts of the body. With him they crucified two malefactors (A), one on each side, according to that oracle, which foretold his being numbered with transgressors <sup>h</sup>. Pilate had likewise ordered the title of his accusation to be fixed to the cross; it was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the three most known tongues at that time, and in these words; *Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews*. The chiefs were therefore highly affronted at it, and came to beg of Pilate to have it altered, and, instead of calling him king of the Jews, to have it inserted that he assumed that title to him. But he as stiffly refused it, and sent them away with this haughty answer, *What I have written, I have written*. Here, whilst the soldiers, who were set to watch him, fulfilled another prophecy of him, in the division they made of his garments, and casting lots on his robe, because it was without seam, and woven from top throughout <sup>i</sup>; the priests and elders were verifying another, in the scornful taunts and injurious reflections they cast upon him, *Reviled by the priests, in the height of his anguish and dying pangs. He saved others, &c. but cannot save himself: he pretended to trust in God, let him now deliver him, if he had such delight in him* <sup>k</sup>. Their example was followed by

<sup>h</sup> Conf. Isai. liii. ult. & Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37. xxiii. 33.

<sup>i</sup> Conf. Ps. xxii. 18. & Luke xxiii. 34. <sup>k</sup> Conf. Ps. xxii. 7, 8, & Matth. xxvii. 41, & seq.

*mor, myrrh*; and thus the two evangelists will be reconciled, and the prophecy fulfilled, *They gave me gall to eat, and, in my thirst, vinegar to drink* (33). For the whole tenor of this psalm seems to be a continued prophecy of Christ's sufferings, as well as of that judicial blindness, ruin, and dispersion, which fell on the impenitent Jews (34).

(A) These are reasonably supposed to have been two of the gang of those free booters, whom the Jews called לִשְׁטֵנִים, *lis-tessin*, and the Romans *prædones*; such as we have observed in a former section, used to infest those countries, and had given Herod so much trouble to suppress.

(33) Ps. lxix. 21.

(34) Vid. a vers. 22, ad fin.



*The peni-  
tent thief  
forgiven.*

all the multitudes that were gathered to see the dismal sight. The very criminals, who were crucified on each side, could not forbear reviling him, till one of them, stung at last with some lively remorse, gave his fellow-sufferer a severe rebuke for his impiety; then addressing himself to the suffering Jesus, who was then, more than ever, touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and sympathising with his torments and agonies; in the humblest terms confessed his own guilt; and in that pathetic and glorious confession he made of him, whilst under the same shameful sentence and punishment, gave such a signal instance of his faith and piety, as no age of the christian church since that time could ever parallel (B); and for which he received this comfortable assurance, from him that had the keys of life and death, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise*<sup>1</sup>.

WHILST Jesus hanged on the cross, he beheld his sorrowful virgin-mother standing by, on whom was now verified the saying of old Simeon, that *a sword should pierce her very soul*; and with her stood his beloved disciple, with Mary Magdalen, and some other women. The sight of her grief, which must be supposed to be beyond expression at this dismal juncture, revived his tenderness for her; so that, being now come to the last period of his life, he recommended her to the care of that favourite disciple, intreating them to shew to each other from thenceforward the endearing duties of mother and son; and from that time John took her to his own

<sup>1</sup> Luke *ibid.* 39, & seq.

(B) This remarkable circumstance is the more worthy being observed in all its parts, because many a wicked person have flattered themselves with a dangerous notion, that some such short ejaculation at their last agonies will meet with the like success, though in every other particular quite opposite to him.

He sees Jesus rejected and condemned by his whole nation, who had been witnesses of his stupendous works; sentenced by the Romans; reviled by the Jewish priests and elders; forsaken by his own disciples; undergoing a most ignominious and excruciating death; and yet, under all these disadvantageous circumstances, acknowledges him a King, a Saviour, and a Lord. He proclaims the unrighteousness of his sentence, and the justice of his own: he declares his faith and hope in him; his belief of another life; and so submissive is he under his torments, that, instead of praying to be delivered from them, either by some miracle, or by a speedy death, his extreme humility will not suffer him to ask for more than a bare remembrance of him, when he came into his kingdom.

house.

house<sup>m</sup>. In the mean time a horrid darkness overspread the face of the earth; the sun hid, as it were, himself from so dismal a sight (C); all the spectators were seized with a sudden terror and amazement. Some returned to *Jerusalem*, smiting their breasts, and proclaiming him a righteous man, whilst the rest, more hardened, stood in a kind of mournful silence, expecting the event. This unnatural darkness and disorder, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, that is, from noon to three of the clock after it, was followed by a greater, when *Jesus*, quite spent with pain and anguish, cried out, *Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachtani* (D); and having tasted the mingled

<sup>m</sup> John xix. 25, & seq.

(C) This darkness was the more miraculous, because it happened in the time of the opposition of the two luminaries, when consequently there could be no eclipse of the sun. For we have formerly observed, that the passover began in the full moon<sup>\*</sup>; besides, the total darkness of the sun's eclipses lasted but at most twelve or fifteen minutes; whereas this is recorded to have lasted three full hours (35). Whether it reached the whole hemisphere, or only the land of *Judaea*, is not easily determined, the ancient fathers being divided about it. *Origen*, and some others, confined it to the latter (36), whilst others (37) extend it over the former. These quote the famous astronomer *Phlegon*, the free-man of the emperor *Adrian*, who affirms, that in the fourth year of the CCII olympiad, which is supposed to be that of the death of Christ, there was such a total eclipse of the sun at noon-day, that the stars were plainly to be seen. It has indeed been disputed, whether this year of Christ's crucifixion answered to that of the olympiad abovementioned; and what is there of this nature that some bold critics will not dispute? but we shall refer our readers, for a fuller view of the controversy, to the learned doctor *Dawson's* dissertation on that subject. *Tertullian*, in his usual elegant way, refers the heathens to their public records for this surprising phenomenon, wherein mid-night happened at noon-day (38). And *Suidas* introduces *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, then at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, expressing himself to his friend *Apollophanes* concerning this unnatural eclipse; that *either the author of nature suffered, or was sympathizing with the sufferer*.

(D) Or, which is more probable, repeated the whole twenty-second psalm, of which those are the title, or first words, and in which there are the most lively strokes of all the remarkable par-

<sup>\*</sup> Vol. II. p. 521, & Vol. III. p. 170. & seq. (35) Vid. *Matth.* xxvii. 45. (36) In *Matth.* ubi supra, & alii. (37) *Jul. African.* ap. *Syncl.* *Euseb.* in *chronic.* *Hieron.* & al. (38) *Apolog.* c. 21.



gled vinegar, which was offered to imbitter his last gasp, recommended his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, and in an agony of prayer yielded up the ghost.

FOR

particulars of his passion ; some of which we have already quoted, others we have elsewhere explained in a manner wholly new, and yet satisfactory, as we have found, to many of our readers \*. The word שְׁבַחְתָּנִי, *sabachtani*, here used, instead of the Hebrew עֲבַדְתָּנִי, *bazabtani*, shews, that it was quoted out of the Chaldee paraphrase, which was then the most in use, and in which alone that word is to be found (39). So that he seems here to have, as it were, reminded his heavenly Father, how he was now fulfilling all those prophecies contained in that psalm, which is a kind of epitome or summary of all the other oracles relating to his sufferings and death. In consequence of which, he was praying to him that he would make good to him and to his spiritual posterity, that is, to his church, all those gracious promises, which are contained in the latter part of the same psalm, from the twenty-second verse to the end.

The Jews therefore, who knew that there was no other way then, to quote either a psalm, or any other section of holy writ, but from the first words of it, as we have elsewhere shewn might have saved their invectives against Christ, as if he had been then seized with a kind of despair (40), and objecting to him the words of the psalmist, *I never saw the righteous forsaken*, &c. (41). Our commentators might likewise have saved themselves the trouble of accounting for this seemingly despairing expostulation, from the supposition, that the Deity had wholly withdrawn every spark of comfort and hope from him, whilst he was thus undergoing the punishment due to sin ; some of whom have carried it to such a height, as cannot be read without horror (42). Whereas the supposition above mentioned, that he was then repeating this noble psalm, which, after the capitulation of his unparalleled sufferings, concludes with the most comfortable promises both to him and his followers ; shews him to have been so far from either doubt or despair, that he comforted himself under the terrible weight of the former by the assured prospect of the latter. And that he really died in this godlike temper of mind, all the other circumstances of his passion and death, as well as his last dying ejaculations, and the noble testimony which the centurion gave of it, do plainly shew.

And here we beg leave to make one remark more on the elaborate metrical version, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter,

\* Vid Vol III. p. 211, in fin. (Z). (39) Vid. Munst. in Ps. xxii. note b. Prid connect. part. 2. l. 8. sub an A. C. 27. (49) שְׁבַחְתָּנִי, & al. comment. in Psal. (41) Psal. xxxvii. 24, 25, & alib. (42) Vid. inter al. Calvin. in loc. & institut. wherein

FOR immediately upon his expiring, the frame of nature *The strange* fell, as it were, into convulsions : the earth quaked, the *prodigies* rocks *which hap-*  
*pened at*  
*his death.*

wherein that learned prelate, speaking of the psalm we are now upon, thinks to have found in it such difference of style, matter, &c. that he cannot forbear supposing they are two different psalms, absurdly tacked together by the *Jews*, and which ought to be divided at the twenty-second verse above-mentioned, where a kind of new theme seems to begin.

But, with due submission to his lordship's great judgment, we think this difference of style, &c. highly consistent with the twofold design of it, the one to foretel the great humiliation of Christ, and the other to shew his glorious exaltation immediately following it (43). The subject of those two prophecies being vastly different, it could hardly be otherwise, but the style must be so likewise. We may add, that the fifty-third chapter of *Isaiah*, which runs almost parallel in both these cases, and is allowed by all christians, as it was once by the antient *Jews*, to relate to the Messiah (44), might be as properly divided into two, as this psalm ; which yet never came into any man's head, on account of that difference, or any other. No not even into that of the *Jews*, though so closely pinched by it, that they have even ventured to split the person there spoken of into two.

Before we dismiss this noble psalm, we beg leave to answer an objection which the latter raise against our reading in the sixteenth verse, כָּרָו, *caru*, they pierced my hands, &c. instead of כָּאֵרִי, *caare*, which they pretend is the true reading, and signifies like a lion, as if the meaning had been, my hands and feet, like those of a lion ; (to which they were forced to add to make it sense,) were watched or observed. And this exchange of the latter for the former they do not scruple to charge us with, as done designedly by the sacred historian (45).

As we have no manuscript of so old a date as to be able to decide the matter on either side, it might be a sufficient answer to observe to them the unlikelihood, that St. *Matthew*, who was a converted *Jew*, and wrote in a language so well understood by the whole nation, should dare to quote a passage so contrary to its received reading and sense, if theirs had really been the right one.

We might tell them farther, that by their own confession the septuagint version had altered the sense of several texts of scripture, which they thought looked derogatory of either their law-giver, or of the Messiah. Of this last nature was the changing of the words of the text, Mine ears hast thou bored, for a body hast thou prepared for me. Concerning which we have spoken more

(43) *De hoc vid. Philip ii. 8, & 9.* (44) *Vid. int. al. Mori Diatrib. in Isai. liii. præf. & not. pass. & parallelism. int. loc. & nov. test. script.*

(45) *Vid. int. al. Aust. lib. Nitzachon.*  
 C c c 2 fully



rocks were cleft asunder, the graves opened, the dead raised; and the veil, which covered the most holy place, was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, uncovering thereby those mysteries of the *Mosaic* dispensation, which had now in his death their full accomplishment; in token of which he broke out in his last agonies with those signal words, *It is finished*. Here the centurion and infidel soldiers, observing his meek and pious exit, and the miraculous circumstances which attended it, were struck with such admiration and dread, that they confessed him to be the son of God<sup>a</sup>. Not

<sup>a</sup> Matth. xxvii. 50. & seq.

fully in our third volume †; to which we might add, that *Justin Martyr* charges them (46) with having made many other more considerable alterations, and in particular with having expunged the words ἀπο το ξυλα out of the tenth verse of the ninety-sixth psalm, when both that version and the ancient *Latin* one made from it, called *Vetus Itala*, read, *Dicite in gentibus, Dominus regnavit à ligno*; which last words are likewise to be seen in some other versions in the same tongue (47); and is it not more reasonable to think, that when the old *Maxorites* came to find what use was made of this text against them, they might at first slide the כּארי in the margin, or *keri*, and by degrees change that into the *ketib*; than to suppose an evangelist to be guilty of such a manifest and wilful corruption. Those who are unacquainted with the terms of *keri* and *ketib*, may see what we have said of them at the beginning of this chapter\*.

But let the words have slipped in or out of the text as they will, as long as they own that כּארי is the true reading, it will be sufficient to answer them with the learned *Hottinger*, in his dissertation on that word, that it may as well be the participle כּר and so signify as properly *piercing*, the כּ being there euphonical or hemantic; in which case the sense will run more elegant and agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, which often uses the participle for the verb, *piercing my hands and my feet*; whereas, take the *caari* in the *Jewish* signification, the sense is imperfect, and must be supplied with a far-fetched verb, to make it intelligible.

However, we are far enough from allowing this last to be the true ancient reading; the contrary has been fully proved from the septuagint version, which reads it as we do, *Caru*; and from the confession of several rabbies, as the reader may see, among many more, in the two learned authors quoted in the margin (48).

† Pag. 194. not. (N). (46) *Dialog. cont. Tryph.* (47) *Vid. Orig. lexaph. in loc. Psalter. pentaglot August. in Ps. in loc.*  
\* Pag. 524, (Z). (48) *Bochart. biero. p. i. l. iii. c. 6. Hare in Ps. xxii. note 35.*

so did the *Jewish* priests and elders, who remained inflexible in spite of all these prodigies, and pursued their malice to the utmost, and without the least relenting. It was now past three of the clock, the time in which the evening lamb was daily offered up; and this was the eve of their sabbath, and of one of their grand festivals; that the solemnity of it therefore might not be sullied or disturbed by the hanging of the three bodies on the cross<sup>o</sup>, they went to beg of *Pilate*, that he would order their legs to be broke, and that they might be taken down, and carried off. This was immediately executed on the two criminals; but when they came to *Jesus*, and found him already dead, they broke not his legs, but one of the soldiers, seemingly out of wantonness, struck his lance into his side, which immediately issued forth water and blood. These last circumstances happened, not without a peculiar direction of providence, not only as they fully assured us of his being really dead, but as they verified two signal prophecies concerning him; the one, that *not a bone of his should be broken*<sup>p</sup>; and the other, that *they, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, should behold him whom they had pierced*<sup>q</sup>.

WHILST these things were transacting on mount *Calvary*, *Joseph of Arimathea* (E), a wealthy and honourable *Jewish* ruler, and a secret disciple of *Jesus*, but yet of such courage and integrity, as to protest against their violent and unjust proceedings against him, went boldly to *Pilate* and begged leave to take down and bury his sacred remains. *Pilate* at first could scarcely believe that he could be so soon dead, but being assured of it by the centurion, he readily granted his

<sup>o</sup> De hoc vid. Deut. xxi. 22. & seq. & Vol. III. p. 313.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Exod. xii. 46. Numb. ix. 12, & alib.

<sup>q</sup> Zechar. xii.

10. Conf. cum. John xix. 36, & seq.

(E) The same which is called in the sacred *Hebrew* books *Ramah*, and *Ramatbab*, and signifies a *high place*; and this is the reason why we meet with several of the same name, which have been confounded one with another. This therefore here spoken of by the evangelists, and which *St. Jerom* places between *Joppa* and *Lydda* (49), and some modern travellers on an eminence between the former and *Jerusalem*, being consequently on the west of that metropolis, was very different from *Ramathaim Zophim*, *Samuel's* native place, which was situate on the north of it. As the reader may see by comparing *Saul's* journey, in search of his father's asses (50), with the map of *Palestine* (51).

(49) *Epitaph. in Paul.*  
*Vid. Rel. Palest.*

(50) 1 Sam. ix. 4, & seq.

(51)

request.



*Christ embalmed and buried.*

request. *Joseph* had a garden adjoining to the place, in which he had hewn a new tomb in the rock, which he designed for himself, but was now by a particular providence better disposed of, and was made the repository of his master's body. We have formerly observed in what manner criminals that died by the hands of justice were to be buried apart †; but, in reconding him in this maiden grave, they seem to have fulfilled another signal prophecy in the same chapter of *Isaiah*, where the history of his sufferings is so lively represented, and where this remarkable circumstance is foretold, *that tho' he was numbered (in his death) with the transgressors, yet he should have his grave among the great or wealthy* †. *Nicodemus*, another of his private disciples, assisted at the doleful rite; and these two having hastily embalmed the body with a large quantity of myrrh and aloes, and wrapt it in a new winding-sheet, deposited it into this new sepulchre, wherein no corpse had as yet been laid; and covered the mouth of it with a large stone, not to be removed but by a good number of hands; after which they went to prepare themselves for the celebration of the ensuing solemnity †. In the mean while, the jealous *Jews* went to *Pilate*, and acquainted him, that *Jesus*, whom they there style *this deceiver*, had formerly boasted, that he would rise again on the third day; and that it was therefore highly necessary to have his tomb well guarded till then, lest his disciples should privately steal him away, and then give out, that he was really risen, which would make the last mistake more dangerous than the first. *Pilate* easily agreed to what they asked, and to prevent any imposition of that kind, told them, Ye have a guard (F); go ye therefore

*His tomb sealed and guarded.*

† See Vol. III. p. 313. MOR. diatrib. in loc. & parallel. in fin. † *Isaiah* liii. 9. Vid. *Matth.* xxvii. 57, & seq. *Mark* xv, 42, &c. *Luke* xxiii. 50, &c. *John* xix 38, & seq.

(F) We think there is here a material circumstance, which has hitherto past unobserved, and which still more secures the truth of *Christ's* resurrection, viz. his tomb being guarded, not by a *Roman* but a *Jewish* watch. The former might have been liable to suspicion, and these *Pagan* soldiers, little minding whether the *Jews* or *Christ's* disciples were most in the right, might have been bribed by the latter to connive at an attempt to impose on a whole nation, which they hated and despised. But a *Jewish* guard, or, as they are

therefore and make every thing as sure as you can. So they went and set a guard at the door of the sepulchre, and set their seal upon the stone<sup>t</sup>; and, by their extraordinary care to prevent any private attempt, made the truth of his resurrection appear in the stronger light, as we shall see in the next section.

## S E C T. VII.

*The History of the Jews, from Christ's resurrection to the total destruction of their city and temple, and dispersion of that people.*

WE have hitherto seen Jesus Christ the Son of God in his lowest humiliation, despised, rejected, and abhorred; persecuted, tried, and condemned to a death of utmost shame and ignominy; expiring on a cross and laid in a grave, and in all these respects in the lowest and most abject condition of a man. The third day after his death, being the first day of the week, or our *Sunday*, and

<sup>t</sup> Matth. xxvii. 62, ad fin.

are elsewhere called, *the officers and band of the high-priests* (2), and were perhaps the same who had so lately brought him from the garden into that pontiff's palace, where they had made him suffer so many indignities, these, we say, could not be supposed to join in such a cheat.

Now this seems to be the reason why *Pilate*, who by his late behaviour seems to have entertained a much higher notion of Christ, might now be so far apprehensive of his keeping his promise, that to prevent all suspicion from him or his soldiers, he tells the *Jewish* chiefs, You have a guard of your own; make the best use you can of it. We do not, however, pretend to insinuate, that they were permitted by the *Romans* to keep any troops of militia of their own; but only, that since the high-priesthood had been joined to the royalty in the time of the *Maccabees*, they used to have a considerable body of life-guards, it is more than probable, that, after these two dignities were parted, the pontiffs were still allowed the same, though perhaps in a less number, or else it will be difficult to guess what to make of those soldiers and officers of the high-priest, which are so often met with in the gospels and in the acts.

(2) *Vid* John xviii. 3. *Conf.* cum vii. 32, 45. *Matth.* xxvi. 47. *Mark* xiv. 43. *Acts* iv. i, & alib. .



*Christ rises  
from the  
dead.*

*The angel's  
speech to  
the wo-  
men.*

the fifth of *April*<sup>a</sup>, offers him to our view in his glorified state, and risen again from the dead, according to his own promises, and the oracles written of old concerning him<sup>b</sup>. By the earliest dawn of this day, those pious women, who had accompanied him through his last three years travels, and had prepared a costly mixture to embalm his body, not dreaming at least of his so sudden resurrection, made their way towards the place, where they had seen him deposited two days before. They do not seem to have known any thing of a guard being set over it, their great concern was only how to get the ponderous stone rolled from the entrance. But that obstacle was already taken off by a miraculous earthquake, which had likewise put the guards to flight, so that at their arrival they found the stone rolled on one side, and an angel cloathed in a refulgent array sitting upon it. Their surprize was still greater, when they heard the heavenly messenger reprove their officious, but untimely, piety, in words to this effect: Why seek ye the living among the dead, forgetful of what he often repeated to you, that he was to suffer death, and to rise again on the third day? Behold the place where he was laid, and from which he is risen, and go and acquaint his disciples with it, and tell them, that he will meet you in *Galilee* according to his promise. They did so accordingly, and, with the greatest joy and wonder, went and told them what they had seen and heard; but those, still backward to believe, looked upon it as the effects of fancy and delusion<sup>c</sup>.

Two of them, however, had the curiosity to run to the sepulchre: *John*, who was the youngest of the two, came first, and stooping down found, that the body was really gone; but when *Peter* came next, he went into the place along with that beloved disciple, and to their surprize found the grave-cloaths and the napkin, not hastily and confusedly thrown by, but neatly folded up separately; upon which they began to entertain some hopes, and returned to acquaint the rest with the news<sup>d</sup>. Whilst they were thus together, and the women with them, *Mary Magdalen*, who had staid in the garden, prying about to find whether the body had not been removed to some other place, came hastily to them, and assured them, that the Lord had

<sup>a</sup> Vid *Usser.* ann. sub A. M. 4036, p. 843.

*Psalm* xvi. 10. & *Act.* ii. 31 & alib.

<sup>b</sup> *Conf.* *Matth.* xxviii. 1, & seq. *Mark.* xvi. 1, & seq. *Luke* xxiv. 1, & seq. *John* 20. 1, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> *John* *ibid.* vers 3, & seq.

appeared

appeared to her there <sup>e</sup>. But neither could this further confirmation dispel either their sorrow or unbelief; till *Jesus* at length came and shewed himself to them, gave them a gracious *All-hail*, and bid them be of good comfort, for he was alive again, and, according to his promise, would shortly meet them in *Galilee*. In the mean time, the frightened guards leaving the garden with utmost speed and confusion, went to acquaint the chief-priests and rulers with what had happened; upon which a council was immediately called. Here one might have reasonably expected, they would either have yielded to so much evidence, or at least suspended all further resolutions, till they had made a full inquiry into the fact. But instead of that, they rather chose at any rate to suppress a truth, which was sure to cast the deepest guilt on their late unjust sentence against *Christ* <sup>f</sup>; and accordingly bribed the watch with a good round sum, to give out, that his disciples had stolen him away whilst they were asleep, promising them at the same time, that if the matter came to the governor's ears, they would find means to pacify him, and bear them harmless. Upon which they went and spread abroad that report, which was readily swallowed by the greatest part of the *Jews*, and went still current among them for many years <sup>g</sup> (A).

ON that evening, two of the disciples going to a village called *Emmaus*, distant about sixty furlongs, or eight miles north-west of *Jerusalem*, were discoursing with each other about the strange transactions of the day, when *Jesus* overtook them, and without making himself known, asked

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. vers. 15, & seq.      <sup>f</sup> Vid. int. al. Acts v. 28.      <sup>g</sup> Matth. xxviii. 9, & seq.

(A) So says the evangelist (1). But the *Jews* have since found out another way to oppose this signal truth, by denying that of his crucifixion, under pretence, that it was a punishment unusual and unwarranted among them. We have had frequent occasion to mention this and some others of their poor and shameful evasions, and shall not repeat them here.

Much less shall we take upon us to answer all the cavils which our modern sceptics have raised against this important article, which has been so strenuously defended by so many abler hands, and more particularly of late by a very learned pen, and in a manner wholly new, but so convincing, that nothing need be added to it (2), as indeed nothing has, or can be, replied to it.

(1) Matth. xxviii. 15.  
VOL. X.

(2) Trial of the witnesses, pass  
D d d them



them the cause of their melancholy entertainment. *Cleophas*, one of the two, in a kind of surprize, that he should seem so great a stranger to the transactions of the last week, began to give him an account both of them and of those of that day; particularly their surprize at the vision, which the women had seen at the sepulchre, concluding the whole with a kind of complaint, that though they had hitherto looked upon *Jesus* as the future deliverer of their unhappy nation: yet it being now three days since they had seen him expire on a shameful cross, their hopes were almost at an end, in spite of the women's report of his resurrection, and its being in some measure confirmed by some of the apostles, who had been that morning at the sepulchre. Here *Jesus* took occasion to blame their want of faith, not only in him, but in the scriptures, where both his sufferings and death, resurrection and glory, were so plainly foretold, and to give them a thorough exposition of them from the first to the last. By this time they were got to the village, where *Jesus* made a shew as if he designed to go farther; but they had been so comforted by his discourse, that they intreated him to spend that night with them, the evening being then just upon closing. He went in with them accordingly, and, being sat down at table, began with the breaking of the bread, as he had been wont to do; upon which they knew him, and he immediately vanished. This surprising discovery added to the warmth which their hearts had felt, whilst he expounded the scriptures to them on the road, would not suffer them to tarry longer there; but they went to communicate their joy that very night to the rest that were then gathered together at *Jerusalem*, and who acquainted them at the same time with his having appeared unto them <sup>h</sup>.

ALL these circumstances had been so far from convincing them hitherto, that they rather concluded, from his so sudden disappearing, that they had only seen some spirit in his likeness. They seemed still more confirmed in it, when being sat down to supper, with the gates fast for fear of the Jews, he surprized them with his presence, and gave them his usual salutation, *Peace be to you*. To convince them therefore of their mistake, he commanded them to draw near, and consider his pierced hands and feet, handle his body, and satisfy themselves by all proper means, that he was no spirit or phantasm, but their real risen lord and master. Whilst they were still fluctuating between joy and doubt,

*Appears to  
the twelve  
at supper.*

Year of  
the Flood,

3035.

Of Christ,

$\frac{3}{4}$  30.

~~~~~

^h LUKE XXIV. 13, & seq.

he reminded them of his former promises, explained those oracles to them, in which these things were presignified of him, renewed his former commission and power to them to preach and confirm his gospel, and left them for that night with his usual blessing, full of joy and wonder, to collect and compare the several transactions of that glorious and signal day ¹ (B).

Thomas, one of the eleven apostles, called *Didymus*, chanced to be absent when this happened; so that when the rest informed him of it, he plainly told them, that he should never believe it, till he had thrust his finger into the print of the nails, and his hand into his wounded side. Eight days after being the twelfth of *April*, *Jesus* appeared again to them, when *Thomas* was there, and invited him to come and take that full demonstration, which he had so stiffly insisted on; but the incredulous servant, being now fully assured without it, fell at his gracious feet, and, with an humble ecstasy of joy, confessed him to be his Lord and his God; upon which he was dismissed with this gentle reproof; *Thou believest, Thomas, because thou hast seen; but blessed are they that have not seen, and yet believe* ^k. Some days after, they all left *Jerusalem*, and went according to his appointment into *Galilee*; where he appeared again unto them, and, after his usual salutation, said unto them, *All power is given me in heaven and earth. Go therefore and preach to all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c.* ¹ Seven of them being soon after gone to the sea-side to fish, namely *Peter, John, James, Thomas, Bartholomew, or Nathanael*, and two others not named, and having toiled all night in vain, *Jesus* manifested himself again to them in the morning, by the kind and known token of a beneficial miracle; and, after they had dragged their loaded net to the shore, condescended to eat and drink with them. After breakfast, *Jesus* addressing himself to *Peter* asked, whether he loved

Appears to Thomas.

To seven others.

¹ Luke xxiv. 36, & seq. JOHN xx. 19, & seq. & alib. ^k JOHN
ibid. vers. 24, & seq. ¹ MATTH. xxviii. 16, & seq.

(B) This last was the fifth appearance he made of himself on this one day, viz. 1. to *Mary Magdalen*; 2. to the other women; 3. to *Peter*, in some manner not plainly recorded, but mentioned transitorily by St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* (3); 4. to the two disciples; and, 5. to the whole college at supper.

(3) Luke xxiv. 34. 1 Corinth. xv. 5.
D d d 2

him

His com-
mission to
Peter.

him more than the rest ? and being answered in the affirmative, commanded him to feed his flock. He repeated the same question twice more to him, insomuch that *Peter*, being grieved at it, broke out into this expression ; *Lord, thou, who knowest all things, must know that I love thee.* After this treble confession of his unfeigned love, designed probably as a kind of expiation for his treble denial of him, *Jesus* plainly told him, that the time would come, when he should make a much more authentic acknowledgment of him, when he suffered himself to be bound and led to a glorious martyrdom for his sake, and in imitation of him, intimating thereby, as the evangelist hints, his crucifixion, by which he was to glorify God, as he did accordingly many years after, with a constancy becoming a chief apostle (C). This was

(C) The sufferings and martyrdom of the primitive preachers of the gospel being not only an irrefragable testimony of their sincerity, as well as assurance of the facts and truths delivered by them, but moreover one of the highest instances of the divine wisdom and power, which was to be displayed in the propagation of it (4) ; it will not be amiss to speak a little more fully of them, in his place, and upon this occasion ; since the thread of this chapter will not permit us to follow them into those foreign countries, where they sealed it with their blood.

Whoever considers what a strenuous opposition the degenerate world has always made to christianity, must own, that whatever fate had attended the preachers of it, was sure to be turned into an objection against it. Were they encouraged, admired, and caressed, or did their charitable labour meet with suitable returns, No wonder, would it have been said, they are so zealous and indefatigable to propagate a gospel, which turns so much to their credit and advantage. Were they despised, abhorred, persecuted, and liable to the most shocking discouragements, how inconsistent would it have been thought with the divine goodness and justice, to suffer such faithful, zealous, and charitable servants to be thus treated by those, whom their chief study and design was to render the most happy persons both here and hereafter ; or to permit men of such excellent and godlike dispositions to be exposed to the barbarous fury of the very vilest of human race !

What medium the most consummate human forecast could have found out between these two cases, we may well be at a loss to imagine. But here it was, that infinite wisdom and power triumphed in such a manner, as was once more to confound the most wise and prudent of the world. And this was done, by creating,

(4) *Conf. Isai. xxix. 14. 1 Cor. i. 19, & seq.*

was the third time of his appearing to the full body of his disciples after his resurrection. After that prediction, *Jesus* bid
Peter

as it were, such a new nature in those primitive professors of the gospel, as should not only render them insensible of, but even capable of receiving the most ecstatic comforts in the most excruciating torments, to which they were going to be exposed. By this, the objections of worldly gain on their part, or of injustice on God's were fully obviated; whilst the amazed world beheld them most calm, serene, and joyful, when, to all human appearance, they laboured under the heaviest loads of pain, and misery.

This miraculous change once wrought in them, they are no more the cowards that forsook their master, or shut their doors for fear of the *Jews*; but in the synagogues, the streets, and even to the face of death, freely confess and preach him (5). *Peter*, who through fear of the danger of being his, had thrice denied and forsworn him, can now sleep as calmly and soundly in a dungeon, with his hands and feet loaded with irons, and on the eve, as he thought, and *Herod* designed, of his martyrdom, as if he had been in his own bed, and out of all danger (6). *Paul* and *Silas* after having been unmercifully scourged, are thrust down into the lowest hold of a common gaol, and are heard by all the prisoners to sing psalms and hymns in the middle of the night (7).

In a word, this surprizing change was not confined to the apostles, disciples, and preachers of the gospel, much less to the infancy of it; but extended itself to their proselytes of all ranks, ages, sexes, conditions, and countries, during near three hundred years, if not much beyond. All which is a subject so well known and attested, not only by the primitive fathers and apologists; the former of whom, sealing the truth with their blood, and the latter, moreover, appealing to the records of their enemies and the notoriety of the facts, must consequently be allowed unexceptionable witnesses; but likewise by the very heathen authors themselves, who seemed as much to despise them for their folly, as they were astonished at their universal constancy; so that it would be superfluous to insist longer upon it.

We are not insensible indeed, how much the innumerable instances of this kind, which we meet with in the latter histories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and others, have been thought exaggerated, and what little credit those writers have of late among us. The story of a *Laurence* throwing his sarcastical jests on his judges and executioners, whilst broiling on a gridiron, has been thought so monstrously absurd and unnatural, that it has almost discredited all

(5) *Vid Act. ii, iii, & seq. pass.*

(6) *Ibid. xii 2, & seq.*

(7) *Ibid. xvi. 23, & seq.*

Peter come after him ; who, turning about and seeing the beloved disciple, asked his master, whether he would have him

the rest. We would therefore beg leave to ask these doubtful gentlemen, whether they would have believed that story, had it been transmitted down to us by any, but christian writers ; or, which is still more, by men professed enemies to christianity, and at the same time of avowed sense, learning, and integrity ? If they would, we hope we may be permitted to subjoin one here of altogether as surprising a nature, and upon the authority of a person of the unquestionable character last mentioned.

Libanius, the famous orator of *Antioch* a person greatly esteemed by all for his learning and humanity, but especially by the emperor *Julian*, as appears by their mutual literary intercourse, is the author we are speaking of (8). The story he relates is of one *Mark*, a venerable old bishop of *Arethusa*, a city in *Syria* between *Emesa* and *Epiphania* ; who endured the most exquisite torments, under the above mentioned emperor, not only with utmost constancy, but braved his enemies with such biting sarcasms in the midst of his torments, that, being at last overcome by his heroic behaviour they were forced to let him down, and go off with his life, to prevent the heathen spectators falling down and worshipping him. The design of this story, as well as of the orator's letter, was, to stop a persecution newly raised under that apostate monarch against the christians, for the havock they had made of the *Pagan* temples under his predecessor's reign ; and the judge to whom he writes it, had then a zealous christian prisoner, named *Orion*, who, it was apprehended, would prove a second *Mark*, if the same severities should be used against him, and much more, lest the known constancy of the rest should cause an universal defection from paganism. For which reason *Libanius*, though a bitter enemy to christianity, is for putting an immediate stop to all further persecution.

His letters, to the number of above sixteen hundred, though preserved in manuscript, in several public as well as private libraries, and a good number of them printed and translated into *Latin* (9), are yet so little known by our *English* readers, that we hope it will not be thought impertinent, if we subjoin here the substance] both of the letter and of this signal story ; though, for the better understanding of it, we shall be forced to have recourse to *Theodoret's* (10) assistance. For the style of the former is so in-

(8) *De Liban. & ejus epistol. Vid. int. al. Eunap. vita Liban. Johan. Christ. Volf præfat. in cent. epist. Liban. sophist. cum not. Lipsk, 1711.* (9) *Fr. Zambicar. Johan. Sommerfeld. Morel. & al ap Volf. ubi supra.* (10) *Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 7. Vid. & Sozomen. l. v. c. 10.*

him also follow him? But *Jesus* rebuked his untimely curiosity, with telling him, If I will have him tarry till I come,
what

tricate and laconic every-where, especially where he speaks of things and facts of a recent nature and universally known, that, without the guide of some other historian, one would never guess what he means or alludes to, because he contents himself with the bare hint of them, as the reader may see by the letter itself (11). We hope the curiousness of the subject, as well as the character of the author, will excuse the length of this note; though, to shorten it as much as we can, we shall join the account out of those two authors together, leaving to our readers to compare them with each other at their own leisure.

“ *Mark*, the heroic bishop in question, having in the reign of “ *Constans* built a christian church by and on the ruins of a *Pagan* “ temple, and being like to suffer for it under *Julian*, endeavoured “ at first to avoid it by flight; where being informed that some of “ his diocese were going to be taken up for it, he came back and “ surrendered himself to the heathen officers, as the only person “ accountable for that fact. But these, without regard to his learning, dignity, or great age, ordered him to be stripped naked, “ and scourged from head to foot. From thence he was flung into a “ stinking common-shore; and being taken out again, was exposed in that condition to the mercy of a great number of school- “ boys, who made it their cruel sport to pink his flesh with their “ writing instruments.

“ All this was done to oblige him to refund the damages of the “ demolished temple, which when he constantly refused to do, “ they besmeared him all over with honey and a kind of sweet “ sauce, called *garon*, and hoisted him up into the air in a kind of “ net, or open basket; where, it being then the heat of summer, “ the bees, wasps, &c. did eat him up alive. Whilst he hung in “ this dreadful condition, they offered to abate him half of the “ stipulated sum, thinking his refusal owing to his inability of paying the whole. But, to their surprise, he answered, that he should “ think it as impious to refund a doit, as the whole sum. But “ what increased their wonder beyond expression is, he was all “ this time so far from uttering a groan, or shewing the least sense “ of pain, that he even seemed to make himself merry with his “ *Pagan* tormentors, telling them, that *they were from beneath, but he from above*; alluding to his suspension. The consequence “ of the whole was, that, being at length overcome by his supernatural constancy, they let him down, and released him full of “ the deepest veneration and respect ”.

Now, when a story comes to us confirmed by a person of *Libanius*'s character, and who was not only contemporary to it, but speaks of it with the same assurance, as if he had been an eye wit-

what have you to do with it? hence arose a strange notion among the rest, that that disciple should not die^m; though, in all probability, Christ meant no more than his tarrying on earth, till his coming to take vengeance on the *Jewish* nation, which St. *John* actually lived to see totally dispersed.

THUS did our risen saviour manifest himself, either to his whole church, or to some of them more particularly, during the space of forty days, in all convincing proofs; instructing them still further in his heavenly doctrine, discoursing more familiarly with them of his spiritual kingdom, dispelling their doubts, allaying their fears, and comforting their hearts with the glorious prospect of an eternal life to crown their painful and arduous race. At length, the appointed time of his departure drawing near, he gathered them together, to the number, as St. *Paul* tells us, of above five hundredⁿ. He led them into a retired part of a mountain, where he again gave them fresh assurances of his never-failing love, care, and protection, to the end of the world, renewed his commission and miraculous powers to them, together with the promise of

^m JOHN xxi. per tot. ⁿ I CORINTH. xv. 6.

ness of it; we know not well how that of *Laurence*, or any other, can be questioned in those historians. The same sophist adds to what *Theodoret* says, that the people were so astonished at the old bishop's constancy, that they worshipped him as a god; and that when *Julian* heard of it, though he was vexed at the demolition of the temple, he yet chose rather to forgive him, than to make further trial of his patience.

He concludes his letter with desiring his friend the judge, not to make of *Orion* his prisoner a second *Mark*, or a second *Marsyas* (who had been lately slayed alive). If, says he, you think *Orion* has a golden mine in his skin, you would do well to get it out; if not, by *Jupiter*, you had better let him go; or if you must punish him, do it in such a manner, that he may have no opportunity to make a public shew of his patience and constancy. Some have thought, that all this moderation of our orator might be owing to an apprehension of *Julian's* being succeeded by a christian (12); but, be that how it will, it cannot invalidate the testimony which he gives to those heroic sufferers. However, many of his letters appear full of the same moderate spirit, in other instances; and the tenor of the letter above mentioned shews him to have been rather afraid of the effects of the christian constancy, which under such grievous persecutions always drew, as well it might, a great number of converts, and threatened a total dereliction of their heathen temples and worship.

(12) *Le Clerc, bibl. A. M. 1715. part 2. sect 4.*

a plentiful



a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit to direct them into all truth, and fit them for their glorious work, the conversion of the world •.

HAVING finished his discourse, he bid them return to *Jerusalem*, where he would meet them before his ascension, as he accordingly did; and ordered them to remain there till they had received the promised Comforter, by whom they should shortly after be endowed with power from above, answerable to their high commission. Great need they still stood in of such a divine director, since these last words filled them again with hopes, that their master was now going indeed to restore the kingdom of *Israel*. *Jesus* was here again obliged to check their untimely curiosity, but referred the further display of this important point to that promised heavenly instructor. And now having finished his glorious work, he led them forth toward *Bethany*, to the mount of *Olives*; where being arrived, he tenderly gathered them about him, and, in their full sight, went up to heaven, leaving his gracious blessing upon them, and the comfortable assurance, that he was going to prepare a place for them in his own kingdom; whilst they, in an adoring posture, followed him with their wishful eyes, till a bright cloud received him out of their sight (D). Whilst their eyes were thus fixed still towards him, two angels appeared to them in bright apparel, and said unto them, *Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up to heaven? The same Jesus, whom ye have now beheld ascending thither, shall in the like manner come down again from thence* ^P; meaning, doubtless, at the last day to judge the world; till when he will there re-

Ascends into heaven.

• MARK xvi. 17. ad fin,
ad fin. ACT. I. 6, & seq.

^P Ibid. ver. ult. LUKE xxiv. 46.

(D) This happened, according to our learned *Usher's* computation, hinted a little higher, on a *Thursday*, the fourteenth of *May*, which is the ninth month of the *Jewish* year, and in the thirty-sixth, or, according to others, the thirty-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of *Tiberius's* reign. There is an antient tradition, which adds, that it was about the time of noon when he was taken up, and ascended from one of the summits of mount *Olivet*, where the print of his feet, where he last stood, was still to be seen, and on that account has been had in great veneration ever since. The reader may see what we have said of it in a former volume †,

† See before Vol. III. p. 104, K, 105, L.

main, and reign at the right hand of his Father, till all his enemies be made his footstool ⁹ (E). THE

⁹ Conf. Ps. cx. 1. MATTH. xxii. 44. ACT. ii. 35. Hebr. i. 13. x. 12, 13.

(E) It will not be amiss to close this history of the Saviour of the world with those other testimonies which we find concerning him, both in *Josephus* and in some eminent heathen authors. We begin with the former, because we have elsewhere promised to say something further concerning that known and much controverted passage of his, which runs to this effect (13):

“ At the same time there was one *Jesus*, a wise man, if at least
“ he may be called a man, who was a great worker of miracles, and
“ a teacher of truth, to all that were desirous to learn it, and had
“ a great number of disciples, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*. This
“ was (or as *St. Jerom* read it, *credebatur*, was believed to be)
“ the Christ whom *Pilate* through the envy of the heads of our
“ nation, caused to be crucified; but this did not hinder his dis-
“ ciples from cleaving stedfastly unto him. He was seen by them
“ three days after his death, according to the prophecies concern-
“ ing him. The christian sect subsists to this day, call themselves
“ by his name, and acknowledge him for their head”.

This passage being not only found in all the manuscripts of that historian, but quoted by *St. Jerom*, *Eusebius* (14), and other anti-ents, the main objection against it is, how *Josephus* could express himself in such a manner concerning Christ, and yet live and die a *Jew*. To which may be added another difficulty, *viz.* how he could acknowledge him the promised Messiah, after he had once complimented the *Roman* emperor with that title. But those who believe it to have been foisted in by some pious christians, will find it still much more difficult to account how they could get it inserted in all future copies, and suppress all the old and genuine ones.

Those who know how much has been already writ for and against it, will easily excuse our not entering further into that controversy, than referring our readers to the authors themselves, whom he will find quoted in the margin (15).

All that we shall add by way of lessening the two difficulties raised against the genuineness of the text is, 1st, That *Josephus* was no less a courtier, than a *Jew* and a *Pharisee*; he might, as an historian, who made great shew of sincerity, be forced to publish a truth, the suppression of which would have brought his character in question, and yet not have resolution enough to sacrifice his temporal interest to his conviction. The cruel treatment which the disciples of Christ met with from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, might be a sufficient obstacle, to a man of his mould, listing himself into their number. He might, and had in all probability conversed with several learned christians, who might have inspired him with a great veneration for their di-

(13) *Antiq. l. xviii. c. 4.* (14) *Lib. de scriptor. Vid. & Euseb. Eccl. hist. l. i. cap. 11. iii. c. 9.* (15) *Vid. int. al. Huet. demonst. evang. prop. sect. 11. & Arnold. dissert. de loc. sup. an. 1661.*

THE disciples, thus warned, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*, where they spent their time in prayers, fastings, and such-like

vine master, and, from the many prophecies concerning him, have convinced him of his being the Messiah, and at the same time, his brethren of the *Pharisaic* leaven might trump up their notion of a double Messiah, viz. a suffering one, and the other a great and glorious conqueror.

For no time could be more likely to produce such a wild distinction, than that about which he wrote his history, when all their hopes were wholly quashed, the sceptre long ago departed from *Judah*, the second temple destroyed, the nation ruined, the utmost length of their computation of *Daniel's* weeks long since ended, and the christians every-where beating them out of all other re-in-trenchments, and forcing them at length to trust themselves to this broken plank; and was not a man of *Josephus's* character as likely to prefer this soothing notion, to the manifest danger of becoming a professed christian, as any of his fraternity?

But, lastly, who can tell, how far the ill treatment which he met with from these last, at the siege of *Jerusalem*, their invincible obstinacy and ingratitude, their cruelty, hypocrisy, and irreconcilable hatred to him, may have provoked him to lay this heavy charge upon them, of crucifying the Messiah, and to aggravate it with those other testimonials concerning him, without being himself thoroughly satisfied with them, through prejudice and interest? If we join his resentment against them, and their notion of two Messiahs, with his fawning action of complimenting *Vespasian* with the title of Messiah, we shall find, that he acted nothing but what became such a consummate politician; and the passage above-quoted concerning Christ, and that concerning the *Roman* emperor, tho' set at that great distance from each other, to conceal his design, when brought nearer together, may amount to no more than this: Since the heads of our nation did unjustly reject and crucify the first Messiah, who came to them in the spirit of meekness and charity, and in all respects answered the description given of him by the antient prophets, it is but just that the second, who is to be the glorious conquering one, should signalize the premises of his reign, with the extirpation of those unworthy wretches, and thereby fulfil the prophecies concerning himself, and his glorious and universal kingdom. All which was in a great measure already done before the historian wrote his two histories, in the last of which he speaks of his conference with that prince (16), and may have dressed it in the most advantageous manner to gain the applause of the *Romans*.

If therefore this text ever suffered any alteration, it seems to have been only in the omission of the word was *believed*, which we find was

(16) *Bell. Jud.* l. iii. c. 14. v. c. 12.

such-like other duties, as were likeliest to qualify them for the reception of the promised Comforter. They were about a hundred and twenty persons, probably exclusive of the women, who did not use to be reckoned in the number, though they kept still with them, and among the rest the virgin *Mary*, who is here particularly mentioned, and for the last time^r. The place they used to assemble in, was a large upper room (F), where a few days after their master's ascension, *Peter* addressed himself to the rest, and reminded them how necessary it was, before they entered into their grand commission, to chuse a new member into the apostolic college, from among those who had been conversant with *Jesus* from *John's* bap-

^r Act. i. 14.

in St. *Jerom's* copy, though not in that of *Eusebius*, *Rufinus*, and others, where it was left out; but whether through carelessness, or wilfully, must be left to the readers candor. And, after all, we may as well suspect the great character which the *Jewish* historian gives to *John the baptist*, and to St. *James*, whom he calls the brother of Christ (17), which yet cast no small honour to this last, whose martyrs they were.

Concerning the testimony of heathen writers, we have already mentioned those which confirm the supernatural eclipse which happened at Christ's passion and the appeal which the apologist fathers made to the heathen records for that and other facts. *Tacitus* confirms also Christ's having been put to death by *Pilate* governor of *Judea* under the emperor *Tiberius* (18). We might add some others, were we not afraid of swelling this note too much. The readers may see them in the apologies above-mentioned, and in the authors quoted in the margin (19).

For the same reason we shall forbear mentioning that of the *Mohammedans*, and all further debate on the apocryphal gospels, epistles, and other writings concerning him, and all useless inquiries after his person, shape, mien, and other such particularities of neither importance, nor the least certainty. As for his pretended correspondence with the king of *Edeffa*, we shall refer our readers to what has been said in a former volume †.

(F) The words *εις το υπερων* (20), do certainly imply some upper room of a house, and not of the temple, as some have imagined. This might be therefore that large one in which *Jesus* had celebrated the last passover with his disciples (21); and is supposed to have belonged to one of them, namely to *John*, surnamed *Mark*, and is said to have been turned, in process of time, into a stately church.

(17) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.* (18) *Annal. lxxv. c. 4.* (19) *Vid. int. al. Minut. Felix. H. Grot. de verit. Le Clerc. in eund. Abadie & al.* (29) *Act. xiii.* † See Vol. IX. p. 481. (21) *Mark. xiv. 14, 15.*

tism to that present time, to fill the vacancy which the traitor *Judas* had made to their number. The proposal being approved, two candidates were offered to them, namely *Joseph*, surnamed, *Justus* and *Barsabas* (who is supposed by some to be the brother of *James the Less*, and by others the same with *Barnabas*), and *Matthias*, who was one of the seventy disciples (G). After a short prayer to the discerners of all hearts, to direct them to the person whom he had made choice of, they cast their lots, and *Matthias* was chosen into the apostolical ministry, and their number completed again †.

WHEN fifty days from Christ's resurrection were finished, which ushered in the grand feast of pentecost, whilst the disciples were all assembled at their usual place, suddenly there was heard a mighty sound from heaven; a vehement wind filled the room they were in, when there appeared a kind of *The Holy Ghost* decloven tongues of fire sitting upon each of their heads; upon which they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, illuminated *scends on the apostles* with his heavenly light, inflamed with his divine heat, inspired with the knowledge of foreign tongues, and endowed with all other supernatural gifts, to qualify them for their glorious task, the conversion of the world. They set themselves immediately about it, *Jerusalem* being then filled with people, who came from all parts of the world, both *Jews* and proselytes, who flocked thither, as usual, to that grand solemnity. These, hearing of that wonderful event, came to them in great crouds, and were beyond measure surprized to hear such poor illiterate *Galileans*, who never knew any but their own mother tongue, and that no better than as simple fishermen, express themselves with such unheard-of readiness and energy, and display in all their different tongues and dialects the most sublime mysteries of the gospel. The sacred histori-

† Aët. ibid. 15. ad fin.

(G) The traditions concerning these two, and others of their colleagues, are so uncertain, that there is no relying on them, otherwise this *Joseph* should be the same with that often mentioned in the gospel among the relations of our Saviour; and by his surname of *Barsabas*, he should be the same with *Barnabas*, who is yet said to be a *Cyprian* levite (22). *Matthias* should likewise be the same with *Zaccheus* (23), though this last became a disciple but a few weeks before Christ's death, and the apostles chose only those for candidates, who had been with him from the beginning of his ministry.

(22) *Acts* iv. 36. (23) *De his vid. Clem. Alexander. Stromat. N. D. Lyra, Corn. a Lap. & al,*

They converted three thousand souls.

an mentions fifteen different countries, out of which this assembly consisted ^t. Whilst therefore some, struck with amazement at what they saw and heard, were questioning what the issue of such a prodigy would be, others absurdly attributed it to some excess of new wine, which they supposed the apostles had been guilty of that morning. Which when *Peter* understood, he first exploded the supposition, by reminding them, that it was but the third hour of the day, or nine of the morning; and then proved to them from the scriptures, that there was nothing happened in this extraordinary change, but what had been plainly foretold and elegantly described by one of the prophets ^u. From that he proceeded to those other oracles, which had presignified the death and resurrection of Christ, the true Messiah; all which he shewed to them, with such powerful and convincing eloquence, that three thousand of his audience were immediately converted to his doctrine, and continued strict and zealous professors of it ^w (H).

SOME

^t Ibid. c. ii. 8, & seq. ^u Joel ii. 28, & seq. conf. cum Isai. xxix. 19, & seq. xlv. 3, & seq. cum Act. xi. 15, & seq. ^w Act. c. ii. vers. 37, ad fin.

(H) Those that will not acknowledge the truth of this miraculous transaction, must suppose that surprising change in the apostles to have been wrought by some such method as this which follows; we leave them to their choice. They must suppose the hen-hearted college to have been all at once seized with a desperate phrenetic courage, or inspired with it by some one of the boldest of them, suppose the pretended champion *Peter*, by some such speech as this:

Men and brethren, The natural consequence of our having been so egregiously cheated by our late master, and made to wait so long in vain for his pretended resurrection, should according to human prudence be this; that we should for the future detest the very memory and mention of him; that we should become so much the more tenacious of the expositions and traditions of our betters, since it was our departing from them, to follow him, that has brought us into this dilemma; and lastly, that we should go and beg for absolution of the sanhedrin, which they'll hardly make a difficulty to grant; for what wonder is it, that such poor illiterate fishermen as we are should be so easily deceived, when so many of their learned bench, were caught in the same snare?

But for my own part poor and simple as I am, I think I could undergo the most dreadful hazards in life, rather than to stoop to such a base submission; and my project, if I can but bring you into it,

SOME time after *Peter* and *John*, repairing to the temple at the usual evening hour of prayer, healed a poor cripple, who

it, is to do the very reverse ; to cry our late master up still for the true Messiah, to profess a greater love and veneration for him than ever, to affirm that we have seen him risen from the dead, conversed with him full forty days, in all convincing proofs, and at length seen him go up to heaven ; and to propagate the cheat, not only among our nation, but also among the *Gentiles*, as far and wide as we can ; and, to make it the better go down with the world, we will pretend to a new and miraculous commission from heaven to the supernatural gifts of prophecy, tongues, miracles, and every thing that is great and stupendous, or apt to raise our master's glory and our own.

Methinks, I hear you already making ten thousand objections and difficulties against my project, which I doubt not but you look upon as the most romantic that ever came into a crazy brain ; and I who have duly weighed them, do give you leave to think so still, if I do not remove every one of them, and convince you that my scheme is no less practicable, than it is heroic and glorious.

You will object in the first place, that such a design will expose us to the highest opposition and resentment from *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to imprisonments, scourgings, tortures, and death ; I own it, and that is the reason of my being so zealous for it ; and I promise myself an unconceivable pleasure in carrying it on under all these difficulties and dangers. But our pretence you'll say, to miracles, tongues and other supernatural gifts, will be a most effectual means to betray us, because we shall at every turn be ready to discover our want of them. Suppose it happen so ; can we not still face them down that we have them, though they cannot see them ? Can't we find means to impose, not only upon the eyes and ears of the world, but upon the very understandings of the greatest philosophers that now reign either at *Rome* or *Athens* ? Let us but resolutely undertake, and I promise you, you will meet with a thousand unexpected accidents, that will force, as it were, a success into your very laps.

But the greatest objection perhaps to you is, that we shall bring the hatred of even God himself, as well as of the world, upon us ; we shall not only deprive ourselves of all the hopes of the true promised Messiah, but of all other comforts of this or of the next life ; and what a dreadful thing must it be to be thrown into a dungeon, or led to some cruel execution ; abhorred by God and man, tortured by the sting of a conscience as black as the very hell we are hastening to, without one poor glympse of hope or comfort, either from within, or from without us ?

There

who sat begging at the gate. This drew immediately a great concourse of people about them to the place called *Solomon's* porch ;

There is indeed something in this thought which may appear terrible to mean souls ; but mine is above shrinking at such bugbears, when the glorious prospect of imposing one of the vilest cheats is put in the scale against it. For let our guilt be of never so deep a dye, and the generality of the world judge never so justly of it, yet as long as we make the greatest boasts to sanctity, piety, charity, and every real virtue, and take care that our life, at least outwardly, doth not bely our pretence, we shall still meet with admirers enough to keep up our spirits from flagging in this noble undertaking ; and who could grudge to run any dangers, or even to die for such a cause ?

And now, methinks, I see you all, like me, impatient to fall out in this heroic race ; but there is still one danger, against which I must warn you all. It is likely, that when we come to be dispersed at a vast distance from each other, as we must be of course to carry on the work, some one of us may, through fear of torments, or of some cruel death, be cowardly enough to discover the whole imposture, in which case we shall all lose the fruit of our labours. Our late pusillanimous behaviour, and mine in particular, to our late master in the garden, might indeed incline one to fear, lest there should turn out another *Judas* from among us. But there is something within me that gives me a quite contrary notion of you all, and that you will resolutely persist in carrying on the common cause, and not, through any base fear or terror, torture or death, make shipwreck of that glorious design, to which we are going to sacrifice all that is dear and valuable in this and the next world.

And therefore let me only add a few necessary directions to you, and then let us go on and prosper : 1. It is customary for persons of our character to be elated at every success or applause, and sunk down at every foil. We must act the reverse. Never appear more joyful, lofty, and undaunted, than when you meet with the greatest opposition, scorn, and ill treatment ; nor ever more humble and abased, than when men are ready to fall down and worship you. This you know was our master's case, and we must, whatever we do, profess an utter contempt of every thing that this world is fond of, and seem to court nothing but poverty and misery, crosses and persecutions. We may in all likelihood fare the better for it ; but if we do not, we shall at least save our credit, if we save nothing else.

2. It is not only natural, but sweet, to such men as we, to retaliate ill usage, though never so justly deserved, with ill language and ill offices, to complain of injustice and cruelty, and even to call for vengeance from heaven on our pretended oppressors. But I advise you, whatever betide us, to let your behaviour breathe nothing

porch ; where *Peter*, having reproved their stupidity in gazing at them, as the authors of so signal a miracle, assured them,

thing but the most surprising patience, meekness, resignation, and charity to your worst enemies, and, in the midst of the most exquisite racks and tortures, and even with your last breath, to pray to heaven for them. You will perhaps ask, how human nature can be capable of such heroic courage ? But remember only your character and reputation, as apostles, will rise or sink, according as you follow this rule ; and then I doubt not, but that will enable you to go through all this, and much more.

Many other such-like directions will occur in the course of our race, which I shall take care to communicate to you as often as opportunity offers. But one main one I must not omit before we set about the work : for without this you will be apt, in your preaching or writing the history of our late master, to aggravate every word or action of the *Jews* against him, to exclaim against the pretended injustice and impiety of the sanhedrin for condemning him ; on the baseness and cowardice of *Pilate* in ratifying their bloody sentence ; on the cruelty of the *Roman* soldiers for their inhuman treatment of him ; and on the obstinacy and perverseness of the *Jews* for not believing our report concerning him. And you may think yourselves intitled to do so from the example of the antient prophets, of the baptist, and even of our master, who made no scruple to reprove our nation in the severest terms.

But I absolutely forbid all such invectives and aggravations as derogatory to our honour, and to that hitherto unexampled plainness and simplicity, to which, I insist, every one of you shall confine himself in the relation of those facts, without betraying the least resentment, or indeed any other emotion, but what shall seem to flow from the deepest concern, pity, and charity to all the actors in that scene. You may perhaps at first not be aware of the usefulness and excellency of this caution ; but a little experience will soon convince you, that nothing will preserve or raise your character more. And now men and brethren, &c.

We shall go no further with this supposed scene, because we think it clearly appears by this time, that a man must be capable of believing any thing, that can think it possible for one, or all, of these twelve fishermen to concert, much less to execute with such surprising success and efficacy, a plot and imposture of so black and hellish a nature, under all those difficulties and disadvantages.

But here it will perhaps be pretended, that the whole story of the gospel, acts, &c. was made a long time after, and the characters, facts, and other advantageous circumstances, feigned at leisure. But then the question will be, by what miracle, enchantment, or fascination, they could be introduced into the world, be

A new miracle adds five thousand more.

them, that they had wrought it by no other power than that of *Jesus Christ*, whom their elders and rulers had through ignorance condemned to the cross. He concluded with such a powerful discourse, on the danger of an obstinate and ungrateful unbelief, and on the unspeakable benefits of a speedy faith and repentance, that five thousand more were added to them. Thus did the new church of Christ daily improve, not in the number only, but in the zeal and fervour, holiness and charity, of its members; beginning now a kind of heavenly life upon earth, disclaiming all property, selling all they had, and cheerfully laying it at the apostles feet, to be distributed to the relief of their brethren; and being even in their worldly goods, as well as in their hearts and affections, so perfectly united, that they became the wonder of the world, even of their very enemies. Thus were the divine oracles fulfilled, the promises of Christ performed, and his church miraculously planted and propagated by that heavenly Spirit; to continue under his direction to the end of the world, maugre all the oppositions of *Jews and Gentiles* *.

Peter's speech to the sanhedrin.

BUT the malice of the priests and rulers did not expire with the death of its divine author. This new and signal miracle on the impotent man; the number of converts it drew after it; the zeal, boldness, and eloquence of the apostles, all contributed to awaken their fears with their wonder, and to put them upon fresh means to suppress what they called this new and dangerous sect. The apostles and the cripple were brought before them, and *Peter*, in an elegant speech, assured them, that it was by the name and power of their great master, now gloriously enthroned in heaven, that they had wrought this miraculous cure; demonstrated to them from the scriptures, that he was that chief corner-stone, which

* Acts iii. 1, & seq.

universally received, believed, and attested by a series of men of all ranks and qualities, by men of learning and probity, who sealed those truths with their blood? How and in what age or generation, after Christ or his apostles, these things were introduced? a succession of prelates, preachers, and martyrs, together with a great number of their pretended writings, the decrees of councils, and other records, each quoting their predecessors up to the sacred writers, foisted in with the whole concomitant chain of evidence, which has hitherto illuded the attempts of the subtlest enemies of christianity? When, we say, the bare possibility of such an universal imposition, with all these circumstances, can once be shewed, it will be then time enough to turn sceptics; and if ever that should prove the case, where we shall stop, God alone can tell.

was

was long since foretold to be rejected by the builders¹, and was now become the foundation of the new covenant, since there was no name given under heaven, by which men might be saved, but that of *Jesus Christ*, crucified indeed by them, but raised again by his own victorious power. The sanhedrin, having nothing to oppose to these pregnant proofs, and yet ashamed to be convinced, and afraid to use violent means by reason of the admiring multitude, contented themselves for the present with forbidding them to preach any more in that name; to which *Peter* replied, We have received a contrary command from God, and you may easily judge which of the two ought to be obeyed².

Peter, upon his return to his colleagues, acquainted them with what had past, and the orders they had received from the *Jewish* chiefs; upon which they joined unanimously in prayer to God, to strengthen their faith, courage, and miraculous power, that they might boldly go on in their ministry, and preach his crucified Son in spite of all opposition and discouragements; upon which they felt their upper room violently shaken, and their hearts inspired with such zeal, that neither threatenings nor persecutions, racks, tortures, or cruel deaths, could put a stop, either to their preaching, or to its miraculous success: for such it really was, being still attended with some fresh miracle (I), which at once confirmed the believers, and still added fresh ones to their number. In the mean while the sanhedrin, which consisted chiefly of *Sadducees*, finding their endeavours ineffectual, began to think it high time to try some severer means; and to that end ordered them to be seized, and cast into a common gaol. But, before the next morning, an angel had opened the prison-gates to them, and bid them return to their preaching, which they did accordingly. By that time the council was set to determine something concerning them, word was brought to them, that the prisoners were escaped

*His second
defence.*

¹ Ps. cxviii. 22.

² Acts iii. & iv. pass.

(I) These miracles, we are told (24), became so frequent and known by this time, that they drew multitudes of people from all the neighbouring cities and countries to *Jerusalem*, who brought their sick friends, paralytics, lunatics, demoniacs, &c. to be healed by the apostles. Insomuch that the very shadow of *Peter* passing by cured many of them, who, by reason of the throngs that followed him, could not by any other means get access to him.

(24) Acts v. 15, & seq.

by some miracle ; for that on that morning not one of them was to be met with, though the prison-gates were found closely shut. Whilst they were debating about this new prodigy, the news came, that they were preaching as usual at the temple. Their fears now increasing with their surprise, they sent for them, yet without violence ; and *Caia-phas*, having expostulated with them, how they dared transgress their command, they boldly answered for themselves, that as obedience ceased to be due to magistrates, as soon as it began to contravene that which was due to God, they had strictly followed their duty in preaching the resurrection of Christ, and the remission of sins through him, and giving the same irrefragable proofs of those saving truths, which they themselves had of them ^a.

Gama-
liel's ad-
vice to the
sanbedrin.

THIS noble answer, which gave them to understand, that they were not to be frighted into a base compliance, did raise their indignation to such a degree, that they were just ready to vent it in some severer manner, when *Gamaliel* (K), one of their members, a person of greater coolness, and a learned *Pharisee*, stood up, and moderated their resentment for the present, by reminding them, that if this counsel was merely human, it would soon be crushed, as many others of the like nature, which he named, and they knew had lately been ; but if it was of God, it was vain, as well as impious, in them to oppose it. Wherefore, concluded he, my opinion is, that we let these men alone, and wait the event, lest we should be found at length to contend with an almighty power. His counsel was readily agreed to, and the apostles being called in, after having received a severe correction and rebuke for their contumacy, were dismissed, and they joyfully rejoined their colleagues ^b. About this time the tetrarch *Philip*, the brother of *Herod*, died at *Julias*, in the thirty seventh year of his reign, from the death of *Herod the*

Year of
the Flood,
3037.
Of Christ,

34
37.

^a Ibid. & ch. v. 17, & seq.

^b Acts, *ibid.* ver. 33. ad fin.

(K) This was the person at whose feet *St. Paul* had been brought up (25) ; some add also *Stephen* and *Barnabas* (26) ; he is affirmed by an antient writer to have been already converted to christianity (27) ; others pretend, that he was not till after the martyrdom of *Stephen*. But we have no certainty of any of these facts, nor of several others that are said of him, concerning which the reader may consult *Basnage* in the place last quoted.

(25) *Ibid.* xxii. 3. (26) *Vid.* *Lucian Rev. de S Steph. Basnag. Hist. des Juifs, Tom. 2. l. iv. c. 3.* (27) *Recogn. c. 65, & seq. Great.*

Great. He was buried in a magnificent tomb, which he had erected during his life ; and, as he left no heirs of his own body, his tetrarchy was resumed by *Tiberius*, and annexed to the province of *Syria*, then under the government of *Flaccus Pomponius* ; but with this restriction, that the revenues of that country should still be kept within the limits of it. *Josephus* tells us, that *Philip* was of so opposite a disposition to his father or brother, that his government was mild and quiet ; that he went always attended with a small number of servants, some of whom carried a chair after him, which served him as his tribunal, to be ready to receive every petition or complaint, and to do justice every-where upon the spot ^c.

ABOUT the same time, the apostles, at the complaint of *Seven deacons* some *Grecian* proselytes, ordained seven deacons from among *cons chosen* the number of believers, to be overseers of the ministry in the relief of the necessitous members. We know little of five of them, besides their names, which the reader will find in the margin (L). But *Stephen*, who is mentioned at the head of the rest, was a man of extraordinary faith, learning, and zeal, and full of the Holy Ghost, who wrought such wonders among the people, that he gave great umbrage to the *Jews*. He had confuted several of the heads of them in their respective synagogues ^d, concerning their notion of the perpetuity of the *Mosaic* law, for which he was accused before the sanhedrin. Here the high-priest having given him leave

^c Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

^d Acts vi. 9, & seq.

(L) These were *Stephen*, *Philip*, *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon*, *Parmenas*, and *Nicolas* ; this last is there called a proselyte of *Antioch*. The rest being also all *Greek* names. shews them to have been *Hellenists*, and that this new order was made in favour of the converts from them.

Some have affirmed this last to have been the author of the beastly *Nicolaitan* sect, that sprung up in the earliest age of the church (28) ; others have strenuously vindicated him from it (29). We can gather nothing certain concerning it. *Philip* is probably the same who converted the *Samaritans* (30), baptized the eunuch of queen *Candace* (31), and had four daughters endowed with the gift of prophecy (32). As for the other five, we know no more of them, than what has been mentioned above.

(28) *Vid. Epiphan. hæres. 25, & not. Coteler.* (29) *Clem. Alex. andr. Stromat. l. iii. Euseb. Theodoret. August & al.* (30) *Acts viii. 5, & seq.* (31) *Ibid. ver. 26, ad fin.* (32) *Ibid. xxi. 9, & seq.*

Stephen
stoned.

The chris-
tians per-
secuted.

to speak for himself, he began his defence, with an historical deduction of the true worship of God, exclusive of the *Mosaic* rites; which last he shewed by authentic proofs were to be done away, to make room for a more spiritual religion under the promised Messiah. This speech was accompanied with such powerful eloquence, angelic majesty, and with such a severe reproof for their constant resisting the Holy Ghost, and persecuting those who delivered his divine oracles to them, that not being longer able to bear what they called his blasphemy, they condemned him to death, and hurried him, as was usual in such cases, out of the city; where the witnesses, who were to throw the first stones, laid their upper garments at the feet of young *Saul*, then a zealous *Pharisee* and enemy to christianity, but since the great apostle of the *Gentiles*; and having, according to the *Mosaic* law, laid their hands on the condemned person, overwhelmed him with stones, whilst he called on God to forgive them his death, and on *Jesus* to receive his departing soul*. Authors are not agreed about the exact year of his death, but most of them, after *Usher*, *Pearson*, and others, place it about this time, that is, about a year after that of his divine master.

THE death of this glorious protomartyr was soon followed by a more grievous persecution against the christian converts, which yet the divine providence turned into a means of propagating the gospel far and wide, by the dispersion of a great number of them, who, after *Stephen's* death, left *Jerusalem* and *Judæa*, according to our Saviour's advice, *When you are persecuted in one city, flee into another*†. So that few but the apostles stayed at *Jerusalem*, whilst the rest went and preached, some at *Samaria*, some at *Cyprus*, and others elsewhere; but still among the *Jews*, for the time for the conversion of the *Gentiles* was not yet come. One of the chief instruments of this new persecution was the young *Saul*, mentioned a little higher, who observing with what zeal the sanhedrin endeavoured to crush the growing church, got a commission from them to seize, bind, and imprison all its members where-ever he met them; pursuant to which, he made a terrible havock of them, without regard to quality, age, or sex, till being himself miraculously converted in the midst of his bloody career, as he was going to *Damascus*, he became as zealous a promoter of it‡. During this persecution,

* Ibid. vii. per tot.
& seq.

† Matth. x. 23.

‡ Vid. Act. viii, ix,

Samaria having received the gospel by the preaching of *Philip*, and *Simon Magus*, who had formerly bewildered them with his forceries, being himself become a convert, the apostolic college at *Jerusalem* deputed thither *Peter* and *John*, who being come, imparted the Holy Ghost unto them by their prayer and imposition of hands. *Simon*, observing the wonderful efficacy of this last ceremony, would have purchased the same power of the apostles at a large sum; for which profane proposal *Peter* sharply rebuked him¹, and after-ages have branded his memory, by giving that new and unheard-of sin the name of *Simony*. The Samaritans converted.

ABOUT the beginning of the next year, *L. Vitellius*, being sent by *Tiberius* proconsul of *Syria*, came to *Jerusalem* about the feast of the passover, where he was honourably received by the magistrates of that metropolis, in requital of which he remitted to its inhabitants the whole duty of the fruits that were set to sale. He likewise put all the pontifical habits, which used to be kept in the fortress of *Antonia* under the custody of a Roman officer, into the possession of the Jewish high-priest, to be thenceforth kept and disposed of at their pleasure; after which, having deposed *Gaiaphas* from the pontifical chair, and raised *Jonathan* the son of *Annas* or *Ananus* to that dignity, he departed for *Antioch*, his capital¹. Soon after this a tumult happened at *Samaria*, in which *Pilate* acted with such arbitrariness and cruelty, that it proved a main step to his ruin. There had appeared there a certain impostor, some think the *Simon* lately mentioned, who persuaded the *Samaritans*, that if they would repair to their sacred mount *Gerizim*, for such they held it above all mountains, as we have often seen in this chapter, he would direct them to the sacred vessels, which *Moses* had formerly buried there. The credulous people came in shoals armed to him, and encamped before a village called *Tirathaba*, waiting for others to join them there, till they could make a sufficient body to go up and take possession of the pretended holy treasure. *Pilate*, who had timely notice of it, sent a strong body of horse and foot, who attacked them with such fury, that they killed a great number of those deluded wretches, took many of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest; after which he ordered those of the best rank and quality to be beheaded without mercy or delay. The *Samaritans* had immediately recourse to *Vitellius*, and complained Vitellius's kindness to the Jews.

¹ Ibid. viii. 14, & seq. xviii. 6.

¹ Conf. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xv. 14. &

of the massacre done among them; assuring him at the same time, that their assembling in arms was not with a seditious view, but to secure themselves from the intolerable oppressions of the Jewish governor. *Vitellius*, who was well acquainted with his cruel and rapacious character; upon this complaint dispatched his friend *Marcellus* to take the government of *Judæa* upon him, and sent orders to *Pilate* to repair immediately to *Rome*, there to answer the *Samaritans* accusation before *Cæsar's* tribunal. *Pilate* was forced to obey, but, being detained by contrary winds, *Tiberius* was dead before he could reach *Rome*. This deposition, which was but the fore-runner of much greater evils to that cruel oppressor, happened in the tenth year of his tyrannic government * (M).

DURING

* Antiq. ibid. c. 5.

(M) The acts of *Pilate* have made so much noise among the learned, that it will doubtless be expected we should give our *English* readers some idea of them, since they are so confidently quoted by a great number of antient fathers (33), and have been as strenuously opposed or defended by learned moderns (34). It seems indeed very probable, that every governor of a province of the *Roman* empire was obliged to send an account, at least, of the most material transactions that happened in his time; and if so, the crucifixion of a person of the *Messiah's* character, through the tumultuous malice of the *Jews*, and contrary to *Pilate's* own inclination, was of too signal a nature not to be transmitted to *Rome* by him, though but to disculpate himself of that unjust deed, and to throw all the odium of it on the sanhedrin.

It is true, those acts that have been transmitted to us vary in many particulars, according to the several hands they have passed through; and some of them carry such a face of forgery, that they cannot be reasonably supposed the same with those which those antient writers speak so positively of, and have given us such seemingly authentic fragments of. So that to conclude them all to be forged by some pious zealots, is to carry scepticism beyond its due bounds. For who can think that men of such sense, learning, and integrity, as the apologists were, should dare to appeal to those records in favour of the persecuted christians, which, if once found to be forged, must have done their cause the greatest prejudice? How could

(33) *De his vid. Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Tertul. Apolog. 5. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. ii. Oros. l. vii. c. 4. Chrysost. Epiph. hær. 50. Greg. Turon. & al. mult.* (34) *Vid. int. al. Casaub. Exercit. 16. Baron. annal. Fabric. apocryph. N. T. & al. ab eo citat.*

they

DURING these transactions in *Judæa*, *Herod* had been carrying on his unsuccessful war against *Aretas*, of which we have

they speak of them, not only as of things commonly known and acknowledged, but with the same confidence, and seeming exactness, as if they had seen them, consulted, and copied them out of their archives? Is it not more reasonable to believe, that there were such records, though sadly blended and corrupted in those after-ages, which, through the baseness of arch heretics, and the blind zeal of others, produced such numbers of other apocryphal writings? *Eusebius* tells us, that even the *Pagans* did, in the beginning of the fourth century, trump up a new account of the *acta Pilati* (35), doubtless to oppose to those cited by *Justin* and *Tertullian* in the foregoing one. Another mongrel sect, called *Quatuordecimans*, had likewise a set of them quite different from the rest, and from which, *Epiphanius* tells us (36), they defended some of their tenets. And where is the wonder that records of such important nature should be corrupted and altered, by designing men, so long after? Is it not rather a greater one, that those of the two apologists above-mentioned, who wrote as if they had had the authentic copies of the true ones before their eyes, should have been preserved to us? We shall now give our readers the substance of them in as few words as we can.

Pilate to Tiberius, &c.

“ I have been forced to consent at length to the crucifixion of
 “ *Jesus Christ*, to prevent a tumult from the *Jews*; though it was
 “ very much against my will. For the world never saw, nor prob-
 “ ably will, a man of such extraordinary piety and uprightness.
 “ But the high priest and sanhedrin fulfilled in it the oracles of
 “ their prophets, and of our sybils. Whilst he hung on the cross,
 “ a horrid darkness, which covered the earth, seemed to threaten
 “ its final end. His disciples, who pretend to have seen him rise
 “ from the dead, and ascend into heaven, and acknowledge him
 “ for their God (37), do still subsist; and by their excellent lives
 “ shew themselves the worthy disciples of so extraordinary a mas-
 “ ter. I did what I could to save him from the malice of the *Jews*;
 “ but the fear of a total insurrection made me sacrifice him to the
 “ interest and peace of your empire, &c.

There is nothing in all this that can appear inconsistent with the character of such a governor as *Pilate* was, if we except his saying there, that *Christ's* death had been foretold by the prophets and sybils; and *Josephus* of *Arimathea*, when he went to beg his body, might in all likelihood inform him of the one, and the other he might either know, or be told by some of his own people. As for

(35) *Ubi supra*, l. ix. c. 4. (36) *Hæres.* 50. (37) *These last particulars are only in Tertullian and Euseb. ubi supra.*

have already spoken; and *Tiberius*, vexed at the success of the latter, had sent express orders to *Vitellius* to invade his country, and either to take him prisoner, or send his head to *Rome*. *Vitellius*, in his march into *Arabia*, designed to have passed through *Judæa*, but was happily diverted from it by the Jewish heads, on account of the *Roman* standards. Upon this condescension *Herod* and he came to *Jerusalem*, where they were highly honoured, and offered the usual sacrifices, and removed *Jonathan* from the priesthood to give it to his brother *Theophilus*¹. Here they received the news of *Tiberius*'s death, and of the installation of the emperor *Caius*, of which a fuller account shall be given in its proper place; and *Vitellius* stayed to receive the oath of fidelity from the people to the new emperor. *Jerusalem* was the first eastern city, it seems, that heard the news of his succession, and offered up sacrifices for him^m. By this time *Artabanes* having succeeded *Aretas* in *Arabia*, *Vitellius* went and made an alliance with him near the *Euphrates*, where *Herod* gave them a magnificent entertainment under a stately pavilion, which he had reared for that purpose near the banks of that river. The *Roman* general sent immediately an account of this transaction to the emperor, and was surprised to find by his answer, that *Herod* had been beforehand with him, and had acquaint-

¹ Antiq. ibid. c. 8. Vid. & DIO, l. lix. ^m Vid. PHILLO. legat. ad Caium.

the rest, the fear he was in of being called to an account for his unjust sentence, might make him the more diligent in sending such a favourable relation of the transaction, as might best prejudice that ticklish emperor in his favour. Some apocryphal writings tell us, that he was forced to do it in his justification; and that *Tiberius*, who had long lingered under a decay, which eluded the skill of his physicians, had been advised to send for *Jesus* from *Judæa*, to cure him by his miraculous power. They add, that when he received this account from *Pilate*, he not only highly resented it from him, but much more from the Jewish sanhedrin, whose court he ordered the former to demolish, that, being the only place where they were allowed to sit in council, they might never more pronounce another sentence from it. But this story we would be far from putting on the level with the acts of *Pilate* in point of evidence. As for that prætor, there is no record what became of him after his being sent to *Rome*. Only an antient tradition, supported by some seeming authentic monuments, says, that he was banished to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, where his misery forced him to kill himself with his own sword.

ed him with all the particulars of it; for which he bore him a mortal grudge ever after ^a.

ALL this while the christian church increased to a surprising degree, not only in *Judæa*, but in all other parts of the world; to which the apostles themselves, after having left *James the Less* bishop of that of *Jerusalem* (N), dispersed themselves,

^a JOSEPH. & DIO, ubi supra.

(N) When this choice or installation was made, whether immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost, or after the death of the protomartyr, or in any intermediate space between, is not easy to guess; and that he was made bishop of *Jerusalem*, and that this metropolis was made the first christian see, we have not from any sacred writers, but from the fathers (38) and antient tradition; and both add, that he wore a golden plate on his forehead, probably in imitation of the *Jewish* high-priest †. It is supposed, that both St. *Peter* and the two sons of *Zebedee* gave him the preference of being the first bishop, on account of his being so nearly related to Christ. For he was the son of *Cleophas* or *Alpheus*, the brother of the blessed virgin, from whom he was therefore his first cousin, and hence called his brother, according to the *Hebrew* custom (39).

This his preference is further confirmed by his being mentioned by the apostle before *Peter* and *John*, who are there called the two other pillars of the church (40), and especially by his sitting as president at the first council at *Jerusalem*, when the question about the circumcision of the heathen converts was condemned (41). For there *Peter* having opened the point to the assembly, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* related the main particular of their conversion, *James* stood up and summed up the whole debate; and having delivered his own opinion, and backed it with scripture authority, he gave the definitive sentence, which was assented to by the rest (42).

The fathers above-mentioned speak very much of his great sanctity, mortified life, miracles, &c. for which he was surnamed by *Jews* as well as christians, *The Just*. They add, that he had also that of *Obliab* or *Ophliab* given him, which signifies *the fortress of God*; and that he was even allowed to enter into that part of the temple which was only permitted to the priests, though he was not of that order, and that the people crowded about him to kiss the hem of his garment (43).

Baronius quotes a story out the *Talmud* (44), that a *Jew* named *Eleazar*, having been bit by a venomous serpent, *James* was sent for to cure him in the name of *Jesus* the son of the carpenter, which was strenuously opposed by a *Jewish* rabbi there present;

(38) Clem. Alexand. Hægesip. ap. Euseb. Eccl. hist. l. ii. c. 1. E-piphan hæres. 19. § 78. † De quo vid. Vol. III. p. 238. &c.
(39) Vide Galat. i. 19. Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 8. (40) Galat. ii. 9.
(41) Acts xv. 4. & seq. (42) Ibid. ver. 13. & seq. Vid. & Leij-
ley's case stated. (43) Vid. Hieron. in Galat. i. (44) Annal. an. 63.
G. g g 2 and

themselves, either about, or soon after, this time. It is out of our province, not only to follow them out of *Judaea*, but even to enter into many transactions of theirs within it, which have no concern with the *Jewish* history we are upon. Such as their councils held at *Jerusalem*, their converts, miracles, ordination of bishops, and many more of that kind; which regarding only the first propagation and planting of the christian church, we shall refer our readers for them to those christian annalists, historians, and other authors, who have wrote on the subject, and which are too numerous and too well known to need being mentioned in the margin.

THAT we may therefore resume and finish our history without any further digression, we shall conclude what relates to the christian church with the miraculous conversion of *Cornelius* the *Roman* centurion, the first-fruits of that of the *Gentile* world; because it is there, that we formerly fixed the final departure of the poor remains of the *Jewish* sceptre or

and that whilst they were debating about the lawfulness of the cure, the venom grew to such a head, that the patient died; upon which the stiff necked rabbi congratulated him for dying without breaking the rules of the *Jewish* doctors.

Some apocryphal writings were attributed to *St. James*, but were condemned by the church, which receives none but the epistle that bears his name, and which he is supposed to have written a little before his death, which happened about the year of Christ 62; when his great sanctity having rendered him obnoxious to *Ananus*, the son of *Annas* the high priest mentioned in the gospel, he drew him into the following snare. He sent for him to declare unto the mistaken people what they ought to think of *Jesus* concerning whom they had, he pretended, conceived some wrong notion. For the better conveniency of his being heard, he was placed in some gallery, or high balcony, of the temple, where the people from below inquired of him concerning the crucified *Jesus*, to which the good old bishop answered, *That Jesus, whom you crucified, sits now at the right hand of God.*

As the populace below were of the *Jewish* leaven, the priests and *Pharisees* that headed them expected them to have broke out into invectives and blasphemies, instead of which they all broke out into *Hozannas* to him; upon which the chiefs cried out, *The Just*, alluding to his surname, is also in the delusion, and ordered him to be thrown headlong down. His fall not having made an end of him, they fell a covering him with stones, whilst he prayed to God for them, for which one of them came and knocked his brains out with a club (45).

(45) *Euseb. ubi supra, l. ii. c. 23.*

power †. We there observed, after the learned Mr. *Mede*, that the words of *Jacob* might, and by the event ought to be read, *The sceptre shall not depart, &c. till Shiloh come, and to him the nations be gathered*; which could not therefore be totally removed, till this promised conversion of the *Gentiles* was in some measure accomplished. It had indeed began to dwindle long before, but there were still some remains left; they were still governed by their own laws, their sanhedrin had still a great power, even of life and death, as we observed in the case of *St. Stephen*. The reader may see some further tokens of it in the margin (O). But from this time it was
so

† See Vol. II. p. 441, note (G).

(O) We have a pregnant instance of this in the assault which was made on *St. Paul* in the temple (36), where he was seized, and was going to be carried before the high-priest, but was rescued by *Claudius Lysias*, the commanding officer of that place. This is the first instance we meet with of the *Romans* interfering in a case of this nature; and accordingly, when the prisoner was brought before the governor, *Tertullus*, the *Jewish* orator, complained of the violence done to them in these words (37): We found this pestilent fellow, meaning *Paul*, raising sedition through the world, a ring leader of the *Nazarite* sect, who went also to profane our temple; whom we therefore laid ho'd on, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain *Lysias* came, and by main violence rescued him from our hands, &c.

What judgment they designed to have passed upon him, is easy to know, both by what the people cried out when he made his defence (38), and by the accusation they brought against him, sedition and sacrilege; for such they deemed the profanation of the temple, which was made capital by their law. Accordingly, we have taken notice in a former section of certain inscriptions fastened to certain pillars of the building, forbidding all strangers, and polluted *Israelites*, to enter beyond the court of the *Gentiles*, under pain of death †. It may be likewise gathered from the judgment which *Festus*, *Agrippa*, and others made of him, that *he had done nothing worthy of death* (39); by the reason which *Festus* gave for not delivering him into their hands; *It is not the custom*, said he, *for the Romans to deliver a man to die, before, &c.* (40; and by the *Jews* laying in wait to kill him by stratagem, since they could not get it done in a judicial way.

All this seems further confirmed to us by his appeal to *Cæsar*. He knew the crime alledged against him to be capital, and chiefly

(36) *Acts* xxi. 27, & seq.

(37) *Ibid.* xxiv. 5, & seq.

(38) *Ibid.* xxii. 22, 23.

† *Vid. sup. p.* 183, *sub not.* (B).

(39) *xxvi.* 31.

(40) *Ibid.* xxv. 16.

so curtailed and reduced, that no footstep was to be seen of it, even before the last siege of *Jerusalem*, which was to give the finishing stroke to that and several noble prophecies. As this conversion of the *Roman* centurion was to usher in a new and singular epoch, it is no wonder, it was accompanied with such remarkable and miraculous circumstances. Of this sort were the extraordinary piety and charity in that new proselyte, and the vision that appeared to him, and directed him where to send for *Peter*, who was to preach Christ to him; the surprizing vision, which that apostle had about the same time; the explanation and the command which he received from the Spirit; the great readiness with which *Cornelius* and his company received the word preached; and their

of a religious nature; and yet refuses to be tried by the sanhedrin, and affirms that he ought not to be judged by any other tribunal than that of *Cæsar*. Doth not this imply that the power of life and death, even in religious cases, was by this time taken away? Doth not the defence he made there before *Festus* (41) seem to amount to this? Though the new governor, out of a desire to ingratiate himself to the *Jews*, offers to make them judges of my cause; and if they should condemn me, has still the power to put a negative upon their sentence; yet, for as much as all capital cases are now to be tried only before *Cæsar's* tribunal, I appeal to that, and protest against his complaisance to them as contrary to the present law.

Upon the whole we have an instance of the sanhedrin's trying, condemning, and executing *Stephen* by their own authority about a year after Christ. Twenty six years after they endeavoured to do the same by *St. Paul*, and were prevented by the *Roman* captain. Being hindered from doing it by their own authority, they endeavoured to prevail first upon the old, next upon the new governor, to consent to his being put to death, and are refused by both, unless after a fair trial and conviction at the *Roman* tribunal. At length they found means to persuade the new one to recede in some measure from his prerogative, and let them try the pretended criminal themselves; and this last protests against it, and appeals to *Cæsar* as the only tribunal where he can be lawfully tried. What can this argue, but that, between the death of *St. Stephen* and the trial of *St. Paul*, the *Jews* had lost all their power of trying criminal causes; and since this instance of the latter is the first we meet with, of their being divested of that power, about twenty years after the conversion of *Cornelius*; seems it not to follow, that the *Jewish* sceptre was not totally departed till after the *Gentiles* had been gathered to that of the *Shiloh* there prophesied?

(41) *Acts* xxv. 9, & seq.

being endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, even before their baptism. All which are so well known, that we shall not dwell longer upon them ; but only observe, that there was a further necessity of some such extraordinary and miraculous circumstances, to determine *Peter* and satisfy the rest of the apostles and *Jewish* converts ; since it plainly appears, that notwithstanding Christ's repeated commission to them to convert all nations, yet they so little dreamed of the heathen being to be brought into his fold, that the former would never have gone to proselyte this or any other heathen, nor the rest have been pacified for his so doing, if these remarkable occurrences had not reminded them, that a happy entrance was to be thereby opened to the rest of the *Gentile* world °.

WE return now to the *Jews*, who, soon after the death of *Tiberius*, received a new governor from *Rome*, named *Marullus*, instead of *Pontius Pilate*, or rather of *Marcellus*, to whom the care of *Judæa* had been committed after his deposition. At the same time *Caius Caligula* gave his old friend *Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus* and grandson of *Herod the Great*, of whom we have formerly spoken *, the tetrarchy of his late uncle *Philip*, and added to it that of *Abylene* in *Syria*, which had formerly belonged to *Lysanias*. *Agrippa*, whom *St. Luke* calls by the common name of *Herod* †, had been brought up at *Rome* with *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius*, and by his extreme generosity, or rather profuseness, had gained himself many friends at court ; but they were of the courtly mould. For after *Drusus's* death, the emperor having removed all the friends of that young prince from him, lest they should revive the memory of his son, *Agrippa* found himself reduced to the greatest extremities, indebted over head and ears, penniless, and almost friendless. In this condition he came into *Judæa*, and shut himself up in a castle in *Idumæa*, resolved through shame, vexation, and misery, to starve himself to death. His wife *Cyprus*, the daughter of *Phasael*, did what she could to assist him, writ to his sister in his behalf ; and these two furnished him with some present subsistence, but all too little for a prince of his extravagant temper. To this *Herod*, *Herodias's* husband, added some further favours to him, made him a magistrate of *Tiberias*, and assisted him with some small sums. But this kindness was soon at an end, and *Herod* having one day upbraided him with it at some banquet,

° De. hoc vid. Act. x. & xi. pass. & alib
sect. v. p. 197, in fin. not.

† Act. xii. 1, & seq.

* See before,

Agrippa,

Agrippa
raised by
Caius.
Year of
the flood,
3037.
Of Christ,
 $\frac{47}{39}$.

Jews per-
secuted at
Alexan-
dria.

Agrippa, who could not brook the affront, retired to *Flartus*, governor of *Syria*, where he had not stayed long before he disobliged him, and was forced to retire again into *Italy*. After many other rubs and misfortunes, which the reader may see in *Josephus* ⁹, he was at length, through the ill offices of one of his freedmen, thrown into prison, and loaded with chains, by *Tiberius*. He continued in this miserable condition till that prince's death, when *Caius*, with whom he had formerly contracted an intimate friendship, sent for him from his prison to his own palace, arrayed him in purple, exchanged his iron chain for one of gold of the same weight, put a diadem on his head, and gave him the two tetrarchies above-mentioned, with the title of king. *Agrippa* did not, however, come immediately into his new dominions, but continued about a year longer at *Rome* with the new emperor. He obtained at length leave of him to come and visit his *Jewish* territories, and to set things in the best order, and took *Egypt* in his way. He embarked at *Puteoli* at the end of *July*, and came a few days after in sight of *Alexandria*. The magnificence of his entry into that city, though he chose to make it in the night to avoid its being too much observed, drew the envy of the *Alexandrians*, who could not behold this new upstart *Jewish* king in such splendor, without offering several indignities to him, though at a distance (P) ; and *Flaccus* their governor, who was no lover of the *Jews*, not only winked at it, but beheld it with a secret pleasure. He was likewise there informed of the indirect means which *Flaccus* had taken to render the *Jewish* nation odious to the emperor. All which made him willing to leave the place as soon as possible. The great oppressions, persecutions, and horrid butcheries, which the *Alexandrian Jews* suffered from this base governor, for refusing to worship the new made emperor, and his behaviour to the ambassadors, sent to him to represent their loyalty in all other cases that were consistent with their law, are out of

⁹ Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

(P) One of them was the setting up a poor foolish fellow that used to go naked about the streets, dressing him in a kind of mock royalty, and making him ride through the great places of the city, with a tattered life-guard like himself, and huzzaing of him with the word *Maris*, which means the same as, *God bless the king* ; whilst others came to present their petition, demanded justice &c. and exposed his royalty to the most audacious ridicule (42).

(42) *Philo in Flaccum. Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.*

our province; the reader may see a full account of it in *Philo* above-mentioned^r; and we shall see by-and-by, that those of *Judaea* were like to have suffered as much from him, though they had such a powerful advocate as king *Agrippa* to intercede for them, had not *Caius's* death put a happy period to his impious project of being acknowledged as a deity.

WHILST these horrid cruelties were acting at *Alexandria*, *Flaccus's* *Agrippa*, who had left that city to get into his new king-^c *uelties* dom, took care to acquaint the emperor with them, who *punished*. dispatched *Bassus* immediately to seize that bloody governor, and bring him to *Rome*, where he was stripped of all his riches, banished into an island of the *Archipelago*, and at length put to death there.

IN the mean time *Herod Antipas*, who had formerly treat- *Herod* ed *Agrippa* with such contempt, could not now behold his *Antipas's* glory and his being in such favour with *Caligula* without the *ambition*. deepest envy. His wife, a haughty woman, could not brook that he should be contented with the bare title of tetrarch, whilst her brother was now raised to that of a king; and did not cease teasing him, till she made him take a journey to *Rome* to obtain the same title from the emperor. She even accompanied him thither, in hopes that her presence would greatly influence that monarch; but *Agrippa*, who was timely acquainted with their ambitious designs, had taken care to send thither one of his freedmen, named *Fortunatus*, to accuse *Herod* with having had a hand in *Sejanus's* late conspiracy, and, as a proof of it, to mention the arsenals which he had filled with arms, sufficient to furnish seventy thousand men. As soon therefore as *Herod* was entered into the presence, and had paid his respects to the emperor, *Fortunatus* presented him with *Agrippa's* letter. *Caius* having read it, asked *Herod* whether he had really such a great reserve of arms? He was forced to confess it; upon which he was stripped of his tetrarchy, and sent into banishment to *Lyons* *Banished*. in *France*. *Caius* understanding, however, that *Herodias* was *Agrippa's* sister, he offered to pardon her, and to procure her the payment of all the sums she had lent her brother; but she refused his generosity; and since she had been the cause of her husband's disgrace, she chose to accompany him, and to share the same fate with him (Q); upon which

Accused to
Caius.

Banished.

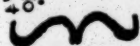
^r In Flaccum.

(Q) *Josephus* tells us elsewhere, that he was banished into *Spain* (43), and that he died there; so that he must either have

(43) *Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.*

which *Caius* gave both his tetrarchy and all his treasure to *Agrippa*, after *Herod* had enjoyed the former forty three years ^f.

A new
storm rais-
ed against
the Jews.
Year of
the Flood,
3038.
Of Christ,
43.
40.



IN the mean time, *Caius*, having taken it into his head to cause his statue to be set up in the very sanctuary of the temple, sent orders to *Petronius*, then governor of *Syria*, to see it executed, and to have a number of troops ready to prevent any obstruction from the *Jews*. *Petronius*, who knew the zeal of these, as well as the impetuosity of his master, could not set about such a command without some dread; and to gain time, sent for the best statuaries and materials from distant parts, whilst he gathered his army into the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*. This last action having alarmed the nation, he was forced to tell them the orders he had received; upon which he was addressed by all the heads of the *Jews*, who in the humblest manner assured him, that they would sooner hazard the loss of all that was dear to them, even their lives, than suffer their temple to be thus profaned. The governor strove to bring them into a compliance, by reminding them of the danger of their opposing, or of his not obeying the emperor's command, and that their resistance would be interpreted as a downright rebellion. They answered him, that the prayers and sacrifices they offered daily for the emperor were a sufficient token of their loyalty. However, added they, we are so far from designing to rise up in arms upon this occasion, that we will suffer ourselves to be butchered in the most cruel manner; and this will be all the resistance you will meet with from us, if you go on with your design.

Agrippa
intercedes
for them.

SOON after this, *Aristobulus* the brother of *Agrippa*, accompanied with some of the royal family, came to *Petronius*, and begged, that they might have leave to try to mollify the emperor by an embassy, and that he would second it with a letter to that monarch in their behalf. *Petronius* at length consented to write to the emperor, but forbade them to send any embassy, or let their reluctance be so much as suspected at the *Roman* court. He wrote accordingly to the emperor, that he had met with difficulties in the execution

^f Antiq. I. xviii. c. 9. Vid. & Dio, lib. lix. PHILO. ubi supra.

fled thither afterwards, or, which is more likely, he was sent thither from *Lyons*, when *Caius* and *Agrippa* came to this last place, and made some stay in it. This was the *Herod* before whom Christ was brought before his death.

of

of his orders, through want of proper hands; and that the statue, which he designed should be a master-piece of its kind, was not yet reared, because he feared lest the taking so many men from their other labours, should bring a scarcity in the land, lower the tribute, and such other reasons, which, instead of appeasing, greatly exasperated the emperor. He was just reading the letter, and in the height of his resentment, when king *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, came into his presence. He was greatly surprized to see such a mixture of passions in his looks and gestures, and began to fear he had either offended, or been in some way misrepresented to him; when *Caius*, who easily observed his disorder, broke the secret to him in words to this effect: Your *Jewish* subjects are strange creatures to refuse to acknowledge me for a god, and to provoke my resentment against them; I had commanded the statue of *Jupiter* to be set up in their temple, and they have, it seems, opposed it, and raised a kind of universal insurrection.

AT these words *Agrippa*, like one thunder-struck, after having in vain tried to keep himself up, fell into a swoon, and was carried off into his own palace, where he continued in that condition till the third day, when having taken a little sustenance, he set himself about writing to the emperor the letter which the reader may see at full length in *Josephus* [†], and the substance of it in the margin (R). *Caius*, instead of being

*Obtains
his suit.*

[†] Antiq. l. xviii. c. 11. Vid. & legat. ad Caium.

(R) He began with justifying the love he had expressed for his own country in their last interview, and to which he was bound, not only by the law of nature, but even by those of his own religion, he being descended from a race of such noble ancestors, as had during a long series of successions enjoyed the regal and pontifical dignity; for so he really was by his grand-mother *Mariamne*, the beloved wife of *Herod the Great*, who was of the race of the *Asmonæan* princes, as we have often hinted in some former sections.

He went on with acquainting him, that he chose to intercede for his own nation in writing, rather than by word of mouth, as he thought it the most respectful way of the two; and that the many signal favours he had received from him, gave him grounds to hope, that he should now obtain a favour, which would cost him nothing, but would be esteemed by the *Jews* as the greatest he could bestow on them: That *Jerusalem* could not but be thought worthy of his regard, since it was the first city of the east, which had proclaimed him emperor, and offered up sacrifices for him: That as to the temple of that metropolis, it had been highly revered by

H h h 2

Augustus,

being moved at the king's concern, was rather the more exasperated against the *Jews*, and against him, for his concern for such an ungrateful race, as he called them, whom all his favours could not work into a compliance to his will. However, he began to relent when he read the letter, and *Agrippa*, who drew a good omen even from his not answering it, took the liberty to invite him to a sumptuous entertainment, which *Caius*, who really loved him, easily accepted. Here the *Jewish* king, having well warmed his guest with wine, began to extol the great and signal favours he had heaped upon him; and, by his large encomiums and expressions of gratitude, found means to get a fresh promise of whatever he should ask. To this *Agrippa* answered, Since it is your pleasure to add this new favour to all the rest, I will beg for such a one as will at once be an irrefragable proof of your goodness to me, and draw a plenty of heavenly blessings upon your head; and that is, that you will set aside your resolution of setting up the statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*. This petition, which shewed not only the greatest disinterestedness, but also the most unfeigned love for his country and religion, even at the hazard of his life, had such an effect on that emperor, that he wrote immediately to his governor, that if his statue was not already set up, he should forbear doing it; adding, that he had altered his design out of friendship to *Agrippa*. However, the lightness of his temper soon made him repent of his complaisance to him; so that he designed to have made a second attempt, unknown to him. At the same time his resentment against *Petronius* being kindled afresh, he sent him an order to dispatch himself; but *Caius* was

Augustus, *Tiberius*, and many others of his ancestors, for whose memory he professed a singular honour, and whose pious conduct, he hoped, he would imitate upon this occasion: That as to himself, the greatest favours he had heaped upon him would only increase his unhappiness, if he did not think fit to grant him this last: That it was impossible for him to outlive the profanation of that sacred place, and the disgrace and ruin of his nation.

He concluded with reminding him, that he should be justly esteemed a traitor to both, if he should be wanting in using his utmost interest at this juncture, and that the world would not fail to think him discarded of his imperial favour, if he did not succeed in a petition of this nature. This long and pathetic letter was immediately sealed, and sent to the emperor; and *Agrippa* waited with the utmost impatience for an answer, but in vain; *Caius*, though mollified by it, not vouchsafing to take the least notice of it to him.

assassinated

assassinated time enough to prevent either mischief taking effect * (S).

Agrippa, who was still at *Rome*; did not a little contribute to the succession of *Claudius* (T); in consideration of which, this last confirmed to him all *Caligula's* grants, gave him *Judea*, *Samaria*, and the southern parts of *Idumea*, entered into a solemn alliance with him; and made several edicts in favour of the *Jews*. At his request he gave likewise the kingdom of *Chalcis* to his brother *Herod*; who was also his son-in-law; *Agrippa* had the honours of the consulship, and *Herod* those of the prætorship, conferred upon them; both were intitled to enter into the senate; and to pay their compliments to the emperor in *Greek*, which was usually done in *Latin* ^w. All these grants were engraven on copper, and set up in the capitol; thus was *Agrippa* raised to the height of glory, his territories extended to the furthest limits of his grandfather *Herod the Great*, and his power and credit with the senate even much greater than his, when at the highest pitch.

Claudius's
friendship
to him.

* *Antiq. ubi supra. SUTTON. in Caligul. c. 3, & 4. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 18. DIO, lib. lx.* ^w *Antiq. l. xix.*

(S) During this interval, besides the raging persecution in *Alexandria*, there happened some others in other places, and upon other accounts, particularly in *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*. But we chuse to refer our readers for them to *Josephus* (44), rather than swell this history with things that happened out of *Palestine*.

It will be sufficient to observe here, that as the *Jews* in other parts withstood the preaching of the gospel, where-ever the apostles and primitive converts brought it, and with the same vehemence as those of *Palestine*, they seldom, if ever, fail'd sharing in their punishment.

(T) It must be owned, that the part which *Agrippa* acted in this election between the new emperor and the senate, is not much to his honour, and was more becoming a consummate courtier than a king (45), as we shall see in the *Roman* history. But the wonder will cease, when we remember, that he had been brought up at that court, had spent most of his life there; and that the various vicissitudes his fortune had formerly led him through, would not suffer him to be over-nice at such a juncture, when his kingdom and all depended upon his securing the friendship of the next successor. In other things he really acted in a quite different character, as the sequel will shew.

(44) *Antiq. ubi supra, c. 12. per tot. loc. sup. citat.*

(45) *Vid. Joseph. et Dic.*

Agrippa
comes to
Judæa.

HE returned soon after into his kingdom, where he shewed a more extraordinary attachment to the *Jewish* religion than any of his predecessors, and began with the solemn performance of the vow of *Nazareat* †; after which he caused the golden chain, which *Caius* had given him, to be hanged up in one of the most conspicuous parts of the temple, to be a monument to posterity of the instability of human affairs. He deposed *Theophilus* from the high-priesthood, and gave it to *Simon Cantharas* the son of *Boethus*. He divested him of it soon after, to bestow it on *Jonathan* the son of *Annas*, who had already enjoyed it after *Caiaphas*; but he modestly refused it, telling the king, that he thought himself sufficiently honoured to have once enjoyed that dignity; upon which it was given to his brother *Matthias* *.

His character.

Agrippa was not only a zealous observer of the *Jewish* religion, but he was likewise an excellent prince, delighting in acts of generosity and clemency (U). He had been at an immense

† De hoc vid. Vol. III. p. 229, & seq. * Antiq. ubi supra, c. 5, 6, & 7.

(U) We have a signal instance of it in the case of one *Simon*, a furly fanatic lawyer, who had ventured to exclaim against him in a public assembly, as unfit to enter into the court of the *Israelites*, because he was an *Idumean* by the father's side. The king, who was then at *Cæsarea*, only sent for him to the theatre, made him sit down by him, and, instead of reproving his boldness, mildly asked him, whether there was any thing in him, or his actions, which he thought contrary to the *Jewish* law. This behaviour so mollified the man, that he answered him in the negative, approved of all he did, (for *Agrippa* was very fond of those public shews) and, in a submissive manner, begged pardon for his former speech, which was readily granted to him (46).

His treatment of *Silas*, whose great obligations he had already rewarded with the command of all his forces, has indeed been censured as favouring of ingratitude; but the abuse which that general had made of his power, his contemptuous behaviour towards him, and his public protesting that he would never cease upbraiding him with his former condition, and his own past services to him, might well deserve his resentment; which yet he carried no further than imprisoning him: for it was *Herod* that put him to death immediately after that of *Agrippa* (47).

Josephus, in the place last quoted, instances, as a monument of his magnificence, the stately theatre which he built at *Berytus* in *Phœnice*; in which, among other spectacles he gave the people

(46) *Antiq. l. xix. c. 7.*

(47) *Id. ibid.*

there,

immense charge in building, beautifying, and fortifying a new quarter on the north side of the city, which he called *Bezetha*, or *the new city*, and in procuring the emperor's leave to surround it with a strong wall, which, if he had obtained, would have rendered that metropolis impregnable. But *Vivius Marsus*, who had this year succeeded *Petronius* in the government of *Syria*, represented the danger of such a design, which had already been carried on to some forwardness, in such lively colours, that *Claudius* immediately sent him an order to desist. So considerable was he, and esteemed by all his neighbours, that, in one of his progresses to *Tiberias*, he had no less than five kings, who came to compliment him there. These were *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, *Samsigeran*, king of *Emesa*, *Cotis*, king of *Lesser Armenia*, *Polemon*, king of *Pontus*, and *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*. This meeting, however, gave *Marsus* such jealousy, that he came thither himself; and though *Agrippa* complimented him so far as to go seven stades to meet him, yet that governor commanded them all to depart, and return to their respective kingdoms. This action did so affront the Jewish king, that he sent to desire the emperor to recal him from his government, and easily obtained it; but *Claudius* died just before the orders had reached *Syria*.

Year of
the Flood,
3040.
Of Christ,
42 or 45.

Visited by
five kings.

UPON his return to *Jerusalem* he deposed *Matthias* the son of *Annas* from the high-priesthood, and gave that dignity to *Elionæus* the son of *Cithæus*; and as he was very fond of pleasing the Jewish nation, he began to persecute the christians, who till then seem to have been very quiet at *Jerusalem* ever since *St. Paul's* conversion. The first who fell a victim to his popular zeal was, *James the Less*, surnamed *Boanerges*, whom he caused to be beheaded (W). The pleasure

† Antiq. ibid. c. ult. ad fin.

there, he caused fourteen thousand condemned criminals to represent a fight, which they did in such good earnest, that there was not one left alive of all that number.

(W) This was not the *James*, whom we mentioned a little higher to have been a near relation of Christ, and on that account chosen bishop of *Jerusalem*, and was not martyred till many years after; but one of the sons of *Zebedee*, and brother of *John*.

Eusebius adds (48), upon the testimony of *Clement* bishop of *Alexandria*, that the soldier or captain that was to lead him to exe-

(48) *Eccl. Hist.* l. ii. c. 9.

cution,

Bebeads pleasure which this action gave to the *Jews*, encouraged him
James, and to imprison *Peter* also, with a design to cut him off also im-
imprisons mediately after the feast, which was that of the passover, and
Peter. fell on that year on the first of *April*, in the forty fourth year
 after Christ. *Peter* was therefore strongly guarded, having
 four quaternions of soldiers at his prison door, and being
 fastened hands and feet with chains to his dungeon; whilst
 prayers were put up for him by all the christians in and a-
 bout *Jerusalem*, and obtained him a miraculous deliverance.
 For on the very night before his designed martyrdom, an
 angel came and awaked him out of a sound sleep, knocked
 off his fetters, opened the prison door, and led him safe
 through some of the streets of the city, and left him to go
 and seek for some safe asylum; which he accordingly did,
 after he had gone and acquainted some of the brethren with
 his miraculous deliverance².

SOON after this disappointment, *Agrippa* returned to *Cae-
 sarea*, where he designed to have exhibited some public games
 in honour of *Claudius Caesar*, and was attended thither with
 a numerous train of the most considerable persons, both of
 his own, and of the neighbouring nations. He appeared early
 on the second morning of the festival at the public theatre,
 in a costly suit artfully wrought, so that the sun-beams, dart-
 ing upon the silver-ground of it, were reflected with such an
 uncommon lustre, that the people beheld him with a kind of
 divine respect. He addressed himself in an elegant speech to
 the deputies of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, who had been some time in
 disgrace with him, and were now come to beg his pardon,
 and the continuance of his favour to their respective nations.
 Here the embassadors, prompted perhaps by some of his court
 sycophants, as is usual in such cases, gave a great shout,
 crying out, that it was the voice of a god, and not of a man,
 and added some gestures of a kind of adoration. The king,
 too sensible of the people's praise, approved, instead of check-
 ing their impious flattery; upon which the angel of the
 Lord smote him with a dreadful disease³, under which hav-

² Act. xii. per tot. ³ Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin. Antiq. ubi supra.

cution, was converted to christianity, by the noble defence which
 that apostle made at his trial, and that they were both martyred
 together. Some other particularities concerning his austere life,
 great piety, &c. are added, which, though they may be true e-
 nough, we dare not vouch for upon the bare testimony of ancient
 tradition (49).

(49) Vid. *Epiph. hæres.* 58. c. 4, & seq. & al.

ing lingered five days, he expired in all the misery that *His dread-*
can be expressed or imagined (X). He left a son of the *ful death.*
same name, who was then but seventeen years old, and had
been brought up at *Rome*, and three daughters, *Berenice* mar-
ried to *Herod*, and then sixteen years of age, and *Mariamne*
and *Drusilla*, both young and unmarried, though contracted,
the former to *Julius Archelaus*, the son of *Chalcias*, and the
latter to *Epiphanes*, the son of *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*.
He died in the fifty fourth year of his age, and the seventh of
his reign. *Claudius* was going to bestow the kingdom on his
son, according to a former promise; but was dissuaded from
it by his courtiers, on pretence that he was too young to be
trusted with the care of such a nation; upon which *Ju-* *Judæa*
dæa became again a province of the empire, and *Cuspius* *made a*
Fadus was sent governor of it, with this particular order, *province by*
that he should act nothing in concert with *Marsus*; that *Claudius.*
he should severely punish the inhabitants of *Cæsarea* and
Sebaste, or *Samaria*, for the indignities they had offered
to the memory of the late king (Y); and that he should
send his troops that were kept in *Judæa* away into *Pontus*.
But he was soon after persuaded to let them abide still in the

(X) The sacred historian says, that he was eaten of worms (50),
and *Josephus*, that he was seized with such violent pains in his
heart and bowels, that he could not but reflect on the baseness of
his flatterers, who had but lately complimented him with a kind
of divine immortality, who was now going to expire in all the tor-
ments and agonies of a miserable mortal.

The latter adds, that whilst he was as yet in his prison, an owl
happened to perch over his head; upon which a *German*, who
was there, foretold him his future rise and happiness; but bid him
take notice, that the next time that he saw that bird, it would
prove ominous to him, and that he would live but five days after
it; which happened accordingly. For whilst he was applauding
himself with the shouts and compliments, which the assembly were
paying to him, on occasion of his oration, the same bird appeared
over his head, perching upon a rope, from which he concluded,
that his life and glory was at an end (1).

(Y) These ungrateful wretches, not contented with making the
greatest rejoycings at *Agrippa's* death, and blackening his memory
with the vilest outrages, had pulled down the statues of his three
daughters from the theatres, and other public places, and carried
them into their public stews; where they prostituted them in such
a manner, as is unfit to be mentioned (2).

(50) *Acts* xii. 23.
xix. c. ult.

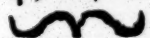
(1) *Conf. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8. & l.*

(2) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 1.*

former, which proved a source of new troubles and miseries ^b. It was about this time that the famine foretold by *Agabus*, a christian prophet ^c, began to rage; against which the new churches, planted at *Antioch* and other places, sent the believers at *Jerusalem* a liberal relief, by the hands of *Paul* and *Barnabas*; whilst *Helen*, queen of *Adiabene*, is said to have relieved the *Jews*, and afterwards the christians, in the pious and plentiful manner we have spoken of in a former volume [†].

*Fadus sent
into Judæa.*

Year of
the Flood,
3043.
Of Christ,
45 or 48.



*Theudas
an impostor
beheaded.*

Fadus, upon his arrival in *Judæa*, was forced to suppress the banditti, which were by that time grown very numerous and powerful; and to quell an insurrection which the *Jews* had raised against the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, which was the same city with *Rabbah*, the capital of the *Ammonites* ^d. In the mean time, *Claudius*, having recalled *Marsus* out of respect to the late king, had sent *Cassius Longinus* into that government, who came immediately to *Jerusalem*, and insisted upon the pontifical vestments being put into his possession, in order to be kept, as formerly, in the fortress of *Antonia*. The *Jews* surprised at this new demand, begged leave that they might send a deputation to the emperor against it, and did not obtain it from that governor, till some of the heads of the nation had put their sons as hostages into his hands. But upon the ambassadors applying to *Claudius*, in which they were backed by the young *Agrippa*, they obtained a grant, that those sacred robes should be kept in the possession of the high-priest, in the manner *Vitellius* had granted it, six years before. At the same time *Herod* king of *Chalcis* obtained of that emperor the superintendency of both the temple and sacred treasury; together with the authority of naming whom he would to the pontifical dignity; in pursuance to which, he deposed *Cantharas*, and raised *Joseph* the son of *Cami* to it. After *Herod's* death, young *Agrippa* obtained the same grant for himself, and enjoyed it till the time of the *Jewish* war ^e.

DURING *Fadus's* government there arose a notable impostor, named *Theudas* (Z), who drew great numbers of the

^b Antiq. ubi supra.
IX. p. 488, & seq.

^c Act xi. 27. ad fin.
^d Antiq. l. xx. c. 1, & 2.

[†] Vol.
^e ibid.

(Z) We must take care not to confound this *Theudas* of *Josephus* with another mentioned by St. *Luke*, and said to have appeared just after the death of *Herod the Great*, and has been taken notice of in a former section [†]; and is supposed to be the same with the son of *Ezechias* mentioned by *Josephus* under the name of *Judas*.

[†] See before, p. 276, & (S).

deluded

deluded *Jews* after him, bidding them follow him beyond *Jordan*, and promising them that he would divide the waters of that river, as *Joshua* had done, by his single word. *Cuspius* sent some troops of horse and foot against him and his followers, killed some of them, took others prisoners, and amongst them *Theudas* himself, whom he caused to be beheaded, and his head to be brought to *Jerusalem*. This, according to *Josephus*, is the most remarkable thing that happened during *Fadus's* government ^f; he was soon after succeeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, an apostate *Jew*, of sacerdotal race, and nephew to the famous *Philo*, often quoted in this chapter ^g. One of his first exploits was the crucifying *James* and *Simon*, the sons of *Judas*, surnamed *Galileus*, head of the *Gaulonitish* sect, spoken of in a former section; and about the same time *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, having deposed *Joseph* the son of *Cami*, gave the high-priesthood to *Ananias* the son of *Nebedeus*, and died soon after, in the eighth year of *Claudius*. That emperor gave his kingdom to young *Agrippa*, in prejudice of *Aristobulus*, the eldest son of the deceased.

Ventidius Cumanus succeeded *Alexander* in the government of *Judæa*, and it was in his time that those troubles began, which ended in the ruin of the *Jewish* nation. The great concourse of people, which their festival brought to *Jerusalem*, obliged the *Romans* at such times to keep a guard before the gates of the temple, to prevent tumults. It was now the passover, when one of the *Roman* soldiers upon duty, had the impudence to expose his nudity to open sight; this indignity raised the resentment of the *Jews* to such a height, that they went and complained of it to *Cumanus*, and in an insolent manner told him, that the affront was offered by his order, not only to the nation, but to God. He tried at first to appease them by fair means, but finding them to grow more tumultuous, he ordered all his troops to come to the place; the sight of which alarmed them so, that they fled in the greatest fright and confusion, insomuch, that upwards of ten thousand were stifled to death in their flight, by running over one another in the narrow passages that led to and from the temple. The copies of *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* say thirty thousand. Soon after this disaster another happened in *Samaria*, where some *Galilean Jews*, going to one of the feasts, were insulted, and one of them killed. This brought on a terrible skirmish, in which a great number of the *Jews* were killed, and the rest went to complain to *Cumanus* against the

Year of
the Flood,
3050.
Of Christ,
55 or 52.

^f *Id. ibid.*

^g *Ibid c. iii. & bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 11.*

Samaritans; but he, being bribed by these, refused to do them justice; upon which the matter was brought before *Quadratus* governor of *Syria*, who sent both parties to *Rome*, and *Cumanus* with them, to answer for themselves there (A). The *Samaritans* were cast, and condemned to die, *Cumanus* sent into banishment, and *Celer* one of his tribunes, who had been involved in the same guilt, condemned to be dragged through the streets of *Jerusalem*, and then put to death ^b.

Felix made
procurator
of Judæa. IN the year following *Claudius Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, the emperor's chief favourite, being then in *Judæa*, succeeded *Cumanus* in the government of it, under whom the *Jewish* affairs went still from bad to worse (B). The

^b Antiq. ubi supra. c. 4, & 5.

(A) They were all sent in chains thither, though they were the heads of each of the contending nations. Those among the *Jews* were *Annas* and *Jonathan*, who had been both high-priests, *Ananias* the present pontiff, and his son the captain of the temple, or rather chief of the *Levites*, who were the keepers of it, with some others. Those of the *Samaritans* were likewise considerable persons, and these joined interest with *Cumanus*; but the credit of young *Agrippa* at the *Roman* court easily turned the scales in favour of the *Jews*.

Those in *Judæa* had not met with so favourable a judge, and *Quadratus*, who had the power to try and condemn even the governors themselves, if he found them guilty, though he remitted the grand trial to *Cæsar's* court, had caused a great number of the most stirring among them to be, some crucified, and others beheaded, besides those that had been killed in the several engagements, especially in the canton of *Atrabatene* (3).

(B) *Josephus* says, that the *Jewish* nation, especially *Jonathan* the late high-priest, had desired him for their governor. He had been the year before chosen one of the judges by *Quadratus*, in the dispute between them and the *Samaritans*, and had perhaps ingratiated himself to them by his mild behaviour towards them; but after he became their governor, he behaved like a tyrant. *Tacitus* says rightly of him (4), that he governed them with the arbitrariness of a monarch, and with the genius of a slave. He was the brother of *Pallas*, and therefore made no difficulty of committing the greatest oppressions and cruelties, till the flame broke out into an open rebellion, and ended in the most dreadful ruin and misery that ever nation felt.

(3) *Antiq. l. xx. c. 5.*
ubi supra, c. 6.

(4) *Hist. l. v. c. 9. Conf. cum. antiq.*

land swarmed without with robbers and banditti, and within with false prophets, and pretended miracle-mongers, who were still blowing the coals of discontent and sedition; so that there passed scarcely a day, in which there was not some dreadful execution made upon some of those miscreants¹. To these we may join the *Sicarii* or *assassins* (C), which crouded themselves into all the cities and towns of the kingdom, and committed the most horrid murders and butcheries, under covert and pretence of zeal for their religion and liberties. Among the false prophets, and pretended favours, by whom that infatuated nation was seduced, there was a signal one that came from *Egypt*, and had drawn above thirty thousand men after him, by the large promises he made to them of a speedy deliverance. His followers were, however, soon dispersed by the *Roman* troops but one was no sooner gone, but there started up another, so that the most violent remedies did rather inflame, than assuage, their seditious disease. But *Felix* did not exert his cruelties on the rebellious rout alone, but on all others indiscriminately, whom his avarice or resentment marked out for destruction. This obliged the good old priest *Jonathan*, who had been most instrumental in procuring him the government, to expostulate often with him, and to complain of his ill conduct. *Felix* at length, unable to bear his just censures, hired one *Hischadoras*, a person in whom *Jonathan* put great confidence, to rafter.

¹ Ibid. c. 6. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12.

(C) These were another kind of robbers, who came and mixed themselves among the crouds and assemblies, with short daggers under their cloaks, and stabbed all that came near them in open day, and then were the first to cry out murder! They not only, by this vile method, rid themselves of their enemies, but would hire themselves to murder any others for a small sum. So that it became extremely dangerous to go into any places of public resort.

They are supposed to have been the spawn of the *Gaulonitish* faction, which began near fifty years before, as we have seen in a former section^{*}; and in spite of all the severities which the *Romans* made them feel, still kept up their seditious spirit, and daily increased in number. They were afterwards better known by the name of *zealots*, and under that specious title committed such unheard of crimes as hastened the total ruin of their city and nation. We have seen in a former volume[†], whence they pretended to derive their origin; though by their actions one would rather think it came from hell, as we shall see in the sequel.

^{*} See before, p. 235, & seq.

[†] See Vol. III. p. 316 &c.
assassinate

assassinate him, which was accordingly done (D). This murder going unpunished, because the person who should have revenged it was the chief actor in it, proved the source of an infinite number of others, which were committed every-where, the temple not excepted; and the Jewish chiefs and even the pontiffs made no scruple to hire the assassins above-mentioned, to rid them of any persons that were obnoxious to them^k.

Marries
Drusilla,

WE have already taken notice, that *Drusilla*, *Agrippa's* daughter, had been contracted to *Epiphanes*; but he refusing the circumcision, her brother gave her to *Azizus* king of *Emessa*, who consented to that ceremony out of love to her, she being one of the finest women of that age. But as her virtue was far enough below her beauty, *Felix*, who was become enamoured with her, did easily persuade her to forsake her husband, and to be married to him, though a *Pagan*, and one of the worst of that kind^l (E). He was himself made perhaps more sensible of it than ever he had been when the apostle *St. Paul* was brought before him, and made that noble discourse on *justice, temperance, or chastity*, and a *judgment to come*; which threw him into such a fit of remorse and trembling, as made him cry out to him, *It is enough, go thy ways for this time; and when I am more at leisure, I will send for thee*^m. It proved however but of short du-

^k Id. *ibid.* ^l Id. *ibid.* & seq. ^m *Act.* xxiv. *pass.*
& *antiq.* *ubi supra*, c. 7.

(D) It is impossible to guess from *Josephus*, in what year this murder was committed; only by his expressions it seems to have been done about the beginning of *Felix's* government (5).

(E) Her two sisters did not prove much more virtuous than she. *Berenice* the eldest, and formerly married to her uncle *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, being become a widow, was shrewdly suspected of holding an incestuous intercourse with her brother *Agrippa*. To suppress that suspicion, she married *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, and of part of *Cilicia*; but, she soon after broke off with him, and by her loose behaviour confirmed the reports that had been spread concerning her unlawful intrigues. Her husband on the other hand, who had embraced judaism on her account, was no sooner forsaken by her, than he cast off her religion, and returned to his paganism,

Mariamne the youngest had been married betimes to *Archelaus* the son of *Chelcias* or *Elchias*, probably of the *Herodian* family; but she likewise forsook him to marry one *Demetrius*, an *Alexandrian Jew*, and one of the richest and most considerable of that city, and was then their *Alabarea* or chief (6).

(5) *Antiq.* *ubi supra*, c. 6.

(6) *Ibid.* c. 5.

ration

ration. *Felix* did afterwards send for him indeed more than once, but it was rather in hopes of a bribe from him, than a desire of being made better acquainted with those important truths, which he had heard of him; so that after near two years, finding himself disappointed, and ready to be recalled from his government, he chose to leave his prisoner in bonds, to ingratiate himself to the exasperated *Jews* ⁿ.

HE was accordingly succeeded by *Portius Festus*, who upon his coming found the nation in that distressed condition we have been speaking of; and, which was still worse, the very priesthood had begun a civil war among themselves, ever since the last year of *Felix*'s government, the occasion of which seems to have been the frequent depositions of the pontiffs, and their pretensions after it to a greater share of the tythes than the inferior priests could afford them (F). *Agrippa* had the year before deposed *Ananias*, and put *Ishmael* in his room; there were still several more such discarded pontiffs alive, who all pretended to the same income of the tythes, which they enjoyed with that dignity, which must of course

Festus succeeds Felix.
Year of the Flood 3056. Of Christ 62 or 59.

A civil war among the priests.

ⁿ Act. ubi supra, ad fin.

(F) We have observed in a former volume ^{*}, that the *Levites* were to gather in the tythes from the people, and to allot a tenth part of them to the priests. These allowed the high-priest a proportion of it suitable to his dignity, and divided the rest among themselves. When therefore the number of deposed pontiffs began to increase to such a degree, as to leave the inferior ones too small a quantity for their sustenance, it bred a mutiny among them. The latter refusing them their competency, they sent their armed men to force it from them, to plunder their houses and barns, and to kill all that opposed them. This obliged them to hire the *ficarii* to repel force by force, and those that could not stand thus in their own defence, were stripped of all they had, and left to starve.

Josephus says, that *Felix* had sent a good number of them in chains to *Rome* to answer for their crimes, which yet he adds were of a light nature; and might therefore be some of this oppressed sort who had armed themselves against the cruelty of those tyrants. He adds, that they were kept prisoners, some years, till he came himself thither on purpose to procure their freedom which he did by the interest of *Poppea*, who was a lover of their nation, and was soon after married to the emperor *Nero*. He highly applauds the piety of those priests, who, says he, were content to live upon nuts, and dry figs, rather than pollute themselves with the usual food of the *Gentiles* (7).

^{*} Vol. III. p. 220, & seq.

(7) *In vita sua.*

impoverish

impoverish the inferior sort, who therefore refused it to them. The rancour arose at length to such a height, that each party used to go along accompanied with a troop of the sicarii, and upon every rencounter fell foul on each other, killing all that opposed them, and filled both city and country, and even the very temple sometimes with blood. *Festus* was therefore forced to begin his government with the greatest severity, in order to suppress this treble butchery; namely, that of the priesthood against each other; that of the seditious laity against the *Romans* and those that contentedly submitted to them; and that of the banditti abroad, who infested the whole country, and robbed, plundered, and massacred everywhere without mercy^o. The suppression of all these different parties, and the severe examples he made of their leaders, impostors, and of the most stirring and mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greatest part of his time and labour during his short government.

Paul
brought be-
fore Festus

THREE days after his arrival in *Judaea*, he went to *Jerusalem*, where *Ananias* the late high-priest, and the rest of the *Jewish* chiefs, came to demand justice against *Paul*, who was still kept prisoner at *Cæsarea*. As soon therefore as he was returned thither, he caused him to be brought before him, and after a full hearing of both sides, especially of the prisoners defence, pronounced him innocent of any capital crime. But his enemies still insisting that he was worthy of death, and *Festus* being willing to oblige them with a second trial at *Jerusalem*, *Paul* took hold on the privileges which the law then gave him, to appeal to *Cæsar*, and prevent thereby the effects of their further malice. *Agrippa* and his sister *Berenice* being come to *Cæsarea* to compliment the new governor, and having expressed a desire of seeing this celebrated prisoner, *Festus*, who knew that prince to be thoroughly versed in the *Jewish* laws and customs, readily agreed to have him brought once more to the bar. Here *Paul* being permitted to speak for himself, made such a noble defence, that *Festus* acquitted him of every fault, except that of having turned his brain with too much learning; whilst *Agrippa*, conscious of the truth and force of his reasoning, owned himself almost convinced by him, and after some private conference with the governor, it was declared that he might have been released, if he had not appealed to *Cæsar*^p.

And A-
grippa.

Agrippa
displeases
the Jews.

IN the mean time *Agrippa*, who came often to *Jerusalem*, and had a lodging near the temple, of which he had the su-

^o Antiq. ubi supra, c. 6.

^p Act. xxv, & xxvi. pass.
perintendency

perintendency given him after his uncle *Herod*, took it into his head to build him a palace there, of such a height, that he could oversee all that was done in the innermost court of it. The *Jews* were the more displeased at it, because *Festus* and the *Romans* would likewise come and take a view of it from thence; for which reason they built a partition wall high enough to cover that sacred place, which the king and governor taking as an affront, ordered it to be pulled down. The *Jews*, after much opposition, obtained leave at length to send deputies to *Rome*; and these by the intercession of *Poppea* (G), got a grant from the emperor for the keeping up of the wall. *Ishmael* the then high-priest being at the head of this embassy, was for his laudable zeal deposed by *Agrippa*, who bestowed that dignity on *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabbis*, the son of the late pontiff *Cantharas*. *Josephus*, adds, that *Poppea* detained *Ishmael* and *Chelcias* as hostages at *Rome*⁹.

Festus dying towards the latter end of this year, *Nero* nominated *Albinus* to succeed him; in the mean time *Agrippa*, having given the high-priesthood from *Cabbis* to *Ananus*, a proud *Sadducee*, this last took that interval before the arrival of the new prætor to call a council, and to have *James* the apostle and bishop of *Jerusalem*, and some other christians, condemned and stoned to death (H). Upon the governor's arrival at *Alexandria*, complaint was made to him of this presumptuous and unlawful step. *Albinus* resented it, and sent the new pontiff a very threatening letter; and *Agrippa*, who feared the consequence of his anger, took care to depose him, and to

⁹ *Antiq.* ubi supra, c. 7. ad fin.

(G) *Josephus* highly commends that empress's piety, though, setting aside her love to the *Jewish* nation, she had not one virtue that could intitle her to this compliment. On the contrary, she was known to be a lewd princess, the promoter of a great number of murders, which she made her husband commit on the greatest persons of the empire, and prevailed at length on that mad monarch to repudiate, banish, and at length put to death, his virtuous wife *Octavia*, to marry her, as we shall see more at large in the *Roman* history.

(H) So says *Josephus*; but we have related the manner of his death according to the testimony of some antient fathers in a late note, to which we refer the reader.

This *Ananus* was the fifth son of that *Ananus* or *Annas*, mentioned by the evangelists, that had enjoyed the high-priesthood after their father, an honour and happiness that never happened to any but him, says that *Jewish* historian (8).

(8) *Antiq.* l. xx. c. 8.

put another in his room, viz. *Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, before the governor was got to *Jerusalem*. *Judea* gained nothing by the change of either governor or pontiff. As for the former, he was such a cruel rapacious monster, that *Felix* and *Festus*, bad as they were, were honest men to him; and yet he was still in one respect better than his successor, in that he endeavoured at least, either to hide or to colour his ill actions by some pretext or other.

HIS first care was to suppress the sicarii, robbers, and banditti, which were now grown more numerous, and bolder than ever. He punished with the utmost severity as many as came into his hands, and they only became the more impudent by it; insomuch that they ventured one night, during one of their feasts, to enter into the city, and to carry off *Eleazar* the son of *Ananias*, the late high-priest, who was secretary of the temple, and to send his father word that they would not release him, till he had procured the enlargement of ten of their associates, whom *Albinus* kept in prison. *Ananias*, who was a very opulent person, easily bribed with a round sum the rapacious governor to consent to it, but his compliance was attended with very bad consequences; being forced still to redeem some near relation at the same price, as often as any of the banditti were got into the governor's hands^r. On the other hand *Agrippa*, having given the high-priesthood from *Jesus* the son of *Damneus* to *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, those two pontiffs got each of them a strong escort of armed men, and committed the vilest outrages, not only against each other, but against the inferior sort, who were often plundered of all they had, and reduced to the lowest misery. About this time the *Levites* and singers, who, as we have formerly observed *, had no particular dress to distinguish them from the laity, obtained leave of *Agrippa* to wear white robes like the priests, and some other privileges, which were contrary to the *Jewish* law, and did not a little displease the better sort of the *Jews*, as well as the whole priesthood. *Agrippa* was likewise become odious to his subjects, on account of his high taxes on them, to support his extravagance, sumptuous buildings, public spectacles, games, and such-like profusions^r.

ABOUT this time all the work of the temple being quite finished, and eighteen thousand hands at once discharged, as we observed in a former section †, a proposal was made to

^r Ibid. c. 8. * Vol III. p. 253. ^r Antiq. ubi supra, Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 1, 3. † Pag. 182, & (Z).

that prince to employ them in the taking down an old stately galery of the temple, four hundred cubits high, which was in danger of falling, and rebuilding it anew ; but *Agrippa* considering the expensiveness and length of the work, absolutely refused it, and told the *Jewish* chiefs that they might employ those hands in paving the city with white stones ; but that not being agreed to, the greatest part joined themselves with the banditti for fear of starving. *Albinus* after a two years government was recalled by *Nero*, and succeeded by *Gessius Florus*, the last and worst governor that ever *Judaea* had. *Josephus* seems at a loss for words bad enough to describe him by, or a monster to compare him to^t ; his rapines, cruelties, conniving for large sums with the banditti, and in a word, his whole behaviour, was so open and bare-faced that he was looked upon by the *Jews*, more like a bloody executioner sent to butcher, than as a magistrate to govern them. His design was to provoke them to such an open rebellion, as might either give him the brutish pleasure of seeing them destroy each other, or prevent his oppressions, murders, and other hellish works being inquired into. He succeeded but too well in it ; and a war was kindled accordingly through his means, which ended not but with the total ruin of the *Jewish* nation. This great event, so plainly foretold by Christ, so punctually fulfilled, and so lively described and related by a *Jewish* historian, and an eye-witness, might well deserve a larger place in this chapter ; but as it is so very well known, and abounds with such dreadful murders, cruelties, and other circumstances, fit only to fill a reader with horror, we shall content ourselves with giving some of the most remarkable strokes of it, to avoid drawing this chapter to too great a length.

Gessius Florus's bloody government.
Year of the Flood, 3065.
Of Christ, 64.
67.

ABOUT four years before this dreadful war broke out, and about seven before the siege of *Jerusalem*, whilst the *Jews* did still enjoy some kind of peace, a country fellow, named *Jesus*, came to the feast of tabernacles, and was on a sudden seized with a kind of phrensy, as the *Jews* thought it, which made him cry out without ceasing : *Wo to the city, Wo to the temple : A voice from the four corners, a voice against Jerusalem, a voice against the nation, &c.* and in this lamentable tone he ran through all the streets of the city night and day, and on the sabbaths and other festivals, was heard to speak those words louder, and in a more dismal tone, without ever losing his voice, or even being hoarse with crying ; and, what was still more surprising, neither threats nor the most

A prodigious warning to the Jews.

^t Antiq. ibid. c. 9. Bell. Jud. ubi supra.

severe punishments that could be inflicted on him (I), could make him desist or utter a groan or complaint, or any other words than those dreadful woes, till he saw his predictions begin to be fulfilled by the siege of the city, when he cried out in a more dismal tone, *Wo also to myself*; and was in that instant killed by a stone thrown in by the besiegers^a. There were several more such prodigious warnings sent to that unhappy nation in the sequel, which though all too little to bring them to a better mind, are sufficient to convince us, that God did not doom them to this dreadful destruction, till their impiety and hardness of heart had forced that severe punishment from him.

Complaints
made to
Cestius
Gallus.
Year of
the Flood,
3064.
Of Christ,
 $\frac{69}{69}$.

Judæa being thus distracted within and without; and groaning now more than ever under a tyrant, who openly promoted those mischiefs he should have remedied; vast numbers of *Jews* forsook it to seek an asylum among foreign nations, whilst those that stayed behind applied themselves to *Cestius Gallus*, the then governor of *Syria*, who was then at *Jerusalem* at the passover, and besought him to pity their wretched state; and free them from the tyranny of a man who had totally ruined their country. *Florus*, who was present when these complaints were preferred against him, made a mere jest of them; and *Cestius*, instead of making a strict inquiry into his conduct, dismissed them with a bare promise, that *Florus* should behave better for the future, and set himself about computing the number of *Jews* that were then at *Jerusalem*, by that of the lambs that were offered at that festival (K), in order

^a Bell. Judaic. l. vii. c. 12.

(I) *Josephus* adds, that some of the *Jewish* heads, being highly displeased at this poor fellow, caused him to be severely whipped; and that this not proving sufficient either to silence him, or to make him answer to other questions; they had him brought before *Albinus*, who ordered him afresh to the whipping post; where they gave him so many and severe lashes, that his ribs were quite uncovered, without forcing a word or groan from him. And lastly, that being dismissed as a madman, he continued his dreadful outcries, without taking the least notice by word or gesture, either of those that hurted him or gave him food.

(K) This computation could not be very certain, because, tho' none but *Jews* offered these lambs at the feast, yet those who had contracted any legal pollution were excluded from it. Besides, one lamb might serve for twenty persons, tho' never for less than ten. However, they took this last number for each lamb; and found that of the lambs to amount in the whole to two hundred and

order to send an account of it to *Nero*; and by that computation the whole was found to amount to two millions five hundred and fifty six thousand. *Josephus* thinks they rather amounted to three millions ^w.

SOON after this, the contest between the *Jews* and *Syrians* about the city of *Cæsarea*, which had been kept in suspense ever since the time of *Felix* (L), being at length decided in favour of the *Syrians*, the decree was no sooner brought to *Judea*, but, as if it had been agreed, that this should be the signal for a revolt, the *Jews* every-where, resolved to take up arms, and thus began the fatal war in the second year of *Florus's* government, in the twelfth of *Nero's* reign, the seventeenth of that of *Agrippa*, and in the sixty-ninth year of Christ ^x. *Agrippa*, who was at this time at *Jerusalem* at the beginning of this revolt, strove in vain to assuage them by a long and elaborate speech, as well as by other proper means; they only listened to him, till he came to insist on their submitting to *Florus*, till a new governor could be obtained from *Rome*; this single proposal exasperated them to such a degree, that they began to pelt him with stones, and forced him to leave the city, which was immediately in a flame. *Florus* beheld all this with an inhuman pleasure, and without putting the least help to quell the sedition, though earnestly intreated to it by the *Jewish* heads. *Agrippa* sent them indeed three thousand men; but what could they do now against such an enraged multitude as were then up in arms? The evil soon spread all over the kingdom, and though the *Jews* were every-where the sufferers, yet did not their despe-

^w Ibid l. ii. c. 13, & alib.
Beil. Jud. l. ii. c. 14.

^x Conf. antiq. l. xx. c. ult. &

and fifty five thousand. But as among the poor, one of them might serve for more than ten, and as far as twenty, *Josephus* rightly guesses that there must have been a much greater number, tho' considering the bigness of the place, one would wonder how it was possible for it to contain even that.

(L) This contest, in which the *Jews* maintained that that city belonged to them, because it had been built by *Herod*, and the *Syrians* pretended that it had been always esteemed a *Greek* city, since even that monarch had reared temples and statues in it; grew to such a height, that both parties came at last to blows, and took up arms against each other. *Felix* at length put an end to it for a time, by sending some of the chiefs of each nation to *Rome* to plead their cause before the emperor, where it hung in suspense till this time, when *Nero* decided it in such a manner as caused this insurrection.

rate

Jews terribly persecuted.

rate rage abate in the least. Nothing was now to be seen but robberies, murders, and all manner of cruelties ; cities and villages filled with dead bodies of all ages, sexes and qualities, even down to the sucking babes. The *Jews* on their part neither spared *Syrians* nor *Romans*, but retaliated their cruelties where-ever they got the better of them, for which vast numbers of their peaceful brethren were butchered in their places of abode. The *Cæsareans* fell suddenly on those of their city, and massacred twenty thousand of them, two thousand were murdered at *Ptolemais*, and fifty thousand at *Alexandria*. In a word, there was neither town nor city, where the *Pagans* proved either stronger or quicker than they, where they did not commit the same horrid butcheries. At *Jerusalem* *Florus* caused one day his troops to go and plunder the high market, and to kill all they met ; and they murdered accordingly three thousand five hundred persons, men, women, and children. Among those that were brought prisoners to him, there were some men of quality, and who had been even honoured with the *Roman* knighthood ; yet this did not save them from his cruelty ; on the contrary, he caused them to be whipped before his tribunal, and then crucified ¹.

Berenice intercedes in vain.

Berenice, who had stayed at *Jerusalem* after her brother, being bound there by a vow of *Nazareat* thirty days, spared neither prayers, messages, nor visits to mollify the brutish prætor, till at length she was likely to have lost her life by it, and with great difficulty recovered her palace before his hellish instruments could reach her. Yet not discouraged by it, she went barefoot to him on the very next day, threw herself at the foot of his tribunal, and in the most submissive terms intreated him to put a stop to the shedding of so much blood. The brute did not so much as vouchsafe her the least token of common respect, so that she ran a second risk of being torn in pieces before she could get home ². This may serve to give a sketch of that governor's character, who, because he was depending on that of *Syria*, failed not to write to *Cestius*, and throw all the fault on the *Jews* ; insomuch, that this last knew not well which to believe, *Florus*, or *Agrippa*, *Berenice*, and other considerable *Jewish* heads, who gave him a quite different account ³.

The zealots beat the Romans.

IN the mean time, a great number of assassins having joined themselves to the seditious, beat the *Romans* out of the fortresses of *Massada*, *Antonia*, and the towers of *Phasaël*,

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. c. 15.

³ cap. 16.

Mariamne,

Mariamne, and others ; killing all that opposed them. They began next to set fire to the palaces of *Agrippa*, and *Berenice*, of the high-priest *Ananias*, and of his brother *Ezechias* ; and these two last, who had hid themselves from their fury, being discovered, were murdered without mercy. *Menahem*, one of the sons of the late *Judas*, chief of the *Gaulonites*, had now put himself at the head of the sicarii, who now called themselves *zealots* ; and being come to *Jerusalem*, was chosen chief of the seditious there, but was soon after massacred by them, with a great number of his men. His nephew *Eleazar* succeeded him as chief of the *zealots*, and besieged the *Romans* so close in their castle, that they capitulated at length to retire only with their lives ; which being promised to them, he caused them all to be massacred on the spot, though it was on the sabbath ^b. This treachery was cruelly retaliated on the generous *Jews* of *Scythopolis*, or *Bethshean*, who had offered the *Greeks* of that city to stand by them against their brethren, who were besieging them. But their sincerity being unhappily suspected by their townsmen, these obliged them to retire into some neighbouring wood, where on the third night they came upon them, when they were asleep, and killed thirteen thousand of them, and seized upon all their wealth ^c (M).

Scythopolitan Jews
massacred.

By this time the revolted *Jews* had carried their conquests beyond *Jordan*, and had taken the fortresses of *Macheron* and *Cyprus* ; this last they razed to the ground, after having put all the *Romans* to the sword ; so that *Cestius Gallus*, who had hitherto kept himself an idle spectator of all these mutual devastations, began to think it high time to bestir himself. He marched into *Judæa* with a powerful army, burned all the towns and villages in his way, massacred all the *Jews* he

^b Ibid. c. 17, 18.

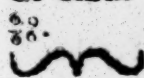
^c cap. 19.

(M) It was on this dreadful occasion, that a considerable *Jew*, named *Simon*, who had signalized himself in the defence of *Scythopolis* against those of his own nation, observing what bloody returns the *Greeks* made them for their friendship, in a fit of rage and despair, instead of standing in his own defence, fell on his father, mother, wife, and children, who clung round about him, and killed every one of them ; after which, getting on the heap of their dead bodies, he run himself through with his own sword (9).

(9) *Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 19.*

could

Year of
the Flood
3064.
Of Christ
59
86.



could come at, and came and encamped before *Gibeon* (N), about the feast of tabernacles. The people at *Jerusalem* no sooner heard of his approach, than they forsook the solemnity, and, though on the sabbath, armed themselves, and came out against him with such fury, that they had in all likelihood, defeated him, had not his foot been timely succoured by his cavalry. He lost above five hundred men, and the *Jews* but twenty-two. The latter having seized on all the passes round about, *Cestius* was forced to stay three days near *Bethoron*, where *Agrippa* joined him, and assisted him with his troops, his person, counsel, and good offices. He tried once more to bring the *Jews* to some temper, by sending two of his chief captains to offer them a parley, and some terms of peace; but the revolvers, instead of hearkening to their proposals, killed one of them, and wounded the other, who narrowly escaped with his life. This base action, which was highly condemned by the more moderate *Jews*, caused a dissension between them, which *Cestius* failed not to improve, by sallying suddenly against them, and pursuing them almost up to *Jerusalem*. He stayed three days at *Scopas*, a small mile from it, to try whether their fright would make them relent, and then advanced towards them in order of battle on the thirtieth of *October*, and put them into such consternation, that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city, and retired into the inner cincture near the temple. *Cestius* set fire to the former, and began himself to besiege the latter, and took up his head quarters in the royal palace^d.

*Cestius de-
feated.*

HAD the governor vigorously pushed on the siege, it is likely he might have put an effectual end to the sedition; but

^d Ibid. c. 20, 21, & seq.

(N) This city, the capital of the ancient *Gibeonites* †, was distant about fifty stades or seven little miles north of *Jerusalem*, and situate on an eminence, as its name properly imports (10). *Josephus* says elsewhere, it was but forty stades from that metropolis (11).

Cestius's army consisted of the whole twelfth legion, two thousand men picked out of the other legions, six cohorts of foot, four of horse, besides three thousand horse and six thousand foot sent him by *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*, and four thousand from *Soemus*; in the whole about twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse.

† *Vid. Vol II. p. 176.* (10) *Joseph. ubi supra. Euseb. loc. Hebr.* (11) *Antiq. l. vii c. 10.*

that

that sinful nation was now reserved for greater evils, and the siege was on the sudden shamefully raised, at the instigation of some of *Cestius's* generals, whom *Florus* had corrupted; which gave a new life to the seditious. They pursued him to his camp at *Gibeon*, harassing him in the rear, whilst those that kept the passes attacked him in flank. His army in despair, not being able to move forward or backward, made the mountains echo with their hideous cries, and after a loss of four thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and of a great part of their baggage, being assisted by the intervening night on the eighth of *November*, happily got down through the narrow streights of *Bethoron*, and escaped^e. The Jews, after this success against the Syrian governor, set themselves about the properest means to carry on the war against the Romans, and chusing some of their bravest chiefs to command in the several cantons and fortresses of *Judæa*. *Josephus* the writer of these wars, a brave Jewish priest, of considerable rank, was appointed governor of the two *Galilees*; *Joseph* the son of *Gorion* and the high-priest *Ananus* had the government of *Jerusalem*; and *Eleazar*, the chief of the revolters, that of *Idumea*; soon after which they departed to take care each of their particular commands. All this while there reigned such a dissension among the Jews, that great numbers of the better sort, foreseeing the sad effects of the Romans resentment, forsook the city, as men do a sinking vessel, and the christians, mindful of their Saviour's warning (O), retired into *Pella*, a small city on the other side *Jordan*, in the tetrarchy of *Herod*, whither the war did not reach^f.

*Escapes
with loss.*

*Jews and
Christians
leave Je-
rusalem.*

WHILST the new chosen governors were putting their respective cantons in the best posture of defence, the son of *Gorion* in repairing the fortifications of *Jerusalem*, *Josephus* in fortifying a vast number of places in the upper and lower *Galilee*, and raising of forces to the number of a hundred thousand, preparing arms and ammunition, and *Eleazar* was doing the same in *Idumea*; the news came to *Nero* of all

^e cap. 23, 24.

^f cap. 25, & seq.

(O) *Eusebius* assures us (12), upon the testimony of some ancient fathers, that God was pleased to direct them to this flight even before the beginning of the war; and *Epiphanius* adds (13), by the ministry of an angel sent on purpose to the church of *Jerusalem*.

(12) *Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 5.*
VOL. X.

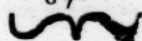
(13) *Hæres. 29, & seq.*
L 11 these

Vespasian
sent into
Judæa.

Year of
the Flood
3065.

Of Christ,

70.



Vespasian
enters Ju-
dæa.

Jotapa
taken by
Vespasian.

these preparations, as well as of the ill success of *Cestius* against the *Jews*. *Vespasian*, who had already signalized himself in *Germany*, and *England*, being then with the emperor in *Achaia*, was nominated to march with all speed against *Judæa* with a powerful army ^e. He came accordingly into *Syria*, gathered all his forces and those of his auxiliaries, among whom *Agrippa* did not fail to meet him at the head of a considerable reinforcement of his own, whilst *Titus* was sent by his father to fetch the fifth and tenth legions from *Alexandria* into *Judæa* ^h. It is likely, *Cestius* did not long outlive his disgrace, for we hear no more of him; and the *Jews*, elated at his defeat, if not also at his death, took it into their heads to go and besiege *Ascalon*. *Antony*, who commanded there, came out against them, and killed ten thousand of them; they made a second attempt, and were surprised in the way, and cut off to almost the same number. *Niger*, who headed the *Jews*, fled into a tower, to which *Antony* set fire; and not doubting but he was burnt in it, left the place; but upon the *Jews* coming three days after to bury their dead, they found him in a cave under-ground, where he had saved himself from the flames ⁱ.

Vespasian, on the very beginning of the next year, having sent *Placidus* to succour the inhabitants of *Sephoris* (P) against the *Jews*, advanced towards *Ptolemais* with *Agrippa*, and was there joined by *Titus* at the head of another body of troops, with whom he had marched thither even in the very depth of winter, and came much sooner than was expected. Their whole forces of horse and foot consisted now of upwards of sixty thousand men, besides servants, all excellently disciplined, with which they entered *Galilee*, and having burnt *Gadara*, were marching to besiege *Jotapa*. *Josephus*, now governor of that province, having timely notice of it, went into that place, and defended it with great bravery and vigour forty seven days, in spite of all the *Roman* efforts and bravery. It was at length taken by assault about the beginning of *July* (Q), and

^e Lib. iii. c. 1. ^h Cap. 2, & 3. ⁱ Ibid. c. 1, & seq.

(P) We have already observed, that this city was the metropolis of *Galilee*, and was very considerable for its strength, situation, bigness, and opulence. It was now become obnoxious to the revolted *Jews*, by reason of its adherence to the *Romans*, so that it would have undergone a dreadful fate, had not *Vespasian* sent timely succours to it (14).

(Q) The reader may see the strength of this place in *Josephus*

(14) *Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 3.*

(15)

and put to fire and sword ; not one *Jew* escaped to carry the dreadful news, but they were all either murdered, or made prisoners. There were reckoned forty thousand of the former, and but twelve hundred of the latter, among whom was *Josephus*, who had hid himself in a deep cavern, but was at length discovered, and by *Vespasian's* generous offers and intreaties, though much against the consent of those *Jews* that were with him (R), went and surrendered himself prisoner to him. When he was brought before *Vespasian*, the whole army crouding about to see him, he was put under a guard, with a design to be sent to *Nero* ; which when the *Jewish* general understood, he desired to have the liberty to speak to him; which being granted, he addressed himself to him in words to this effect : My message to you being from the God of heaven, is of much greater concern to you, than the disposal of me as your prisoner, or sending me to the emperor ; and, as a

*Josephus
surrenders
himself.
His speech
to Vespasian.*

(15), with the many other remarkable particulars of this obstinate siege (16), wherein the *Romans* were terribly pestered by the valour and conduct of the besieged, and the general himself wounded in the heel (17). This stout resistance occasioned the great slaughter he made of them, and the vast disproportion between the number of the slain and of the prisoners, the latter being in all probability only women and children.

(R) This cavern was cut into the rock by the side of a well, and well stored with provision ; and there *Josephus* found forty of his own men. He went out the first night to see whether there was any possibility of escaping ; but finding none, he resolved to abide there as long as he could. He was discovered on the third day by a woman, and *Vespasian*, who had a great desire to see him, sent him two of his tribunes to promise him his life and friendship. Upon his refusal to surrender himself, he sent a third, named *Nicanor*, and an old acquaintance of his ; but he returning likewise without him, the *Romans* were for burning him and his men out of it, but were hindered by their brave general.

At length finding it dangerous to resist any longer, he proposed to the rest to accept of *Vespasian's* generous offer ; for which they upbraided him with treachery and baseness, and threatened to kill him, if he presumed to stir out. He tried once more to remonstrate to them the unlawfulness of self-murder, which he saw them now fully bent upon ; he was forced at last to propose to them to draw lots, who should kill the next, and so on, till the last man ; which being agreed to by the rest, providence so ordered it, that there were but two left, *viz.* *Josephus* and one more ; so that being loth either to kill him, or be killed by him, he at length persuaded him to a surrender, which was accordingly done (18).

(15) *Ubi supra*, c. 7. (16) *Ibid* c. 8. ad 13. (17) *Ibid*.
c. 14. (18) *Bell. Jud. ubi supra*, c. 14.

Kept close
prisoner.

A prophecy
of St. Peter
and Paul.

ish commander, I should have preferred death to this surrender, had it not been to deliver his divine commission to you. The interval between *Nero's* end and your succeeding him is so small, that I already look upon you as emperor, and your son *Titus* as your happy successor. Keep me only as your prisoner, and if you find I have abused God's name in promising you from him the empire of the world, then punish me with the severest death. *Vespasian* took him at his word, used him with great respect and generosity, but caused him to be kept close prisoner, having a design to make some further use of him in his war against the *Jews*^k. This prediction of the *Jewish* historian to the *Roman* general, is likewise confirmed by *Suetonius*^l and *Dion Cassius*^m. Something like this, but with a more dreadful prospect to the *Jews*, *Lactantius* tells usⁿ, had been foretold at *Rome* about the same time, by the two great apostles *Peter* and *Paul*; the substance of which the reader will find in the margin (S). As soon as the news of

^k Id. ibid. cap. 12, 13, & 14. ^l In vit. Vespas. ^m Lib. ix. ⁿ Lib. iv. c. 21. Vid. *USSE*R. sub an. Chr. 67.

(S) That God should in a little time send a prince against the *Jews* that should overcome them, and level their metropolis with the ground: that during the siege of it, they should pine with hunger and thirst, even to the eating of one another: that after it was taken, they should see their women grievously tormented before their eyes, their virgins deflowered, their young men torn a-funder, and their babes dashed in pieces, themselves reduced to the lowest misery, their country wasted with fire and sword, and the whole nation banished out of their own land, because they had exalted themselves above the most gracious and approved Son of God.

These two apostles, according to the records of both eastern and western churches, suffered martyrdom on the twenty ninth of June, the last day of which month falls within the reign of *Nero* (19); and an antient father affirms, that the day of *St. Paul's* death was more certainly known than that of *Alexander the great* (20); and *Dionysius* bishop of *Corinth* tells us, that *St. Peter* suffered death on the same day (21). *St. Paul* was beheaded; but *St. Peter* was, according to our Saviour's prediction (22), crucified, but with his head downward at his own desire, and out of respect to his divine master (23).

(19) *Uffe*. annal. sub an. Chr. 67. (20) *Homil.* 26. in 2 *Corinth.* ap. eund. (21) *Ap. Euseb.* *Eccl. hist.* l. ii. c. 24. (22) *John* xxi. 18, & seq. (23) *Origin. com.* in *Gen.* tom. 3. Vid. *Euseb.* ubi supra, l. iii. c. 1.

Jotapa's

Jotapa's being taken had reached *Jerusalem*, the *Jews*, who heard also that *Josephus* had been killed in it, made the greatest mourning and lamentations for him for a whole month; but when they came to hear that he had surrendered himself prisoner to the *Romans*, they, who had till then retained a singular esteem and regard for him, began now to look upon him as a base betrayer of his country, and to persecute him with the most irreconcilable hatred and disdain, of which they gave him many singular proofs, as we shall see in the sequel.

WHILST *Vespasian* was besieging *Jotapa*, *Trajan* (T) *Jotapa and* had been sent to form that of *Japha*, in the neighbourhood, *other cities* and took it on the twentieth of *June*, but complimented *taken.* young *Titus* with the honour of it, who came accordingly upon the last assault. Upon their entering the place, the *Japhians* held out a bloody and obstinate street fight during six whole hours; but being at length overpowered, all the men were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away prisoners°. A week after, the *Samaritans*, who had assembled upon mount *Garizzim*, with a design of defending themselves, having been closely surrounded by *Cerealis* at the head of a *Roman* detachment, were ready to perish for want of water. Many of them suffered themselves to die with thirst, and those who refused to surrender, were all butchered to one man^p. *Joppa*, which had been lately laid waste by *Cestius*, being again repeopled by a great number of seditious *Jews*, who infested the countries about, *Vespasian* sent some troops to take it, which they soon achieved. Above four thousand *Jews* endeavouring to escape the massacre, by betaking themselves to their ships, a sudden tempest drove them back, so that they were all either drowned, or put to the sword. *Tarichea* and *Tiberias* were taken next (U): the former of these, being situate on an eminence and by the lake

° *Beil. Jud. ubi supra, c. 11.* ^p *Ibid. c. 12.*

(T) Probably the same, who was afterwards emperor; but at present he was only a colonel of one of the legions.

(U) These two cities belonged to *Agrippa*, but had revolted; the latter was divided; some of the citizens, being for peace, were opposed by the seditious party. *Vespasian* sent some officers to persuade them to submit, but they were repulsed, and forced to flee for their lives; for which he would have burnt the city, but the peaceable citizens having represented their case to *Agrippa*, he interceded for them, and obtained their pardon (24).

(24) *Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 16.*

of *Genezareth*, was besieged by land and by water, and made a desperate defence, till a dissension happened within; which being overheard by *Titus*, who commanded at the siege, the town was taken by storm, and all the seditious condemned to die ^q.

Galilee
reduced.

AFTER the reduction of those two places, all the other cities of *Galilee* submitted themselves to the *Romans*, except those of *Gischala* and *Gamala*, and the mountain of *Itabyr* (W.) Against *Gamala*, which was situate over-against *Tarichea*, on the same lake, as *Agrippa*, had in vain carried on a siege of near seven months, the *Romans* were forced to come and assist him. He tried, however, by a set speech to persuade them to surrender, before they were reduced to greater streights. The only answer they made him was with stones from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. The *Romans*, provoked to behold the little regard which those wretches paid to their monarch, made such a desperate assault against them, that they had got possession of the town; but being inferior in number, they were soon driven out of it with considerable loss. It was renewed afresh with greater fury, and as obstinately opposed by the besieged, who put the *Roman* courage and strength to the severest proof they had as yet felt. At length three stout *Romans* having beaten down one of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and put all they met to the sword, to the number of four thousand. But a much greater number perished by their own hands, flinging themselves down from the rocks, walls, and by other violent means. During this siege, *Placidus* was sent to take *Itabyr* mentioned in the last note. He went and sily drew the *Jews* down into the plain by a pretended flight, faced about, and defeated them, and got possession of the mountain ^r.

^q Ibid. c. 15, & seq. Ibid. l. iv. c. 1, & seq.

(W) The same with *Thabor*, spoken of in a former volume (25), with a spacious plain near twenty stades in square on the top, with a city of the same name upon it. The area was compassed with a large wall, built by *Josephus* in about forty days (26).

As for the town of *Sephoris*, which was extremely rich and strong, it never once rebelled during all this war, but kept constant to their subjection to the *Romans*, so that *Gamala* and *Gischala* were the two last towns in *Galilee* to be reduced.

(25) Vol. III. p. 101. (26) Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 2.

AFTER

AFTER this stout siege was over, *Vespasian* sent his son *Gischala Titus* to form that of *Gischala*; and this last, who was now taken, beginning to relent at the great slaughter made at *Gamala*, earnestly exhorted them to prevent, by a timely surrender, involving themselves in the same fate. The citizens were inclinable enough to take his advice; but a seditious Jew of that town, named *John*, the son of *Levi*, head of the faction and a vile fellow, opposed it, and, having the mob at his beck, overawed the whole city. That day being the sabbath, this wretch begged but of *Titus* to forbear hostilities till the morrow, and then he would accept of his offer; but instead of that fled to *Jerusalem*, where he committed an infinite deal of mischief. On the morrow the citizens came and surrendered themselves, and told the Roman general of *John's* flight, begging of him that he would spare the guiltless, and only punish the factious, which he readily consented to, and only sent some of his horse after the fugitives. But *John* had reached *Jerusalem*, before they could overtake him; they killed, however, near six thousand of his followers on the road, and brought back three thousand women and children prisoners. The taking and garisoning of this last place completed the conquest of *Galilee*, and *Titus* rejoined his father at *Cæsarea*, where they gave their troops some respite before they went to besiege *Jerusalem* ^c.

THE Jewish nation by this time was divided into two very opposite parties: The one, foreseeing, that this war, if continued, must end in the total ruin of their country, were for putting an effectual end to it, by a speedy submission to the Romans: The other, which was the spawn of the Gaulonitish incendiary, and breathed nothing but war, confusion, and cruelty, opposed all peaceable measures with an invincible obstinacy. This party, which was by far the more numerous and powerful, consisted of men of the vilest and most abandoned profligate character that ever history could parallel. They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the most horrid and unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, if *Josephus's* character of them may be credited, they acted more like incarnate devils, than like men, who had any sense left of goodness and humanity. They covered, however, their hellish brutality with the specious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming every-where, that it was offering the greatest dishonour to him to submit to any earthly potentate, much more to Ro-

Two parties in Judea.

A character of the zealots.

^c Ibid. c. 4.

mans and heathens ; and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themselves, under the strictest obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all foreign authority, or perished in the attempt^c (X). This obliged the contrary party to rise up likewise in arms in their own defence against those hell-hounds, from whom, however, they suffered unspeakably more, than they did even from the exasperated *Romans*, as we shall soon see.

Their hor-
rid butche-
ries.

Year of
the Flood
3065,
Of Christ
20
87

THE zealots began to exercise their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and massacring all that opposed them in the countries round about ; after which they easily entered *Jerusalem*, with *Zechariah* and *Eleazar* at their head. Here they were, at first, strenuously opposed by the late high-priest *Ananus* (Y), whose zeal upon this occasion *Josephus* highly commends. That pontiff made a pathetic speech to the people, exhorting them to take up arms against those factious villains, who had by this time seized upon the temple and made it

^c Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 6. ad fin. l. v. c. 1, & seq.

(X) This dreadful dissension was not confined to *Jerusalem*, but had infected all the cities, towns, and villages of *Palestine*. Even houses and families were so divided against each other, that, as our Saviour had expressly foretold in the dreadful picture he made of this final war (26), a man's greatest enemies were often those of his own family and household (27).

(Y) He had been deposed about six years before, as we have already seen, and succeeded by several others. *Matthias* the son of *Theophilus* was now in that dignity, to which he had been raised a year or two before by king *Agrippa* (28) ; but the seditious in the temple took it into their heads to chuse another in his stead, which they did by casting lots first for the twenty four classes, in which the twelfth was taken, and in that, upon one *Phannias*, a man wholly unfit for it, and whom they were forced to teach the manner of performing his office.

This unprecedented boldness, joined to their massacres and other pollutions of the temple, and even of the very sanctuary, gave such offence, not to the priests only, but to all the religious *Jews*, that they sought from that time for some means of ridding themselves of their tyranny, whilst the zealots crew made a jest of them, and of every thing that was sacred, serious, or humane.

(26) *Matth. xxiv. pass. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. 5, & seq. (27)*
Matth. x. 36. Luke xii. 52, & seq. (28) Bell. Jud. l. iv.
c. ult.

their

their garison, from which they sallied out to commit the vilest outrages and butcheries. He easily persuaded them to follow his advice, upon which they went and armed themselves, and returned in a strong body, and made a vigorous attack against them. The engagement was fierce and obstinate on both sides, and lasted a considerable time. At length, *Ananus* forced them out of the outer cincture of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them closely besieged. We have already taken notice of a vile demagogue, *John of Gischala*, who had fled lately from this last place to *Jerusalem*, and was at the head of the seditious; this wretch, under pretence of taking the interest of the peaceable party, was actually betraying them to the zealots. *Ananus*, not suspecting his treachery (Z), sent him to offer the besieged some fair terms of accommodation; instead of which, when he came to them, he persuaded them to hold out, and call the *Idumeans* to their assistance. They did so, and procured twenty thousand of them to come to their relief; but when these approached the metropolis, *Ananus* refused them entrance, and exhorted them in a civil and friendly manner to retire into their own country; at which they were so exasperated, that they accused him of being in the *Roman* interest, and just going to betray the city to them. They set down before the walls for that day, threatening *Ananus* and *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, another deposed high-priest, in the severest terms, if they did not open their gates to them^u.

*Invite the
Idume-
ans.*

ON that very night there happened such a dreadful storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and a violent earthquake, that the zealots, from within the inner court, sawed the bolts and hinges of the temple gates, without being heard, forced the guards of the besiegers, and sallied into the city, and let in the *Idumeans*^w. These two parties, thus joined and strengthened, began to commit the most horrid and unheard-of murders and butcheries on the opposite side.

*Horrid
butcheries
commit-
ted.*

^u Ibid. l. iv. c. 5, 6. ^w Cap. 7.

(Z) Such was their infatuation, that this wretch, who had skrewed himself into all their councils, and betrayed them to the zealots, had behaved with such an affected integrity, that few of them suspected him; and when some of the council began to question his counterfeited zeal, they were over-ruled by the rest, who contented themselves with making him swear, that he would be true to them; which gave him all the opportunity of ruining them that he could desire.

Barely to put them to any speedy death, was what they thought too mild a punishment ; they must have the pleasure to murder them by inches ; so that they made it now their diversion to put them to the most exquisite tortures that could be invented, neither could they be prevailed upon to dispatch them, till the violence of their torments had rendered them quite incapable of feeling them. Twelve thousand persons of noble extraction, and in the flower of their age, were butchered in that horrid manner, and among them the brave *Ananus* (A) and *Jesus* the son of *Gamaliel*, who had so nobly opposed them. In a word, the zealots fury and cruelty was grown to such a height, that the whole nation trembled at their very name ; none dared be seen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their nearest relations, nor even to give them burial *.

THE *Idumeans* crying out shame at length at the massacring of such numbers of worthy persons indiscriminately, the zealots began to set up a kind of court of judicature, to judge those they should think guilty with some shew of justice. *Zechariah* the son of *Baruch* (B) was one of the first who

* Lib. v. c. i.

(A) We have observed elsewhere, that he was the son of *Annas* mentioned in the gospel : It was he that caused *St. James* to be cast down from the battlements of the temple, and to be put to death. In other cases, he was a brave man, and the only person almost that had courage and conduct enough left to stem the tide, and to restore peace to the nation ; and it was for this reason that the zealots cut him off.

(B) This brave and worthy person is by many christian commentators supposed the same with the *Zechariah* the son of *Barachiah*, said by our Saviour to have been murdered between the temple and the altar (29). It is indeed objected, that he speaks there of him, as of a person long since put to death ; but it is replied, that he spake prophetically, and, according to the prophetic style, made use of the present for the future. And it must be owned, that unless these two historians speak of the same person, it will be difficult to find out the *Zechariah* mentioned in the gospel ; the last of those just persons, the shedding of whose blood was to fill up the measure of the *Jews* iniquities.

We shall not enter into the merit of the controversy, but refer our readers to those who have writ upon it, and which the reader will find in the margin (30).

(29) *Matth* xxiii. 35. (30) *Vid. Grot. Hamm. Le Clerc, Beza, Tremel. L. de Dieu, & Fabric. Apocr. N. T. not. in Protevang. Jacob.*

WAS

was brought before this mock court, which consisted of seventy two persons. They brought a black catalogue of accusations against him, which he not only refuted with great ease and plainness, but reminded them of their own black and hellish crimes, with such noble courage and in such lively colours, that the consciousness of their guilt made them pronounce him innocent; at which the zealots were so exasperated, that they murdered him on the spot, bidding him at the same time to take that absolution at their hands, which would prove surer to him than that of his judges; after which they drove these out of their seats as persons unfit for their purpose. They threw the body of *Zechariah* out of the temple down into the deep valley that was by the side of it; and the *Idumeans*, ashamed to act any longer in concert with such bloody assassins, retired into their own country, after having set at liberty two thousand of their prisoners; and left the zealots to reign in their cruelties without any further restraint. From this time these bloody hell-hounds, who were glad at heart to see their backs turned upon them, gave themselves a loose to all manner of barbarities; and as nothing rendered a man more dreadful to them than the bare suspicion of his being honest or virtuous, so they made the greatest havock among all that had the least pretence to that character ¹.

*Zechariah
murdered
in the tem-
ple.*

THEIR rage did not stop there; but after having butchered all the persons of any distinction or character, they began to wreak it on the common people. It was a capital crime to have once seemed to oppose them: to be unactive, was to be a spy on them; and not to applaud their vilest actions, was to be disaffected; and to be either rich, or suspected to be so, or even having the misfortune of being disliked by them, was crime enough to deserve death ². This obliged many of the *Jews* to forsake *Jerusalem* and take shelter under the *Romans*, though the gates and avenues of the city were so closely guarded, that it was extremely hazardous to retire to them, and as many as were caught doing so were put to immediate death. All this while *Vespasian*, who was at *Cæsarea*, remained a kind of idle spectator afar off of the dismal condition of the *Jewish* nation. His officers amazed, at this so unusual inaction, took the liberty to remind him, what pity it was he should thus neglect the most favourable opportunity of making himself master of *Jerusalem* and all *Palestine*. *Vespasian*, who had a longer head than they, soon made them sensible, that his continuing thus idle in *Cæsarea* was the most probable means of effecting the conquest they were speaking of, with

*Vespasian
stays at
Cæsarea.*

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. in fin.

the least difficulty and hazard of his own troops ; since the *Jewish* strength dwindled daily more and more by their intestine broils and massacres, whilst his own men, after enjoying so long a refreshment, would be the better able to crush them into submission or death ^a (C).

*The zealots
divided
into two
factions.*

*Simon
head of the
sicarii.*

EVERY thing succeeded to his wish. The zealots, after having massacred or driven away the opposite party, began to turn their bloody swords against each other. *John of Gischala*, a wretch of unparalleled ambition, could not brook that any should share the command with him ; and, in order to make himself absolute, drew the most profligate of the zealots into his party. The other chiefs, who opposed him with no small heat, made another faction, so that they were ever either skirmishing with each other, or plundering the poor remains of the people. Whilst things went thus on from bad to worse in the city, there arose a new gang of sicarii in the country, who having seized the strong fortress of *Massada*, made it their place of retreat. These plundered, burned, and massacred every-where, and carried their plunder into that place. They had at their head one *Simon* the son of *Gorias*, a bold ambitious young man, a native of *Gelasa*, who, to increase his party, caused a proclamation to

^a Ibid. c. 2.

(C) The event shewed that he reasoned like a consummate general ; for those cruelties did not only thin the enemy, but forced a vast many of the zealots away to the *Romans*, by reason of some dissensions which began to reign among them, and in spite of the danger of being caught in the way.

Among their cruel executions on these, there was one *Niger* a *Peraite* or native of *Perea*, a person of distinction, who had signalized himself in their former wars against the *Romans* ; who together with the brave *Garion*, was seized, and dragged shamefully out of the city ; where the former, finding his death inevitable, only begged that his body might be afterwards buried. But the merciless wretches refusing to grant him even that, he addressed himself to heaven, and prayed, that the *Romans* might at length come, and wreak their direct vengeance on those murderers. His words were looked upon as prophetic ; but *Josephus* mentions some other oracles, which had long ago foretold the total ruin of that nation, as well as destruction of the city and temple. Whoever reads the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechariah*, will be apt enough to think, that the *Jewish* historian had an eye to them (31), among the many others we could name to the same purpose.

(31) *Bell. Jud. ubi supra, in fin cap. 1.*

be dispersed, in which he promised free liberty to all the slaves, and proportionable encouragements to all the freemen, that should come over to him. This stratagem had the desired effect; and he saw his party in a very little time swelled into a considerable army, and himself as respected and obeyed, as if he had been a monarch. Many *Jews* of distinction, as well as others of a meaner rank, were glad thus to put themselves under his protection from the cruelties of the other parties ^b.

WHILST these things were thus transacting in *Judæa*, Nero's *Nero*, having being declared an enemy to *Rome* by the senate, ^{death.} left both it and the world to avoid the more shameful punishment decreed against him^c, as shall be further shewn in the *Roman* history. *Vespasian*, who was yet ignorant of it, and did not give great heed to *Josephus's* prediction of his becoming emperor, was making great preparations against the revolted *Jews* and for the siege of *Jerusalem*, whilst *Simon*, at the head of a good army, was making war against the zealots. These last, having notice what great magazines of arms and ammunition *Simon* had got, in order to come and invest them, began to think it high time to try to disperse his forces by a vigorous sally. They did so, and were defeated and put to flight; but *Simon*, not thinking himself strong enough yet to besiege *Jerusalem*, went to invade *Idumea* with an army of twenty thousand men. The *Idumeans* marched against him with twenty five thousand, which was all they could get in that short time. A fierce battle ensued, which lasted from morning till night, by which time it could scarcely be guessed which side had had the better. But *Simon* found means soon after to have that country betrayed to him by a treacherous *Idumean* (D), who having got the command of their forces, delivered them up to him, as had been

Year of
the Flood,
3066.
Of Christ,
71
68

Idumea
invaded
by *Simon*.

Betrayed
to him.

^b Ibid. c. 3, & seq.
hist. l. i.

^c SUTTON. in Neron. c. 40. TACIT.

(D) This miscreant, whose name was *James*, was one of the *Idumean* chiefs, and was sent by the rest to reconnoitre the enemy, and know the number of their forces. He set out from the *Idumean* camp at *Oliura*, and privately agreed with *Simon* to deliver up the army and country to him, on condition he should be treated with honour; which being promised, he returned to his camp, and there represented the enemy's army as vastly more numerous and strong than it really was; by which means he easily obtained the command, and compassed his treacherous design (32).

(32) Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 7.

agreed

agreed between them. *Simon* put all to fire and sword, and, by the conquest of that province, became more dreadful than ever to the zealots; who from that time did not dare to come out against him, but contented themselves with laying ambushes against him in all the passes, in one of which they took his wife prisoner. They were on the sudden strangely elated at their success, not doubting but they should now easily force him to lay down his arms, in order to get her released to him. But it happened quite otherwise; for *Simon* no sooner heard the news, than he posted with his army to the very gates of *Jerusalem*, where he committed such cruelties, and threatened the enemy into such a fright, that they were glad to send him his wife again, after which he left them to go and ruin the sad remains of *Idumea*. These miserable wretches, seeing the devastations and butcheries which he committed there, left the country to his mercy, and went to take shelter at *Jerusalem*, and were pursued by his troops to the very walls of that metropolis ^a.

THUS *Simon* without, and *John* within, seemed to strive which should outdo the other in cruelties and in the most unheard-of crimes; whilst those that fell into either hands were sure to be butchered without mercy; insomuch, that there was no safe place either in city or country. *John* had hitherto tyrannised within at the head of his blood-hounds with uncommon success, when the *Idumeans*, who were left in the city and were of his party, not being longer able to bear his tyranny, revolted against him, killed a great number of his men, plundered his palace (E), and forced him to retire into the temple. In the mean time, the people, having taken a notion that he would fall out in the night and set fire to the city, called a council, in which they pitched upon a remedy far worse than the disease, which

^a Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 7.

(E) This palace had, it seems, been built there by the princess *Graptæ*, cousin to *Izates* king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have had occasion to speak in the last volume *

As for the horrid crimes and bestialities of the zealots within, as well as of *Simon* without, they are of so shocking a nature, that we shall pass them by in silence. Those that can read them without horror, may see them in the *Jewish* historian (33).

* Vol. IX. p. 484, & seq.
ad c. 9.

(33) Bell. Jud. ibid. & seq.

was to open the city gates, and let in *Simon* with his troops to oppose those of *John* and his zealots. *Matthias*, the then high-priest, against whom these last had set up an obscure priest into that dignity, promoted the design, without troubling himself about the consequences of it, and was sent to acquaint *Simon* with it. *Simon* was accordingly admitted into the city, where his chief care now was to render his strength as great, and authority as absolute, as he could. To this end he looked indifferently on those that had invited him in, and those against whom he was called, and soon began to exert his cruelty against them equally, though the former had received him, with great honours and universal acclamations, as their future deliverer. But ingratitude and breach of faith were crimes of too light a nature to scare a wretch that had discarded all natural and civil virtues, to abandon himself to the most monstrous vices. He made, however, a bold assault against *John* and his party; but being as stoutly repulsed, he contented himself for the present with keeping them closely besieged in the temple^e.

THE Romans on the other hand had not stood idle all this *Gadara* last year; but being invited by the inhabitants of *Gadara*, one *surrender-* of the strongest places on that side *Jordan*, had sent *Placidus* *ed.* to take possession of it. He was forced to fight his way through several stout bodies of the factious who opposed him. He killed about fifteen thousand of them, as they were endeavouring to pass that river, besides a great number of others, whom he defeated at several encounters, and many more made prisoners. In a word, *Placidus* bestirred himself so well, that he soon reduced all that part of *Judæa* which lies on the east side of the *Jordan*, except the castle of *Macheron*. All this was done in the winter. In the beginning of the spring, *Vespasian* marched out of *Cæsarea*, and penetrated *Idumea* near half of *Idumea*, plundering and burning every place *wasted.* he came through, except such as he thought expedient to leave with a *Roman* garison to keep the country in awe^f.

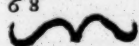
SOME months before this time, *Vespasian* received the news of *Nero's* death, and of *Galba's* being chosen his successor; upon which he immediately dispatched his son *Titus* to *Rome*, to compliment the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the reduction of *Judæa*. *Agrippa* desired to bear him company, but the winter not being quite over, and their ships being of a large bulk, they sailed so slowly,

^e Ibid. c. 9.^f Ibid. cap. 3.

that

Year of
the Flood
3066.

Of Christ,
 $\frac{7}{8}$



Vespasian
chosen em-
peror.

Josephus
set at li-
berty.

that they were got no farther than *Acbaia*, when they received the news of *Galba's* being murdered, after a seven months reign, and *Otho's* being proclaimed in his room. *Agrippa* resolved to continue his voyage, but *Titus*, as by some divine impulse, was now come back to rejoin his father at *Cæsarea*, whither he was returned after his *Idumean* expedition⁸. They left *Cæsarea* on the fifth of *June*, and led their army towards *Jerusalem*, and took every place in their way thither, except *Herodion*, *Macheron*, and *Massada*, whilst *Cerealis*, one of their chief generals, was laying waste the upper *Idumea* with a considerable number of troops.

WHILST *Judæa* was thus miserably torn with a foreign, and with their intestine wars, the *Roman* empire was in as bad a plight with their own. We shall not anticipate on the *Roman* history, so far as to enter into the particulars of the murder of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. *Suetonius*^b compares *Rome* to a vessel tossed about by contrary winds, and ready at every moment to sink, when *Vespasian* was happily chosen emperor, and restored a calm to the empire. *Josephus* now reaped the benefit of his former predictions, and that emperor recalling them to mind, thought it high time now not only to give him his liberty, but recompense him for his faithfulness to him with many signal favoursⁱ (F). As soon as *Vespasian* had received the news that his election had been con-

⁸ TACIT. SUTON. ubi supra. bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 8, & seq.
^b In vit. Vespas. ⁱ Ubi supra, cap. 12.

(F) *Vespasian* was then at *Berytus*, where vast numbers of ambassadors came crouding to compliment him on his election, and to offer him the usual crowns and letters of submission. Here he held a grand council, wherein having highly extolled the courage of the *Jewish* chief, he related to them how he had foretold his coming to the empire even during *Nero's* life.

Titus, who was there present, and had conceived a great esteem for him, declared, that it would be an action worthy his goodness and justice to grant him his liberty, to knock off his fetters, and to restore him to the rank and condition which he enjoyed before his captivity; it being the custom of the *Romans* to break the bonds of those who had been unjustly detained in them. *Vespasian* approved his proposal, and caused it to be put in execution out of hand; and *Josephus* not only gained his liberty by it, but got the reputation of a prophet, and was in high credit in the *Roman* army ever after (34).

firmed at *Rome*, he left the best of his troops with his son, with orders to go and besiege *Jerusalem* and to destroy it utterly; after which he prepared himself to return to the capital of his empire.

ALL this while the *Jewish* dissensions increased, and *Eleazar*, the son of another *Simon*, a person of the sacerdotal order and of great sense and courage, found means to form a new party, and to draw a considerable number of *John* of *Gischala*'s men to him, under pretence, that this last was become so inhuman and tyrannic, that it was dangerous to let him lord it any longer over them. With this new party he seized on the court of the priests, and confined *John* into that of the *Israelites*. *Eleazar* kept the avenues so well guarded, that none were admitted to come into that part of the temple, but those who came thither to offer sacrifices, and it was by these offerings chiefly that he maintained himself and his men. *John* by this means found himself hemmed by two powerful enemies, *Eleazar* above (G), and *Simon*, who was master of the city, below. He defended himself against the former by his engines (H), out of which he kept still throwing of stones into his court; and when he sallied out against the latter, he set all on fire where-ever he could reach, by which he destroyed

(G) We have formerly observed in our description of this stately building, that the innermost court was raised considerably above the rest, having a terrace and nineteen steps to ascend to the area of it *.

(H) *John* had luckily found a great quantity of large cedar trees, which king *Agrippa* had caused to be brought from *Lebanus* at a vast charge, to raise the temple twenty cubits higher than it was, or perhaps that part which we observed in the note last quoted to have been sunk that number of cubits through the weakness of the foundation; but his project was set aside by reason of the war

John, having possession of this court, soon put this timber to other uses, and caused towers and other engines to be made with it, in order to besiege his competitor within; and indeed he ceased not harrassing him, but whilst he was forced to defend himself against *Simon*, who besieged him from without. The flight of steps and terrace mentioned in the last note not permitting him to bring his towers near enough to the wall of the inner cincture, he was projecting to have removed them towards the western side, where the ground was all plain; but providence so ordered it,

* See before, pag. 185. sub not.

Their condition and advantages,

stroyed great quantities of corn and other provisions, with which they might otherwise have held out a siege several years. Thus were these three factions ever watching all advantages against each other. *Simon* had the greatest number of troops and a store of arms and provisions, his army consisting of ten thousand zealots and five thousand *Idumeans*; but he was the most disadvantageously situated of the three. *John* had the advantage over him in this last respect, but had but six thousand men, and was forced to get provisions for them by his constant sallies. He was superior to *Eleazar* in number of men; this last having but about two thousand four hundred. But he was more strongly situated, and was continually supplied with provisions, by the continual offerings which the people brought to the temple, and which they often abused by luxury and drunkenness ^k.

THIS was the sad distracted state of *Jerusalem*, when *Titus* marched his army against it. He had, besides the three legions which had served under his father, the fifth legion, which had been so sadly handled by the *Jews* in *Cestius's* time, and now burned with a desire of revenge. Besides these, *Agrippa*, *Soemus*, and *Antiochus*, the two former of whom accompanied him in person, and some allied cities, had furnished him with twenty regiments of foot and eight of horse, besides vast multitudes of *Arabs*, and a choice number of persons of distinction from *Italy* and other places, who came to signalize themselves under his standards. *Titus* ordered the fifth legion to take the road of *Emmaus*, the tenth that of *Jericho*, the other two legions marched after him in the order, which the reader will find in the margin ^l (I). It was

^k Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 1.

^l Ibid. in fin. & cap. 2.

that *Titus* began the siege of the city before he could compass it, which made him set his project aside.

(I) *Josephus*, who was an eye-witness of it, because he was still ordered to follow the emperor, gives it to us as follows ^{*}:

The auxiliaries marched first, and were followed by the pioneers, whose business was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter-masters, who marked out their incampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army under a sufficient escort.

^{*} Ibid. c. 1 in fin.

was now the beginning of *April*, and near the feast of the passover, to which there was a greater resort of *Jews* this year than had ever been known, even from beyond the *Euphrates* (K).

Titus

Titus came next, attended with his guard, and a select body of troops, followed by a body of horse, who marched just before the warlike engines; and after these came the tribunes and chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a chosen number of troops. Then appeared the *Roman* eagle, surrounded with the ensigns of the several legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets sounding, and followed by the main body, which marched in rank and file six in a front. Lastly, came the sutlers, handicrafts, &c. attended with a strong guard of soldiers, which closed the whole march. In this order they came to *Gophna*, which had a *Roman* garison, and on the next day to *Gibbeath-Saul*, about thirty stades, or three miles and a half from *Jerusalem*.

(K) The chiefs of the *Jews* in *Palestine* had written, it seems, to invite all their brethren every-where, not doubting but their presence and great concourse would contribute to quell the factions within, as well as oppose the *Romans* without; so that they came flocking to this solemnity from all parts of the world.

But it seems as if they were directed thither by the hand of providence, to suffer the punishment of their sins, the bulk of the nation being there, as it were, shut up in a prison, to add to that of the destroying sword, the dreadful plagues of famine and pestilence, which shortly after devoured them. *Josephus* reckons eleven hundred thousand that died during the siege.

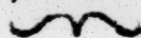
They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men, or courage, or any thing but experience to make a brave defence; but this they made up by their invincible obstinacy and despair. Their city was strongly situate by nature, surrounded with three stout walls, and many a stately and strong tower. The first, or old wall, which, by reason of its vast thickness, was looked upon as impregnable, had sixty of these towers, very lofty, firm, and strong. The second had fourteen, and the third eighty. The former of these, besides its extraordinary height and thickness, was raised on a high and steep mountain, and had a valley beneath it of a prodigious depth. The other two were high and strong in proportion. The circuit of the city was thirty three stades, or four thousand one hundred and twenty five geometric paces, or near four of our miles.

Besides these vast fortifications, there were several other castles of extraordinary strength, such as those of *Hippicos*, *Phasaël*, *Mariamne*, and *Antonia*; to say nothing of the royal, and some other stately and well-fortified palaces. The temple still exceeded all the rest in strength, both for situation, its walls, towers, and other buildings, and was at least equal to the best citadels then in being

Titus's
army.

Year of
the flood,
3066.

Of Christ,
71 or 68.



Jerusalem
besieged.

Titus being advanced so near the city, went himself to reconnoitre its strength and avenues, attended only with six hundred horse; he seemed even to flatter himself, that, upon his first appearance the peaceable part of the *Jews* would open the gates to him; but, to his surprize, the factious made so sudden and vigorous a sally against him, that he found himself quite surrounded with enemies, in a narrow defile, his cavalry severed from him, so that he had no other way left to escape their fury, but to make a desperate push, and break his way through them; which he at length, almost by a miracle, happily accomplished, even without receiving any wound, or losing more than two of his men^m. After this narrow escape he caused his army to draw nearer to *Scopas*, within seven stades of the city, in order to besiege it in form, whilst the factious within were applauding themselves for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future success. His legion, which had come by the way of *Jericho*, being arrived, he ordered it to incamp on the mount of *Olives*, which was parted from the town on the east by the brook *Cedron*, and where they were on the sudden so furiously assaulted by the besieged, that they were in danger of being cut all in pieces, had not *Titus* come timely to their rescue (L).

It was then that the three factions, seeing themselves besieged by so powerful an army, and so brave a general, began to think of laying aside all private feuds, and join together in a vigorous defence against the common enemy. This union, however, proved but short lived; for on the four-

^m Ibid. ad fin.

(35). Yet how insufficient did all these, and the vast quantities of arms, ammunition, &c. prove, to save a nation, whom the divine justice had doomed to the most dreadful destruction! Well might *Titus*, after he had taken the city, and came to view the incredible strength of it, cry out, *that God must certainly have fought for him, since no human power or strength was equal to that which they had now overcome.*

(L) *Dio* adds to what we read in *Josephus*, that *Titus* had many such bloody encounters with the besieged under the walls, in which both sides fought so valiantly, that it was not easy to say which had the better; but that the *Jews* were at length repulsed, and gave thereby an opportunity to the enemy to open the siege (36).

(35) See *Josephus*, *ibid.* ch. 6.
Tacit. *hist.* l. v. c. 11.

(36) *Lib.* *lxvi.* *Vid.* &

teenth

teenth of April, which was ushering in the passover, when Eleazar had opened the avenues of his court to the great concourse that came thither to sacrifice, John of Gischala found means to slide in some of his men with swords hid under their cloaks among them, who immediately drew their weapons, fell on Eleazar's party, and the rest of the people, filled the court of the priests with blood and horrid outcries, and took possession of the place. By this bloody and impious stratagem the three factions were reduced to two, Eleazar's men being all either cut off, or, after their flight, were returned with their chief, and had submitted themselves to John, who had now no enemy but Simon within the walls. From that time this last renewed his hostilities against him with greater vigour: he held now the whole temple, some of the out-parts of it, and the valley of Cedron. Simon had the whole city to range in, in some parts of which John had made such devastation, that they served them for a field of battle; from which they sallied unanimously against the common enemy, whenever occasion served, after which they returned to their usual hostilities, turning their arms against each other, as if they had sworn to make their ruin more easy to the Romans. These in the mean time were drawing still nearer to the walls, having, with great labour and pains, levelled all the ground between Scopas and them, by pulling down all the houses and hedges, cutting down the trees, and even cleaving the rocks that stood in their way, from Scopas to the tomb of Herod and Bethara, alias the pool of serpents; in which work so many hands were employed, that they finished it in four daysⁿ.

John and Simon join against the enemy, and then fight against each other.

WHILST this work was doing, Titus sent the besieged some offers of peace; Josephus was pitched upon to be the messenger of them, but they were rejected with indignation. *The siege began in form.*

On the morrow they made a shew of accepting them, inso-much that some of the Romans, believing them in earnest, ventured, contrary to their general's order, to enter the city, and narrowly escaped with their lives. He sent a second time Nicanor and Josephus with fresh offers, and the former received a wound in his shoulder; upon which Titus re- *Offers of peace re-jected.*

solved to begin the assault in good earnest (M), and ordered his

ⁿ Ibid cap 7.

(M) The place which Titus, after having taken a full view round the city, chose to begin his attack, was towards the tomb of the high-priest John, both because it stood on the lowest ground, and because

his men to raze the suburbs, to cut down all the trees, and use the materials to raise platforms against the wall. Every thing was now carried on with invincible ardour, the *Romans* began to play their engines against the city in good earnest, and it was by one of these that *Jesus* the son of *Ananus*, who had so long foretold the destruction of the *Jewish* nation, was killed o.

THE *Jews* had likewise their machines upon the walls, which they plyed with uncommon fury: they had taken them lately from *Cestius*, when he retired so shamefully from them, but they were so ignorant in their use, that they made little execution with them, till they were better instructed by some *Roman* deserters. Till then their chief success was rather owing to their frequent sallies; but the *Roman* legions, which had all their towers and machines before them, made terrible havock. The least stones they threw were near a hundred weight, and these they could throw the length of two stades, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with such force, that having overthrown those that stood in the first rank, they could still do mischief on those that stood at some distance behind them. *Titus* had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terrass above-mentioned; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night, did greatly alarm the *Roman* camp, which ran immediately to arms at the noise of it; but *Titus*, upon knowing the cause, dismissed them, and caused it to be set up again. These towers being plated with iron, the *Jews* tried in vain to set fire to them, and were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their shot; by which the battering rams were now at full liberty to play against the wall. A breach was soon made in it, at which the *Romans* entered, and the *Jews*, abandoning this last inclosure, retired behind the next. This happened about the twenty eighth of *April*, a fortnight after the beginning of the siege ^P.

The first
wall
broken and
entered.

John defended the temple and the castle of *Antonia*, and *Simon* the rest of the city. *Titus* marched close to the second wall, and plied his battering rams against it so furiously, that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a

o Ibid.

P Ibid. c. 8, & 9.

cause the outer wall was low, and not defended on that side by the middlemost; so that when the breach was made on the former, it was easy to penetrate to the latter, and so come up to, and make themselves masters of the upper city, and next of the temple, by means of the fortress *Antonia*.

prodigious

prodigious shake. The men that were in it made a signal to the *Romans*, as if they would surrender, and at the same time sent *Simon* word to be ready to give them a warm reception. *Titus* having smelt their stratagem, plied his work more furiously, whilst the *Jews* that were in the tower set it on fire, and flung themselves into the flames. The tower being fallen gave them an entrance into the second inclosure, *The second wall taken* five days after the gaining of the first; and *Titus* who was bent on saving the city, would not suffer any part of the wall or streets to be demolished, which left the breach and lanes so narrow, that when his men were furiously repulsed by *Simon*, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, so that there was a number of them killed in it. This oversight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with such vigour, that the place was carried four days after their first repulse ^a.

THE famine raging in a terrible manner in the city, was soon followed by a pestilence, and as these two dreadful judgments increased, so did the rage of the factious, who, by their intestine feuds, had destroyed such quantities of provision, that they were forced to prey upon the people with the most unheard of cruelty. They forced their houses, and if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for not apprising them of it; and if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almost every-where the case, they put them to the most severe tortures, under pretence that they had some provision concealed ^r. *I should, says Josephus, undertake an impossible task, were I to enter into a detail of all the cruelties of those impious wretches; it will be sufficient to say, that I do not think, that since the creation, any city ever suffered such dreadful calamities, or abounded with men so fertile in all kind of wickedness ^c.* *Famine and pestilence.*

Titus, who knew their miserable condition, and was still willing to spare them, gave them now four days to cool; during which he caused his army to be mustered, and provisions to be distributed to them in sight of the *Jews*, who flocked upon the walls to see it; and it is thought, that even the most flagitious among the zealots were so frightened at the sight of it, that they would have agreed to a surrender, could they have depended upon that pardon, which their black and horrid deeds made them quite despair of. *Josephus* was sent to *Josephus's* speak to them afresh, and to exhort them not to run themselves into an inevitable ruin, by obstinately persisting in the defence of a place which could hold out but a very little while, *speech to the besieged.*

^a Ibid. cap. 10. ^r Cap. 11. ^c Ibid. in fin.

and which the *Romans* looked upon already as their own. The reader may see his elaborate and pathetic speech in the chapter last quoted, and which, he tells us, drew a flood of tears from him. His stubborn people, after many a bitter invective, fell a darting their arrows at him, at which not at all discouraged, he went on with greater vehemence; but all the effect it wrought on them was only, that it prevailed on great numbers to steal away privately to the *Romans*, whilst the rest became only the more desperate, and resolute to hold out to the last, in spite of *Titus's* merciful offers.

The city
immured.

To hasten therefore to their destined ruin, he caused the city to be surrounded with a strong wall, to prevent their receiving any succours or provision from abroad, or their escaping his resentment by flight (N). There was now nothing to be seen through the streets of *Jerusalem*, but heaps of dead bodies rotting above ground, walking skeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were caught by the *Romans* in their sallies, *Titus* caused to be crucified in sight of the town, to inject a terror on the rest; but the zealots gave it out, that they were those that fled to him for protection, which when *Titus* understood, he sent a prisoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and assure them, that he spared all that voluntarily came over to him; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were closely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand^c. A greater mischief than that was, that even those, who escaped safe to the *Roman camp*, were miserably butchered by the soldiers, from a notion which these had taken, that they had swallowed great quantities of gold: insomuch, that two thousand of them were ripped up in one night to come at their supposed treasure^d. When *Titus* was apprised of this barbarity, he would have condemned all those butchering wretches to death; but they proved so numerous, that he was forced to spare them, and contented himself with sending a proclamation through his camp, that as many as should be suspected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, should be put to immediate death; yet did not this deter many of them

Horrid
butcheries
within
and with-
out.

^c Ibid. c. 12, & seq. ^d Cap. 15.

(N) This wall, which was near forty stades, or five miles in circuit, was yet carried on with such speed and by so many hands, that it was finished in three days; by which one may guess at the ardour of the besiegers to make themselves masters of the city (37).

(37) Ibid. c. 13.

from

from it, only they did it more privately than before ; so greedy were they of that bewitching metal. All this while the defection increased still more through the inhumanity of the faction within, who made the miseries and dying groans of their starving brethren the subject of their cruel mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the sheathing of their swords in sport on those poor wretches, under pretence of trying their sharpness.

WHEN they found therefore, that neither their guards nor severities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourse to another stratagem equally impious and cruel ; which was to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the despairing remains of the people to expect a speedy and miraculous deliverance ; and this imposture proved a greater expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. We shall not so far disgust our readers, as to mention what miserable shifts these poor wretches made use of to prolong the sad remains of a life, which ought to have been more loathsome under such circumstances, than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to support it ^w. It *A mother* was upon this sad and pinching juncture (O), that an unhappy *eats her* mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating *own child*. This lady, whose name was *Miriam* or *Mary*, had taken refuge with a vast number of others in this accursed city from the beginning of the war. As the famine increased, the factious zealots, who, as we observed before, lived now altogether upon the plunder of the helpless, had

False prophets set up.

^w Ibid. l. vii. c. 7.

(O) Nothing could be more dreadful than the famishing condition they were now reduced to. The poor, having nothing to trust to but the *Romans* mercy, or a speedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city ; and if, in their flight and wandering out for herbs, or any other sustenance, they fell into the hands of any of *Titus's* parties, sent about to guard the avenues, they were unmercifully scourged, and crucified, if they made the least resistance.

The rich within the walls were now forced, though in the privatest manner, to give half, or all they were worth, for a measure of wheat, and the middling sort for one of barley. This they were forced to convey into some private place in their houses, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind it, much less to boil or bake it, lest the noise or smell should draw the rapacious zealots to come and tear it from them. Not that these were reduced to any real want of provisions, but they had a double end in this barbarous plunder, *viz.* the starving what they cruelly styled all useless persons, and the keeping their own stores in reserve.

often forced into her house, and carried off such provisions as she had been able to procure. She had often tried either by prayers to prevail on them, or by the bitterest curses to provoke them, to put an end to her miserable life; but those inhuman monsters still thought it too great a mercy to be granted to her. Filled at length with fury and despair, she snatches her sucking child from her bosom, cuts his throat, and broils him; and having satiated her present hunger, she hid the rest. The smell of it soon drew those voracious carrions again to her house; they threatened to put her to the most excruciating tortures, if she did not discover her provisions to them; upon which she goes and fetches them the sad reliëts of her mangled infant, and sets it before them, bids them eat heartily, and not be squeamish, since she, the once tender mother of it, had made no scruple to butcher, dress, and make a meal of it. At the sight of this horrid dish those bloody hell-hounds, who never had till then felt the least spark of remorse or humanity, were seized with such sudden dread, that they went off trembling out of the house, and left the astonished mother in full possession of her dismal fare *.

Titus
swears the
ruin of the
city.

WHEN this news was spread thro' the city, the horror and consternation was as universal as it was inexpressible. It was then, that they began to think themselves forsaken by the divine providence, and to expect the most terrible effects of his anger against the poor remains of their nation; insomuch that they began to envy those that had perished before them, and to wish their turn might come before the sad expected catastrophe. Their fears were but too just; since *Titus*, at the very first hearing of this inhuman deed, swore the total extirpation of the city and people. Since, said he, they have so often refused my proffers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience, and famine, such a dreadful one especially, to plenty, I am determined to bury that cursed metropolis under its ruins, that the sun may never shoot his beams on a city, where the mothers feed on the flesh of their children, and the fathers, no less guilty than they, chose to drive them to such extremities, rather than lay down their arms. In the like manner did that good-natured general expostulate with the Deity for the other cruelties which he saw and heard were committed in that wretched metropolis, especially at the sight of such vast numbers of dead bodies, which, for want of burying-room, they were forced to throw down from their walls into the adjacent vallies; taking heaven to witness, that he was innocent of all those horrid calamities which that infatu-

ated nation had brought upon themselves, and might have prevented by a timely submission¹ (P).

THIS dreadful action happened about the end of *July*, by *Fort Antonia* which time the *Romans*, having pursued their attacks with fresh vigour, made themselves masters of the fortress *Antonia*; which obliged the *Jews* to set fire to those stately galleries which joined it to the temple, lest they should afford an easy passage to the besiegers into this last². About the same time *Titus* with much difficulty got materials (Q) for raising new mounds and terraces, in order to hasten the siege, and save, if possible, the sad remains of that once glorious city and nation; but his pity proved still worse and worse bestowed on those obstinate wretches, who only became the more furious and desperate by it. *Titus* at length caused fire to be set to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulsed with loss. The *Jews* were so terrified at it, that they suffered themselves to be devoured by the flames without putting a helping hand, either to extinguish them or save themselves³. About the same time *Matthias* the high-priest, who had encouraged the people to introduce *Simon* into the city, met with a requital worthy of that monster of cru-

Gates set on fire.

¹ Ibid. in fin.

² Ibid. cap. 5, & seq.

³ cap. 9.

(P) We have thus epitomized at one view what *Jesephus* has scattered in several chapters of this and the foregoing book, of the dreadful effects of this famine, that it might not for the future interrupt the thread of the siege, and destruction of the city, temple, and nation, which we shall now hasten to bring to a conclusion.

All that needs be added to make up the sad account of this calamity is, that even those, who, at the hazard of their lives, got safe to the *Romans* and were well received of them, did for the generality meet with their deaths in the plenty of provisions which they found there. Many of them expired with the meat in their mouths; others fell into dropfies and other distempers, or quite lost the use of their limbs.

(Q) The greatest part of those that had served hitherto for the siege, were either consumed, or rendered unfit for service. The suburbs and adjacent parts of *Jerusalem*, which abounded with the most beautiful gardens, orchards, and greatest variety of fruit and other trees, had been already stripped of all their ornaments to serve for the siege, and were now reduced into a wilderness. *Titus* therefore could not carry on his works with the same speed and vigour, because he was forced to send his men for fresh timber and other materials, at a great distance, even so far as ninety stades, or between eleven and twelve miles off.

Matthias
put to
death.

Josephus
wounded.

The tem-
ple plun-
dered.

elty, being first tortured, and then condemned to death, together with three of his sons, the fourth having happily conveyed himself out of reach. The pretence was, their holding correspondence with the *Romans*, and the reverend old pontiff only begged as the last favour, that he might be put to death before his sons, but was denied both that and common burial. *Ananias* with about seventeen persons more of rank and merit, were put to death after them^b; besides many more, for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends. All this while *Josephus* did not cease exhorting them to surrender, to represent to them the dreadful consequences of an obstinate resistance, and to assure them, that it was out of his mere compassion to them that he thus hazarded his own life to save theirs: he received one day such a wound in his head by a stone from the battlements, as laid him for dead on the ground. The *Jews* sallied out immediately to have seized on his body, but the *Romans* proved too quick and strong for them, and carried him off^c (R).

By this time the two factions within, but especially that of *John*, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell foul also on the treasury of the temple, whence *John* took a great quantity of golden utensils he found there, together with those magnificent gifts that had been presented to that sacred place by the *Jewish* kings, by *Augustus*, *Livia*, and many other foreign princes, and melted them all to his own use. The repositories of the sacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reserved to accompa-

^b cap. 15.

^c Ibid.

(R) *Josephus*, by his own account, seems to have led but a sad life between the *Romans* and his own countrymen. These looked upon him as a vile apostate, a traitor to his God and country: had imprisoned his (the *Greek* says, father, but the sequel shews it to have been his) mother, and made her suffer many hardships; and would have spared no cruelties against him, if they could have caught him in their hands.

On the other side, the *Roman* officers looked upon him as a faithless wretch, who, under pretence of going to exhort the besieged to surrender, did what he could to encourage them to hold out to the last extremity; insomuch, that several of them did not scruple to accuse him before *Titus* of this double dealing; but happily for him, the general had conceived too good an opinion of him, to harbour any such suspicion, and still vindicated him against his accusers (38).

(38) *In vita sua.*

ny the usual sacrifices, were likewise seized upon, and turned into common use, and the last of these to such success, as to make himself and his party drunk with it. All this while not only the zealots, but many of the people were still under such an infatuation, that though the fortress *Antonia* was lost, as we have hinted already, and nothing left but the temple, which the *Romans* were making ready to batter down, yet they could not persuade themselves, that God would suffer that holy place to be taken by heathens, and were still expecting some sudden and miraculous deliverance. Even that vile monster *John*, who commanded there, either seemed confident of it, or else endeavoured to make them *The be-* think him so. For when *Josephus* was sent, for the last time, to *sieged still* upbraid his obstinately exposing that sacred building, and the *infatuated.* miserable remains of God's people, to sudden and sure destruction, he only answered him with the bitterest invectives, adding that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which he was sure could not be taken by any human force. *Josephus* *Josephus's* did in vain remind him of the many ways by which he had *speech to* polluted both city and temple, and in particular of the seas *them.* of blood which he caused to be shed in both those sacred places, and which, he assured him from the old prophecies, were a certain sign and fore-runner of their speedy surrender and destruction (S). *John* remained as inflexible as if all the prophets had assured him of a deliverance, which shews the sad effects of a judicial infatuation. However, a great number of the people were so moved by *Josephus's* discourse, that they fled presently after to the *Romans*, and amongst them some persons of rank and figure, particularly *Joseph* the son of *Cabbi* and *Jesus* the son of *Damneus*, who had been both high-priests. *Titus* gave them a gracious reception, and sent them to *Gophna*, a place situated between *Samaria* and *Lydda*, till the conclusion of the war; but he was forced to send for

(S) He alluded probably to the eleventh and following chapters of *Zechary*, of which we have given some hint a little higher; or it may be perhaps that he had an eye to the doom which Christ had pronounced against that murdering and apostate city, of which he saw the far greater part already accomplished, enough to assure him of the rest. For, as we have elsewhere observed, it is scarcely to be supposed, but that such a man as *Josephus* had more than once conversed with some christians, who might have apprised him of it, or, as an historian, he might have read it in some one of the gospels.

them

them back, to contradict a report, which the factious had cunningly spread, of their having been put to death.^d

At length *Titus*, foreseeing the inevitable ruin of that stately edifice, which he was still extremely desirous to save, vouchsafed even himself to speak to them, and to persuade them to surrender. But the factious, looking upon this condescension as the effects of his fear rather than generosity, only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at last to come to those extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple, might have the freer passage towards it through the castle *Antonia*, he caused a considerable part of the wall to be pulled down and levelled, which proved so very strong, that it took him up seven whole days, by which time they were far advanced in the month of *July*.

The daily
sacrifice
interrupted

It was on the seventeenth day of that month, as all *Josephus's* copies have it (T), that the daily sacrifice ceased for the first time, since its restoration by the brave *Maccabite* chief, mentioned in a former section †, there being no proper person left in the temple to offer it up. *Titus* caused

^d Cap. 16.

† Sect. III. p. 11.

(T) A modern critic supposes an error to be in that date, and that it was originally written the seventh or tenth of that month (39). But besides, that it is seventeen in all copies of *Josephus*, the *Jews* have kept their fasts in memory of this cessation on that very day ever since (40).

This daily sacrifice called by the *Jews* תמיד *Thamid*, by the *Greeks* ἐνδελχισμός, and by the *Latins* *juge*, consisted of two lambs, the one of which was offered in the morning towards sun-rising, after the burning of the sacred incense, and the other in the evening, or, as the *Hebrew* hath it, between the two evenings, that is, between three in the afternoon and sun-setting. It was a burnt-offering, and was therefore set on a slow fire, that it might be the longer a burning. We have spoken of it in a former volume †, to which we refer.

All that we need to add is, that if the *Jews* have appointed their fasts right, the ceasing of it here was on the same day on which *Moses* broke the two tables, the city of *Jerusalem* was destroyed, the book of the law burnt by *Aphsathomos* (*Epistemon*) and the statue of *Jupiter* set up in the temple, as the reader may see in the three authors last quoted.

(39) *Tillemont. not. in ruin. Jud. 35.* (40) *Vid. Mebillath, Tabanith, c. 12. part. ult. Maimon, Helcath, Tabanith, c. 5. Buxt. Synag. Jud. c. 30.* † See Vol. III. p. 212, 225, & (N).

the factious to be severely upbraided for it, exhorted *John* to set up who he would to perform that office, rather than suffer the service of God to be set aside; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby save that sacred edifice from the fury of the *Roman* troops^c. When nothing could prevail on them, they began to set again on fire the gallery, that yielded a communication between the temple and the castle *Antonia*. The *Jews*, as we have hinted before, had already burnt about twenty cubits of it in length; but this second blaze, which was likewise encouraged by the besieged, consumed about fourteen more; after which they beat down what remained standing. On the twenty seventh of *July*, the *Jews*, having filled part of the western portico with combustible matter, made a kind of a flight, upon which some of the forwardest of the *Romans* having scaled up to the top, those set fire to it, which flamed with such sudden fury, that many of them were consumed in it, and the rest, venturing to jump down from the battlements, were crushed to death. *Artorius* was the only one that escaped by a stratagem (U). Romans
outwitted.

ON the very next day, *Titus* having set fire to the north gallery, which inclosed the outer court of the temple, from *Antonia* to the valley of *Cedron*, got an easy admittance into it, and forced the besieged into that of the priests. He tried in vain six days to batter down one of galleries of that precinct with an *Helepolis* (W); he was forced to mount his battering rams on the terrace, which was raised by this time; and yet the strength of this wall was such, that it eluded the force of these also, though others of his troops were busy in sapping it. When they found that neither rains nor sapping could gain ground, they bethought themselves of scaling, but were vigorously repulsed, and with the loss of some colours and a number of men. When *Titus* therefore Fire set to
the temple
gates.

^c Ibid. l. vii. c. 4.^f Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6.

(U) This soldier observing one of his companions below, named *Lucius*, promised to make him his heir, if he would catch him in his fall. He did so, and saved *Artorius*, but was himself crushed by his weight (41).

(W) This was a kind of battering engine, its name signifies a *Town-taker*. We have described it in a former volume*.

(41) Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6.

* Vol. VII. p. 327, &

Titus calls
a council.

found that his desire of saving that building was like to cost so many lives, he set fire to the gates, which being plated with silver, burnt all that night, whilst the metal dropped down in the melting. The flame soon communicated itself to the porticoes and galleries, which the besieged beheld without offering to stop it, but contented themselves with sending whole volleys of impotent curses against the *Romans*. This was done on the eighth of *August*, and on the next day, *Titus*, having given orders to extinguish the fire, called a council, to determine whether the remainder of the temple (X) should be saved or demolished. That general was still for the former, and most of the rest declared for the latter, and alleged, that it was no longer a temple, but a scene of war and slaughter, and that the *Jews* would never be at rest, as long as any part of it was left standing; but when they found *Titus* stiffly bent on preserving so noble an edifice, against which he told them he could have no quarrel, they all came over to his mind. The next day, *August* the 10th, was therefore determined for a general assault, and the night before the *Jews* made two desperate sallies on the *Romans*, in the last of which, these, being timely succoured by *Titus*, beat them back into their inclosure^g.

The temple
set on fire.

BUT whether this last *Jewish* effort exasperated the besiegers, or which is more likely, as *Josephus* thinks, pushed by the hand of providence, one of the *Roman* soldiers of his own accord took up a blazing fire-brand, and, getting on his comrade's shoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that surrounded the sanctuary, through a window, and immediately set the whole north side on a flame up to the third story, in the second year of *Vespasian*, the twenty first of king *Agrippa*, and on the same fatal day and month in which it had been formerly burnt by *Nebuchadnezzar*^h. *Titus*, who was gone to rest himself awhile in his pavilions was awaked at the noise, and ran immediately to give order, to have the fire extinguished. He called, prayed, threatened, and even caned his men in vain; the confusion was so

Titus enters
into the sanc-
tuary.

^g Ibid. c. 9. & 10.
ubi supra, c. 9. in fin.

^h Conf. 2 Kings xxv. & JOSEPH.

(X) That is, the sanctuary and most holy place, with all the chambers, galleries, &c. thereto belonging, as the reader may see them described in a former section. Among those who were for destroying it was *Tiberius Alexander*, probably the same apostate *Jew*, who had been prætor of *Judæa*, and was now commander of the *Roman* legions.

great,

great, and the soldiers so obstinately bent upon destroying all that was left, that he was neither heard nor minded. Those that flocked thither from the camp, instead of obeying his orders, were busy, either in killing the *Jews*, or increasing the flames. When *Titus* observed, that all his endeavours were vain, he entered into the sanctuary and the most holy place, in which he found still such rich and sumptuous utensils and other riches, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Out of the former he saved the golden candlestick, the table of shew bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich gold tissue; but in the latter, he found no utensils, because, in all probability, they had not made a fresh ark, since that of *Solomon* had been lost. Upon his coming out of that sacred place, some other soldiers set fire to it, and obliged those who had stayed behind to come out; they all fell foul on the plunder of it, tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber work, and carried off all the costly utensils, robes, &c. they found in it, insomuch, that there was not one of them that did not enrich himself by it¹.

A HORRID massacre followed soon after, in which a great many thousands perished, some by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's sword, which destroyed all it met with, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. Among them were upwards of six thousand persons, who had been seduced thither by a false prophet, who promised them, that they should find a speedy and miraculous relief there on that very day. Some of them remained five whole days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themselves at the general's mercy; but were answered, that they had outstayed the time, and were led to execution (Y). They carried their fury to the burning of all the treasure-houses of the place, though they were full of the richest furnitures, plate, vestments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in those places for security. In a word, they did not cease burning and butchering, till they

*A horrid
massacre.*

¹ Ibid. & seq.

(Y) Probably to be crucified; for *Josephus* tells us there, that in his return from *Tekoa*, he observed a number of them fastened each to a cross, and still alive; among whom were three of his acquaintance, whose lives he obtained of *Titus*, and ordered them immediately to be taken down, and their wounds to be put under the care of able surgeons. He adds, that only one of them outlived it, the other two died under their physicians hands.

had destroyed all, except two of the temple gates, and that part of the court which was destined for the women †. In memory of this destruction, and of that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, they keep a solemn fast on the ninth of the month *Ab*, answering in part to our *August*, which lasts full twenty four hours, during which time they neither eat, drink, or use the least refreshment; but the strictest of them keep themselves barefoot, in prayers and tears, from sun-setting to the next sun-set *.

The factious suit rejected.

In the mean time the seditious having made such a vigorous push, that they escaped the fury of the *Romans*, at least for the present, and retired into the city, they found all the avenues of it so well guarded every-where, that there was no possibility left for them to get out; which obliged them to secure themselves as well as they could on the south-side of it, from whence *Simon* and *John* of *Gischala* sent to desire a parley with *Titus*. They were answered, that though they had been the cause of all this blood-shed and ruin, yet they should have their lives spared, if they laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. To that they replied, that they had engaged themselves by the most solemn oaths never to surrender, and therefore only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children; which insolence did so exasperate the *Roman* general, that he caused a herald to bid them stand to their defence; for that not one of them should be spared, since they had rejected his last offers of pardon. Immediately after this, he abandoned the city to the fury of his soldiers, who fell forthwith on plundering it, setting fire every-where, and murdering all that fell into their hands (Z); whilst the factious that were left went and

† De hoc vid. sect. v. p. 185, not.
Tahanith, sub Mens. Ab. Maimon, Buxtorf, & al. sup. citat.

* Vid. Mehilath,

(Z) *Josephus* tells us (42), however, that he spared the family of *Izates*, king of *Adiabene*, of whom we have already spoke, with several other persons of distinction, who came and surrendered themselves to his mercy, but he kept them still prisoners.

He likewise dismissed above forty thousand of the inferior sort, who came and implored his pardon, and gave them leave to go and settle where they would. The truth is, that they had already gorged themselves with so much blood, that the streams which ran along the streets did even put the fire out. And as for the prisoners,

(42) *In vita sua.*

they

and fortified themselves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thousand *Jews*, who had taken refuge there¹.

IN the mean time great preparations were making for a vi-
gorous attack on the upper city, especially on the royal pa-
lace; and this took them up from the twentieth of *August* to
the seventh of *September*, during which time great numbers
came and made their submission to *Titus*, among whom were
the forty thousand citizens mentioned in the last note, some
of the *Edomites*, and two priests, who, upon promise of being
spared, discovered to him a private place in the wall of the
temple, where they found two candlesticks, some tables,
cups, and other vessels of massive gold, with many precious
stones, rich garments, and other costly things. By this
time the warlike engines plied so furiously on the factious, that
they were taken with a sudden panic, and instead of fleeing into
the towers of *Hippicos*, *Phasaël*, or *Mariamne*, which were yet
untaken, and so strong, that nothing but famine could have
reduced them; they run like madmen towards *Siloah*, with
a design to have attacked the wall of circumvallation, and to
have escaped out of the city; but being there repulsed, they
were forced to go and hide themselves in the public finks and
common sewers, some one way, and some another. All the
rest the *Romans* could catch were put to the sword, and the
city was set on fire. This was on the eighth of *September*,
when the city was taken and entered by *Titus*. He would
have put an end to the massacre, but his men killed all, ex-
cept the most vigorous, whom they shut up in the porch of
the women, mentioned a little higher. *Fronto*, who had the
care of them, reserved the youngest and most beautiful for
Titus's triumph, and sent all that were above seventeen years
of age into *Egypt*, to be employed in some public works there;

Year of
the flood,
3068.
Of Christ
73 or 70.

The num-
ber and
disposal of
the priso-
ners.

¹ Bell. ubi supra, c. 13.

they were so very numerous already, that they could not find buy-
ers for them, tho' they offered them at the lowest prices 43); so
that one would have thought it high time for a prince of that excel-
lent character to have wreaked his fury only on the factious *zealots*,
and to have spared the rest. But in all this he was acting more
like a scourge sent from above against a rebellious nation, than ac-
cording to his own natural inclination; and it is what he rightly
acknowledged, when his army congratulated him on this arduous
and glorious conquest*.

(47) Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 15.
Apollon. l. vi. c. 14.

* Vid. *Philostat. in vit.*

and a great number of others were sent into several cities of *Syria* and other provinces, to be exposed on the public theatres, to exhibit fights, or be devoured by wild beasts ^m. The number of those prisoners amounted to ninety seven thousand, besides about eleven thousand more of others, who were either starved through neglect, or starved themselves through fullness and despair (A).

WE have already had occasion to mention the number of the slain, as well as of the prisoners, according to *Josephus*. *Suetonius* and *Cornelius Tacitus* do indeed make the former a great deal less; they reckon but six hundred thousand of them in all; but considering the distance of time and place in which they wrote, it will be easily granted, that they could not be so well acquainted with it as *Josephus*, who was a Jew and an eye-witness. Whether this last has exaggerated it in compliment to *Titus* and the *Romans*, we will not pretend to say. A curious author has since taken the pains to make a fresh computation out of him of all that perished in the several places, throughout that kingdom and out of it, from the beginning to the conclusion of the war †; in which we believe our readers will be glad to see the whole amount of the several bloody articles, as it were, at one view. They are as follows:

Jews killed in and out of Judæa.	At <i>Jerusalem</i> , by <i>Florus's</i> order	630
	By the inhabitants of <i>Cæsarea</i> in hatred to the Jews	20,000
	At <i>Scythopolis</i> in <i>Syria</i>	30,000
	By the inhabitants of <i>Ascalon</i> in <i>Palestine</i>	2,500
	By those of <i>Ptolemais</i>	2,000
	At <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> under <i>Tiberius Alexander</i> , an apostate Jew	} 50,000
	At <i>Damascus</i>	10,000
	At the taking of <i>Jeppa</i>	8,400
	In the mountain of <i>Cabulo</i>	2,000
	In a fight at <i>Ascalon</i>	10,000
	In an ambush	8,000

^m Ibid. c. 16, & 17.
ii. c. 21.

† JUSTUS LIPSIUS de Constantia, lib.

(A) *Josephus* was by this time in such high favour with *Titus*, that he obtained the liberty of several of his friends and relations, and in particular of his brother *Matthias*, without any ransom. That emperor had likewise given him leave to save what he thought fit out of the ruins of the city and temple, but he contented himself with the volume of the sacred writings.

At

At the taking of <i>Apbeck</i>	15,000
Upon mount <i>Garizzim</i>	11,600
Drowned at <i>Joppa</i> by a sudden storm	4,200
Slain at <i>Tarichæa</i>	6,500
Slain or killed themselves at <i>Gāmala</i> , where none were saved but two sisters	} 9,000
Killed in their flight from <i>Gischala</i>	2,000
At the siege of <i>Jotapa</i> , where <i>Josephus</i> commanded	30,000
Of the <i>Gadarenes</i> , besides vast numbers that drowned themselves	} 13,000
In the villages of <i>Idumæa</i>	10,000
At <i>Gerasium</i>	1,000
At <i>Macheron</i>	1,700
In the desert of <i>Jardes</i>	3,000
Slew themselves at <i>Massada</i>	960
In <i>Cyrene</i> by the governor <i>Catulus</i> , of which we shall speak by and by	} 3,000
Perished at <i>Jerusalem</i> by sword, famine, pesti- lence, and during the siege	} 1,100,000
According to this account the whole amounts to	1,337,490

Besides a vast multitude that died in the caves, woods, wildernesses, common-sewers, in banishment, and many other ways, of whom no computation could be made; and ten thousand that were slain at *Jotapa*, more than our author has reckoned. For *Josephus* mentions expressly forty thousand, but he only thirty thousand.

To these if we add the ninety seven thousand prisoners, doomed in all appearance to a captivity infinitely worse than death, and the eleven thousand, which, as we hinted above, perished either through the neglect of their keepers, or their own sullen despair, the amount will be above one million, four hundred and forty five thousand. What still more aggravates this destruction is, that the far greatest part of them were strangers, that is, were *Jews*, who, as we observed a little higher, were written to, and invited from remote parts of the world, even from beyond the river *Euphrates*, by their brethren at *Jerusalem*, to come and assist them in the defence of their religion and liberties; their country, city, and temple; instead of which they met with the most dreadful deaths there, and shared in the common ruin. Thus did the divine providence order it, that they, who, by their strenuous opposition of the gospel in all the parts of their dispersion, had shared in the guilt of the crucifiers of its divine author should be involved in their punishment.

Titus,

Titus, as we have seen, acknowledged more than once the hand of providence, both in his extraordinary success against them, and in the invincible obstinacy with which they, to the last, preferred their total destruction to his oft repeated proffers of mercy. *Josephus* hath scarce a chapter in which he doth not ascribe all these dreadful calamities, and the final ruin of his nation, city, and temple, to an over-ruling power, to the offended deity, or to the sins of the people : but nowhere more pathetically than in that chapter, in which, besides the old prophecies, he sums up a number of dreadful warnings sent before-hand, not so much to reduce them to obedience, as to let them discern the almighty hand, that was now pouring down the most dreadful phials of his anger against them. We have already taken notice of that extraordinary country-fellow *Jesus*, who had kept pronouncing woe and destruction to them, during seven whole years. It will not be amiss to close this sad catastrophe with some other signal ones, out of the same *Jewish* historian, which were no less remarkable than dreadful.

Strange
prodigies.

OF this class was that strange comet, which hung over *Jerusalem* one whole year, in the shape of a sword : the extraordinary light that was seen round the altar at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebrating of the paschal feast, and which was looked upon by the ignorant as a good omen, but by the wiser sort as a forerunner of a dreadful war : a cow delivered of a lamb, as she was led to the altar to be sacrificed : the eastern gate of the temple made of solid brass, and so heavy, that it required twenty pair of stout hands to open and shut it, and was flung open in the middle of the night, though fastened with strong bolts and bars : the air before sun-set filled with chariots and armed men, which passed all over that country, and for the truth of which *Josephus* appeals to several living witnesses, who beheld the dreadful sight ; and lastly the voice, which, after a kind of rumbling noise, was distinctly heard by the priests, who were going to officiate on the feast of pentecost, and uttered these words articulately, *Let us depart ; let us depart* *. In spite of all which, the *Jews*, as we have seen, continued as hardened as ever, and listened only to those lying prophets, who flattered them with the hopes of a sudden and miraculous deliverer. But to return to the siege :

Simon
and John
taken.

WHILST the soldiers were still busy in burning the remains of the city, and visiting all the finks, jakes, and corn-

* Bell. Jud. ubi supra, c. 12.

mon sewers, where they found and killed numbers of other poor creatures who had hid themselves, *Simon* and *John*, the two grand rebels, were found and brought to *Titus*, who ordered them to be reserved for his triumph. *John*, being pinched with hunger, came out first, and having begged his life, obtained it, but was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. *Simon*, whose retreat was better stored, held out till towards the end of *October*, when necessity forced him out. He appeared on the sudden on the ruins of the temple, in a white robe and a purple cloak. The *Romans* were at first surpris'd at him; but understanding soon after who he was, *Terentius Rufus*, who was left commander, seized on him, and sent him to *Cæsarea*, whither *Titus* was got by this time, and from whence he was conveyed with his bloody colleagues to *Rome*, to adorn the conqueror's triumph^a.

As soon as the *Romans* had ended their destructive work of burning and massacring, *Titus* set them on to demolish the city, with all its noble structures, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments and fortifications, down to the level of the ground, according to *Christ's* express prediction. He left nothing standing but a piece of the western wall, and the three towers of *Hippicos*, *Phasael*, and *Mariamne*, the former to serve as a rampart to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages some idea of the strength of the whole city, and of the skill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were so punctually executed, that, except those few buildings above-mentioned, there was not so much as any remains left, that could serve as an index, that that ground had been once inhabited (B). Inso-much that when he came to pass through it, in his way from *Cæsarea* to *Alexandria*, in order to embark for *Rome*, he could not refrain himself from shedding plenty of tears at the sight of so dreadful a devastation, and cursing the wretches who had forced him to be the author of it^o.

^a Ibid. & seq.^o Cap. 18, & seq.

(B) The *Jewish* tradition adds, that *Titus* caused the plow to be driven over it; which ceremony, according to the *Roman* law, condemned the ground to perpetual desolation. But that, as well as *Josephus's* account, seems exaggerated, since there is great reason to believe, there were still many considerable ruins to be seen even in the emperor *Adrian's* time, as we may have occasion to shew in the *Roman* history.

Titus's
triumph.

Simon and
John's
fate.

It is not our business to follow that emperor to his capital, or to describe the magnificence of his triumph, the greatest which that city ever saw: that will be best done in the ensuing *Roman* history. All that is proper to be said on that head here is, that *John* and *Simon*, at the head of seven hundred of the handsomest *Jewish* captives, were made to adorn the triumphal chair; after which *Simon*, having been dragged through the streets, with a rope about his neck, and severely scourged, was put to death with some other *Jewish* leaders, and *John* was sent into perpetual imprisonment ^P (C).

Titus had left three castles still untaken, namely those of *Herodion* and *Massada* on this, and that of *Macheron* on the other side *Jordan*. The first of them was soon after

^P Cap. 24.

(C) *Titus*'s triumph was further adorned with a great number of trophies brought from *Judæa*; among the principal of which were those which had been taken out of the sanctuary, such as the golden table of the shew-bread, which weighed several talents; the seven branch candlestick, a rich and curious piece of art; the roll or volume of the law, covered with a costly gold cloth, which was carried the last of the three, as the most venerable of all the trophies. The two former *Titus* caused to be placed in the temple of *Peace*, which his father had built; the latter, together with several curious and costly veils of the temple, and other rich furniture, he conveyed into his own palace (45).

There are still some coins extant of that emperor, stamped with a trophy and triumphant chariot, and of his father, with the image of a woman sitting sorrowful under a palm-tree, with the inscription of *Judæa capta*; with some others coined in the twenty first year of king *Agrippa*, with these words in *Greek*, *Vespasian emperor, and Cæsar*. *Judæa was taken in the twenty first of Agrippa*.

To these medals we may add some fragments in bas-relief, representing *Vespasian* and his son *Titus*'s triumph, and on which is still to be distinguished the seven branch candlestick, with other sacred utensils; some have pretended also to discover the ark in it; but we have already seen, that there was no such thing in the most holy place; and it is most likely to be only the table of the shew-bread, which was not altogether unlike it; but the misfortune is, that time has so defaced this noble monument, that it is not easy to discover any thing in it with any certainty, except the candlestick above mentioned.

(45) *Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 24.*

taken by capitulation by *Lucilius Bassus*, who had been appointed lieutenant of *Judæa*. He went presently after at the head of a good number of troops to besiege that of *Macheron*, which was a very strong place, and likely to have held out a long time. But a lucky accident, which the reader may see in the margin (D), obliged the besieged to surrender, upon condition that they should have liberty to retire whither they pleased; which being readily granted to them, they went and joined some of their revolted brethren, who had sheltered themselves in the forest of *Jardes*. Hither *Bassus* came, and attacked them, and, after a desperate combat on both sides, totally defeated them, with *Judas* their chief, who had saved himself out of *Jerusalem*, through one of the aqueducts of that city¹.

DEATH having prevented *Bassus* from putting an end to the war, *Flavius Silva*, his successor, assembled all his forces to attack *Massada*, now the only remaining fortress in the rebels hands. The place was prodigiously strong both by art and nature, well stored with all provisions, and defended with a good number of sicarii and assassins; at the head of whom was one *Eleazar*, the grandson of *Judas the Gaulonite*, often mentioned in this and a former section. *Silva* having in vain tried his engines and battering rams against it, bethought himself of surrounding it with a high and strong wall, and then ordered fire to be set to the gates. The wind favouring him, pushed the flame so fiercely against the *Jews*, that *Eleazar*, in a kind of despair, persuaded them first to

¹ Cap. 25.

(D) There was in that castle a young nobleman highly esteemed for his valour, who, after having given the besiegers a stout repulse in a sally, unfortunately strayed out of the gates to speak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An *Egyptian* then in the *Roman* army, came swiftly behind him unperceived, took him up in his arms, and carried him off.

When *Bassus* had got the noble youth in his power, he caused him to be stripped naked, and severely scourged in the view of the besieged, who filled immediately the air with their cries. *Bassus* perceiving them so moved at the sight, caused a cross to be erected, and gave them to understand that he would crucify him, unless they prevented it by a timely surrender. The stratagem had the desired effect; and the *Jews*, not being proof against so doleful a spectacle, chose to capitulate, and soon after surrendered the place, on the conditions above-mentioned (46).

(46) Cap 25, ad fin.

kill all their wives and children, and next to chuse ten men by lot, who should kill all the rest; and, lastly, one out of the surviving ten to dispatch them and himself, which was accordingly executed out of hand; only this last man was ordered to set fire to the place before he finished this bloody tragedy. On the next morning the *Romans*, who were preparing to scale the place, were strangely surprized to see and hear nothing move; upon which they made such a hideous outcry, that two women, who had concealed themselves from the massacre in some aqueduct, came out, and told them the tragical end of the besieged, which put an end to that dreadful war^r. *Vespasian* ordered the *Jewish* lands to be sold to his own use (E), and all the *Jews* within the *Roman* empire to pay the usual tribute of half a shekel, or two drachms, to his treasury, which they were before obliged to pay to that of the sanctuary^r.

THE temple and holy city thus destroyed and levelled with the ground, and the whole nation either miserably buried under its ruins, or dispersed into other countries, might, one would think, have opened the eyes of the poor remains of that once favoured people, and crushed at once all hopes and expectations of any other deliverer, but him whom they had rejected and crucified. Many of them did indeed do so, but the far greater part remained in their infatuated state, and according to Christ's own prediction, have been dispersed ever since over all the world, to attest his truth, and their own obdurate blindness, till the happy time comes, when the veil shall be taken off their eyes. When that will be, is one of those secrets which God has been pleased to leave as yet unrevealed; and which it would be vain and presumptuous to search too curiously after. *Eusebius* adds to their sad catastrophe, that, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Vespasian* caused all the remaining sprouts of the house of *Judah* to be cut off^t, to deprive them at once of all hopes of a deliverer or future Messiah. Notwithstanding which, the zealots made several attempts to regain their power, first in *Egypt*, where it cost some their heads, and caused their tem-

^r Cap. 28.
c. 12.

^r Ibid, c 26. in fin.

^t Eccles. hist. l. iii.

(E) He only reserved the town of *Emmaus*, which he bestowed on eight hundred of his best veterans, to plant a new colony there, and from that time that place took the name of *Nicopolis* (47).

(47) Cap 26.

ple at *Alexandria*, mentioned in a former section †, to be quite shut up * (F). Next in *Cyrene* of *Libya*, where one of them, named *Jonathan*, set up for a prophet, and persuaded about two thousand of his brethren there to follow him into the desert, where he promised to shew them wonders, and where *Catullus*, the then governor, caused them to be pursued and defeated w (G).

FROM that time the *Jewish* nation has been dispersed through, despised and hated by, all the world, hath gone

† See before, p. 48, & (T).
fin. w Ibid. cap. 31. pass.

* Bell. ubi supra, c. 30, ad

(F) These wretches, which were undoubtedly the relics of the *Gaulonitish* faction, since even their children suffered the severest torments, rather than acknowledge *Cæsar* for their lord (48), met at first with a kind reception from their brethren of *Alexandria*. But they quickly became obnoxious to them by sowing their leaven of sedition. To prevent the ill effects of which, they were delivered up to the *Romans*, and six hundred of them put to death.

Vespasian being apprised of it, and fearing lest their *Alexandrian* temple should afford them a fresh pretence of assembling themselves, and raising some new sedition in *Egypt*, sent orders to *Lupus*, his governor there, to demolish it. But he contented himself with shutting it up. *Paulinus*, who succeeded him soon after, stripped it of all its ornaments and rich furniture, and caused the gates of it to be quite shut up, to prevent any further worship being offered up in it (49).

(G) *Jonathan* was taken presently after, and brought to *Catullus*, before whom he accused many of the richest *Jews* of having instigated him into this imposture, and whom that greedy governor caused to be put to death to the number of three thousand, and confiscated all their wealth.

He afterwards obliged that wretch to prefer the same indictment against those that were at *Rome*, among whom was *Josephus* the historian; whom he accused to have furnished him with arms and money. *Vespasian* made such a strict inquiry into the matter, that he easily found out the cheat, caused *Jonathan* to be cruelly whipped, and then burnt alive, and acquitted the persons accused.

Catullus, though deep in the guilt, was yet pardoned by that emperor; but providence did not suffer him to go unpunished; for he was soon after seized with a panic phrensy, which made him fancy himself surrounded with the dreadful spectres of those whom he had unjustly put to death. He was at length seized with an inward intolerable heat, which consumed his very entrails, and he died in that miserable condition unpitied (50).

(48) *Ibid* cap. 29.

(49) *Cap.* 30, *ad fin.*

(50) *Cap.* 31.

from one age to another through a series of the greatest miseries and persecutions. We have innumerable instances of crowned heads, and even commonwealths, who have spared neither the severest edicts, nor the cruellest butcheries against them. In a word, *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, as well as *Christians*, tho' so opposite in other things, have yet, as it were, joined their efforts in vain, to exterminate that unhappy people, whom the divine providence hath nevertheless upheld under all those disadvantages by a kind of miraculous power; and no doubt for a more glorious purpose; insomuch, that, according to a late learned historian, there are still above three millions of them dispersed through almost every nation and kingdom of the world, and still impatiently sighing after that glorious time, when god shall restore them to their pristine state. But this and some other particulars relating to their dispersions, writings, and the like, will be fully seen in the appendix.

AFTER the reduction of *Jerusalem* and *Judæa*, *Agrippa* and his sister retired to *Rome*, probably with *Titus*, who was excessive fond of both, but especially of *Berenice*. We have seen through the course of this last war, how serviceable the brother had been to that general, accompanying him in person, and assisting him with men and ammunition, for which we are told *Titus* got his kingdom enlarged by the emperor, and procured him prætorian honours. But his extraordinary friendship for that prince flowed chiefly from his special fondness for his sister, who now lived with him in his palace, and ruled every thing as if she had been his real wife. We have hinted some former reports publicly spread concerning her incestuous intrigues with her brother, and for which she had given but too good a foundation. *Titus* could hardly be ignorant of it; but her beauty had so captivated him, that he overlooked every thing else; insomuch, that he had promised her marriage, and would in all probability have kept it, had he not found that the *Romans* were wholly averse to it, partly on account of her being a *Jewess*, and partly on that of her royal descent. To pave himself therefore the way to the empire, he was forced to discard her, *invitus invitam**, as *Suetonius* expresses it. What became of her afterwards, is not worth inquiring. As for *Agrippa*, he was the last of the *Herodian* race that bore the royal title, and is supposed to have died at *Rome* about the seventieth year of his age,

* Vid. SUTTON in vit. Tit. & Xiphil. ex Dione. JUSTUS TIBERIUS apud Phot. bibl. cod. 33.

and in the ninetieth of *Jesus Christ* ¹. *Josephus* has this remarkable saying on the *Herodian* line, that they all failed within a hundred years ², though they were at first so numerous, as we have seen them in the genealogy of *Herod the Great*.

THIS was the end of the *Herodian* family, and of the *Jewish* nation and polity, and is so much the more remarkable, considering, that the succinct account we have of it is written by a *Jew* of such extraordinary character, and that the destruction of the city and people, especially of their temple, is found upon the whole so exactly conformable to the prophecies of *Christ*, denounced against them so long before. One might have expected, that this should have opened their eyes, to acknowledge these as well as the many others we have mentioned in the course of this and the last section, which prove him the *Messiah*, since they had seen their sacrifices, ceremonial law, their temple, their royal stock of *Judah*, &c. which they till then thought were to last for ever, buried, as it were, under the ruin of their metropolis. Instead of which, their chief aim and study has been to find salvos against these pregnant proofs against them; to depart from the expositions of their antients, give a new sense to the prophets, and to invent new sceptres for their royal tribe in some unknown parts of the world, and in a word, to oppose every thing that we urge against them, as we shall shew in the appendix.

IN the mean time, it will not be amiss to take notice, that the *Jews* are no less at variance with *Josephus*, than the christians have admired him. *St. Jerom*, among other praises he gives him, calls him *the Livy of the Jews* ³. *Photius* and others have been equally lavish of their incense; and *Eusebius* adds to the rest, that he had a statue reared to him in consideration of his writings ⁴. We shall not repeat what we have often observed of his partiality to his nation and sacerdotal order, both in this chapter and our first volume. But his countrymen have trumped up another *Josephus*, known by the name of *Bengorion*, whose history is compiled out of the *Russian* version of the true *Josephus*; for he doth not seem to have seen the original, and has stuffed it with the most absurd falsehoods and contradictions to him; and yet the *Jews* give him the largest encomiums. In particular *Rabby Than*, who has published his history, is not ashamed to affirm, that all he wrote was just and true, without the least falsehood; that his writings come nearer to those of the prophets, than those

¹ Tillemont, *Ruin des Juifs*, Art 83, & not. 41. ² *Antiq.* l. xviii. c. 7. ³ *De vir. illust.* c. 13 ⁴ *Hist. eccles.* l. iii. c. 31.

of any other *Jewish* author ; that the hand of God was upon him, whilst he compiled his work, with some other commendations, which amount almost to blasphemy €. That fabulous author is so well known to the learned, that we shall spend no time in exposing him. The readers may see enough of them in that mutilated edition which *Munster* has given us of it ; though he has concealed a great number of them. But those that have seen the full editions that have come out since, will find them so full of them, that they will readily own, nothing but the greatest degree of infatuation and perverseness could induce the *Jews* to prefer him to the true one, who, setting aside his partiality above-mentioned, hath all the marks of a judicious and exact historian.

€ Præf. in JOSSIP. BENGORION, edit. Constantinop. 1490.

C H A P. XII.

The History of the Parthians, from Arfaces, to the recovery of the kingdom by the Persians.

PARTHIA, properly so called, was bounded on the Parthia described by *Aria*; on the south by *Carmania Deserta*; on the west by *Media*; and on the north by *Hyrkania*.

Ptolemy divides it into five districts or provinces, viz. *Camissine*, or *Camissine*, *Parthyene*, *Choroane*, *Atticene*, and *Tabilene*. The ancient geographers enumerate a great many cities in *Parthia*; but those of most note were, *Calliope*, *Iffatis*, *Europum*, known also by the names of *Ragæ*, *Europos*, and *Arface*, *Apamea*, *Heraclea*, *Crenonia*, *Charax*, *Artacana*, *Aspa*, *Marriche*, *Rbagæa*, and *Hecatompylos*. The latter was the metropolis of *Parthia*, and the place where the first kings of that country resided; for after they had made themselves masters of *Assyria*, they abandoned *Hecatompylos*, passing the winter at *Ctesiphon*, and the summer at *Ecbatan*, or in *Hyrkania*. The city of *Ctesiphon* stood on the *Tigris*, a little below *Seleucia*, and on the opposite bank, in the province of *Chalonitis*, which was the most southerly of all *Assyria*. This city was founded, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*^a, by one *Vardanes*, and embellished and fortified by *Pacorus*. Who *Vardanes* was, we know not; but *Valesius* takes *Pacorus* here spoke of to have been the son of *Orodes*, whom *Ventidius* defeated. *Polybius*^b, *Tacitus*^c, *Herodianus*^d, and *Strabo*^e speak of *Ctesiphon* as the metropolis of the whole *Parthian* empire; whereas *Hecatompylos* was only the metropolis of *Parthia* properly so called, but nevertheless a place of great note, and about nine miles in compass. It had a hun-

^a AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii. c. 20.^b POLYB. l. v.

c. 45.

^c TACIT. l. vi. c. 42.^d HERODIAN. l. iii. c. 9.^e STRABO, l. xvi. p. 512.

dred gates, whence it borrowed the name of *Hecatompylos*, as *Polybius* informs us^f. Most of our modern travellers are of opinion, that it stood on the very spot where the present city of *Ispahan* stands. *Parthia* is at present known by the name of *Arach* or *Erach*, and may be called the royal province of *Persia*, since the king always resides in it. The chief cities it contains at present are, *Casbin* or *Caswin*, built on the ruins of the antient *Arface*; *Sawa* or *Sava*, *Kom*, *Hamadān*, *Kashan*, and *Ispahan*, which *Holstenius*^g takes to be the antient *Aspa*, contradicting therein most of our modern geographers and travellers. The air of *Parthia* was antiently, and is still, very clear and healthy; but the soil barren, and not yielding wherewithal to maintain the inhabitants, who were once very numerous, and therefore obliged to transplant themselves into other countries. Upon the death of *Alexander the Great*, it was almost intirely neglected, and left as an appendant to *Media*, none of that prince's commanders caring for the government of so poor and barren a province. But we shall see this small and obscure province make a great figure in history, eclipse all the kingdoms of the east, and become formidable to the *Romans* themselves, while they were at the height of their glory. But we must not here confound *Parthia*, or, as others call it, *Parthyæa* and *Parthyene*, with what the ancients understand by the *Parthian* empire. The former was comprized within the narrow bounds which we have described above; whereas the latter was of vast extent, being bounded on the east by the *Indus*; on the west by the *Tigris*; on the south by the *Red-sea*; and on the north by mount *Caucasus*^h; so that it comprehended *Arachosia*, *Parthia*, *Affyria*, *Persis*, and *Media*. These wide-spreading dominions, were, according to *Pliny*ⁱ, divided by the *Parthian* monarchs into eighteen kingdoms, which they distinguished by the names of the *upper* and *lower* kingdoms. The former were eleven, extending from the confines of *Armenia* and the *Caspian* sea, to the borders of *Scythia*. The other seven comprehended the remaining provinces subject to the crown of *Parthia*, and were known by the name of the *lower* kingdoms.

Inhabitants.

SOME writers are of opinion, that this country was first peopled by the *Phetri* or *Pathri*, often mentioned in scripture^k, and will have the *Parthians* to be descended from

^f POLYB. l. x. c. 25.

^g HOLSTEN. in Orth.

^h Vide

OROS. l. i. c. 2

ⁱ PLIN. l. vi. c. 25.

^k ISA. c.

xl. JEREM. c. xlv. EZECH. c. xxix.

Phetrusim

Pbetrusim the son of *Mizraim*. This may perhaps be true with relation to the first inhabitants of *Parthia*; but those *Parthians*, who are so famous in history, were, without all doubt, originally *Scythians*, as we are told by all the ancients who speak of them. 'Tis true, there is a great disagreement among authors as to the particular nation or tribe to which they belonged, some taking them to be originally *Dacæ*; others to be *Getæ*, *Massagetæ*, or *European Scythians*. *Strabo* tells us, that *Arfaces*, the founder of this kingdom, was by birth a *Scythian*, and king of the *Dacæ* or *Dacæ*. *Curtius* says, that the *Scythians*, known by the name of *Parthians*, came out of *Europe*¹. *Jornandes* will have them to be originally *Goths* or *Getæ*; for these, according to him, are one and the same people^m. They were, according to *Justin*, driven out of their own country, and, finding no other place to settle in, obliged to take up with this barren and inhospitable region. They called themselves, on their first settling here, *Parthians*, that is, in the old *Scythian* language, *exiles*; and hence came the name of *Parthia*.

THE *Parthians* were a courageous and warlike people, as *Manners*, we shall see in the sequel of this history, and not undervalued, servedly esteemed the best horsemen and archers in the world. *customs, &c. of the* They were accustomed from their infancy, says *Dionysius*ⁿ, *Parthians*. to the warlike and manly exercises of managing a horse and handling a bow; and in both excelled all other nations. They had an art or method peculiar to themselves, of discharging their arrows with incredible address, dexterity and order, while they were retiring full speed, which gained them many victories, and rendered their retreat far more formidable to the enemy than their onset (A). To their great skill in archery alluded the consul *Crassus*,

¹ CURT. l. vii.
poem. de situ orb.

^m JORNAND. de reb. Goth.

ⁿ DIONYS. in

(A) This art, peculiar to the *Parthians*, of discharging their arrows with great dexterity, while they were retiring full speed, is much spoke of by the *Latin* writers, especially the poets.

Fidentemque fuga Parthum, versisque sagittis (1).

Et versis animosum equis

Parthum dicere (2).

Ut celer averfis utere Parthus equis (3).

Quid tibi nunc mitti solitæ post terga sagittæ,

Quid loca, quid rapidi profuit usus equi (4)?

(1) *Virgil. georg. l. iii.*

Ovid l. iii. de arte.

VOL. X.

(2) *Horat. l. i. carm. od. 19.*

(4) *Idem fast. v.*

R r r

(3)

Nil

Crassus, when being told by an astrologer, that his expedition against the *Parthians* would prove unsuccessful, by reason of the ominous aspect of the constellation *Scorpio*, the *Roman* returned answer, That he feared not *Scorpio*, but *Sagittarius*. To these exercises of horsemanship and archery the air and nature greatly contributed; for the dry air, as *Dion* observes, seasoned their bows; and their large plains afforded them sufficient room for the training up of their horses. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all, without exception, obliged to serve in war, to attend the musters, learn the military exercises, and be ready, at a very short warning to take the field *. Persons of any rank or distinction among them never appeared in public a-foot, but always on horseback and armed with scymetars †; which custom seemed strange to the *Romans*, who used to lay down their arms when they quitted the *sagum* or military habit ‡. In war they did not use trumpets like other nations, but large hollow vessels of brass, covered with skins, such as our kettle-drums, which, being beat with hammers, yielded a very warlike sound † (B). They are said to have been very spare in their diet,

* STRABO, l. xv.
† PLUT. in *Crasso*.

‡ JUSTIN. l. xii.

§ OVID. *Trist.* l. v.

*Nil opus est equis,
Nil armis, & inertibus
Telis, quæ procul ingerit
Parthus, cum simulat fugas (5).
Vidit & versas equitis sagittas,
Terga fallacis metuenda Parthi (6).
Rupis Achæmeniae scopulis, ubi versa sequentum
Pectoribus figit spicula pugna fugox (7), &c.*

(B) *Lucretius* tells us, that the *Parthians* carried lions about with them in war, which, in the beginning of the engagement, they used to let loose against the enemy.

*Et validos Parthi præ se misere leones
Cum ductoribus armatis, sævisque magistris,
Qui moderarier his possent, vinclisque tenere:
Nequicquam; quoniam permixta cæde calentes
Turbabant sævi nullo discrimine turmas,
Terrificas capitum quatientes undique cristas (8).*

(5) *Senec. in Thyest.*
(8) *Lucret l. v.*

(6) *Idem in Oedip.*

(7) *Boet. l. v.*

But

diet^f, their country not affording any superfluities; but at the same time to have been great lovers of wine, and much addicted to all manner of lewdness, not respecting even their sisters or mothers, whom they were allowed to marry, and as many wives besides as they pleased, nothing being deemed more honourable among them than to have a numerous issue^t. They intirely neglected agriculture, navigation, trade, and all other callings, being wholly taken up in learning the arts of war, which alone were of any repute among them^u.

THEIR religion was much the same with that of the *Per-* *Religion.*
fians; they worshipped the sun under the name of *Mith-*
ras^w; believed, that those who fell in battle enjoyed a per-
petual and uninterrupted happiness, a tenet well suited to the
genius of a warlike nation; and in most other points of re-
ligion intirely agreed with the *Persians*, of whose religion we
have spoke at length in the history of *Persia*. They were
most religious observers of their word, thinking it highly dis-
honourable not to perform their engagements, or to deceive
those who had trusted them on their parole^x, whereof we
shall give a glaring instance in the reign of *Artabanus*.

As to their government, it was, as is well known, mo- *Govern-*
narchical, and absolute in the highest degree, no tyrants hav- *ment.*
ing ever required a more servile and blind submission from
those who had the misfortune to live under them. They
treated their subjects, says *Herodianus*^y, as the meanest of slaves
and scarce as men, while they put themselves on a level with
the immortal gods. Their usual title was, *the king of kings,*
the great monarch, the brother of the sun and moon, &c.
These haughty titles they not only assumed in all the laws and
edicts they enacted, but in their letters to other princes.

^f JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 3, & 9. ^t Idem, l. xvi. AGATH. l. ii.
PHILO de special. legib. p. 778. TERTUL. in Apologet. ^u DI-
ONYs. ubi supra. ^w STRABO, l. xv. SUID. HESYCH.
DIONYS. AREOPAGIT. epist. 7. ad Polycarp. CYRIL. catech. 7.
^x JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xviii. c. ult. ^y HERODIAN. l. iv. c. 3.

But herein the poet deserves no more credit, than some too cre-
dulous historians mentioned by *Lucian*, who, mistaking the dragons
which the *Parthians* carried in their colours for real dragons, wrote
that the king of *Parthia* was always attended in war with a great
number of dragons, which made a dreadful havock among the ene-
mies troops (9).

(9) *Lucian. in lib. de conscrib. histor.*

Thus *Vologeses* II. in writing to the emperor *Vespasian*, used the following superscription : *Arfaces, king of kings, to Flavius Vespasian*. The emperor could not help smiling when he read it ; and, to shew how little he valued such pompous and high sounding titles, he answered him in his own strain thus : *Flavius Vespasian to Arfaces king of kings*, giving the *Parthian* the titles he had assumed, but despising them himself. The same haughty stile *Phraabates* IV. used in writing to *Augustus* ; and *Phraabates* III. sent ambassadors to *Pompey*, on purpose to expostulate with him for omitting in his letter to him the title of *king of kings*, and giving him only that of *king*. Their whole conduct was answerable to the sublime and lofty titles they assumed ; for, not satisfied with the respect paid to other crowned heads, they obliged all those whom they vouchsafed to see, to kiss the threshold on their first entering the royal palace, to prostrate themselves before them with their faces on the ground, and acknowledge their majesty with some offering, as if they appeared, to use the expression of *Dion*, before the great *Jupiter* ^a (C).

WE can give no particular account of the state of *Parthia* before *Arfaces* I. the works of *Apollodorus*, *Artemisius*, *Creperius*, *Calpurnianus*, *Quadratus*, *Rhianus*, and *Seleucus Emisenus*, who wrote of the *Parthian* affairs and are quoted by *Strabo* ^a, *Athenæus* ^b *Lucian* ^c, *Stephanus*, and *Suidas*, not having reached our times. All we know of them is, that they were first subject to the *Medes*, afterwards to the *Persians*, and lastly to *Alexander the Great*, upon whose death

^a DION, l. iv. JUSTIN. l. xvi. STRABO, l. xv. ^a I-
dem, l. ii, & xv. ^b ATHEN. l. xv. c. 12. ^c LUCIAN.
de conscrib histor.

(C) To this *Martial* alludes in the following epigram :

*Frustra blanditiæ venitis ad me, &c.
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos,
Et turpes, humilesque, supplicesque,
Pictorum sola basiate regum* (10).

And *Virgil* :

*Præterea regem non sic Ægyptus, & ingens
Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Medus Hydaspes
Observant, &c.* (11).

(10) *Mart. l. x. epig. 71.* (11) *Virgil. georg. l. iv.*
Parthia



Parthia fell to the share of *Seleucus Nicator*, whose successors held it till the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, when *Arfaces*, shaking off the *Macedonian* yoke, set up for himself, and founded a new kingdom, which, in process of time, became by far the most powerful in the east, and was held by his successors for the space of four hundred and seventy five years; at the end of which the empire was transferred anew from the *Parthians* to the *Persians*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

Arfaces I. the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, was, *Kings of* according to some writers, of the race of the *Achemenidæ*; *Parthia.* according to others, by birth a *Parthian*. *Strabo* says, that *Arfaces* I. he was king of the *Dabæ* before the revolt of *Parthia*; and Year of *Georgius Syncellus*, that he was a nobleman of *Bactria*. We the Flood have related elsewhere^d on what provocation he solicited the *Parthians* to revolt from *Antiochus Theus*, and what success 2699. attended him in his wars with *Seleucus Callinicus*, the son and Before Christ, successor of *Antiochus Theus*^e, whom he not only defeated, 300. but took prisoner, and from that time assumed the title of king, having founded, and by that victory firmly established, an empire in the east, which in process of time counterbalanced the over-grown power of the *Romans* in the west. He reduced *Hyrkania* and some other neighbouring provinces, and was at last killed in a battle against *Ariarathes* IV. king of *Cappadocia*^f. From him all those who reigned after of the same race, took the name of *Arfaces*, as the kings of *Egypt* did that of *Ptolemy*, and the *Roman* emperors that of *Cæsar*.

He was succeeded by his son *Arfaces*, who entering *Media*, *Arfaces* made himself master of that country, while *Antiochus the Great* II. was engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Euergetes* king of *Egypt*. But *Antiochus* was no sooner disengaged from that war, than he marched with all his forces against *Arfaces*, drove him quite out of *Media*, and, entering *Parthia*, obliged him to retire into *Hyrkania*, whence he soon after returned with an army of an hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. With these he put a stop to *Antiochus's* further progress; so that the *Syrian*, finding he could not overpower so valiant an enemy, began to give ear to the overtures which were made him for putting an end to so troublesome a war; and a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed, that *Arfaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrkania*, on condition of his assisting *Antiochus*.

^d Vol. VIII. p. 463, & seq.
l. xli. c. 5, &c.

^e Ibid p. 472.

^f JUSTIN.

Priapati-
us.Phraha-
tes.Mithri-
dates I.

tiobus to recover the other provinces which had revolted ^g, as we have related at length in the history of *Syria* ^h.

Priapatus, the son of *Arfaces* II. succeeded his father; but all we know of him is, that he reigned fifteen years, and left three sons behind him, viz. *Phrabates*, *Mithridates*, and *Artabanus*. The crown he bequeathed to *Phrabates* his eldest son, who overcame the *Mirdi*, one of the most warlike nations of the east, and never conquered before the reign of *Alexander*, who, with much ado, reduced them, as well as the other nations inhabiting *Media* ⁱ. *Phrabates* left a numerous issue; but having more at heart the welfare of his kingdom than the advantage of his children, he left the crown to his brother *Mithridates*, on account of his extraordinary merit; for he had given many instances of an uncommon wisdom, probity, and courage. He reduced the countries of the *Bactrians*, *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Elymæans*, and overran in a manner all the east, extending his dominions into *India*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander's* conquests. *Demetrius Nicator*, who then reigned in *Syria*, endeavoured to recover the provinces of the east, which *Mithridates* had taken; but his army was intirely cut off, and himself taken prisoner, as we have elsewhere related at length ^k. After this victory, *Mithridates* got possession of all *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*; so that he was now master of all the provinces lying between the *Euphrates* on the west, and the *Ganges* on the east ^l. He entertained his royal captive with great humanity, allowed him a maintenance suitable to his rank, and, sending him into *Hyrkania* to reside there, gave him *Rhodagune*, one of his sisters, in marriage ^m. However, he kept him still in captivity, tho' with as much freedom as was consistent with the state of a captive; and at his death, which happened in the thirty seventh year of his reign, left him in this condition to his son *Phrabates*, who succeeded him in the kingdom ⁿ. The reign of *Mithridates* is looked upon by authors as the epoch of the *Parthian* grandeur; for under him that empire was by far the most powerful and most extensive in the east, all the countries that lie between the *Euphrates* and mount *Caucasus* receiving law from him, and most of the princes of *Asia* being either subdued by him, or obliged to enter into an alliance with him on his own terms. He was

^g Idem ibid.^h Vide Vol. VIII. p. 495, & seq.ⁱ JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5.^k Vide Vol. IX. p. 10, &

seq.

^l JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 6.

OROS. l. v. c. 4.

^m Jus-

TIN. ibid. & l. xxxviii. c. 9.

ⁿ Idem, l. xxxviii. c. 9.

& l. xlii. c. 1.

a prince of great courage and resolution, and at the same time had a sweetness of temper, which rendered him amiable to all who approached him. As he conquered many nations, he is said to have carefully examined their various constitutions, and, out of the whole collection, to have formed a body of excellent laws for the regulation of his empire; so that he was both a great warrior and wise law-giver °.

Phrahates II. had scarce taken possession of the throne, *Phrahates* when *Antiochus Sidetes*, king of *Syria*, marched against him II. at the head of a numerous army, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius*, who was still kept in captivity. *Phrahates* marched out against him, but was overcome in three successive battles, stripped of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and all the other countries which his father had reduced, and confined within the narrow limits of the first *Parthian* kingdom. However, he had the good luck at last to retrieve his affairs, and cut off *Antiochus* with his whole army, in the manner we have related at length in the history of *Syria* P. *Phrahates*, flushed with this victory, resolved to invade *Syria*; but while he was making the necessary preparations for this enterprize, he found himself engaged in a war at home with the *Scythians* his neighbours. He had called them to his assistance against *Antiochus*; but that prince being overcome, and his army intirely defeated before their arrival, he refused to pay them the sum which had been promised them. Hereupon the *Scythians*, falling upon the country which they were comè to defend, committed every-where most dreadful ravages †. *Phrahates*, having thus drawn upon himself a war with the *Scythians*, in order to strengthen his army against so brave and powerful an enemy, took into his service all the *Greek* mercenaries, who, having followed *Antiochus* king of *Syria* in his *Parthian* expedition, had been taken prisoners in the late overthrow of that prince. As these *Greeks* had been treated by the *Parthians* with great haughtiness and cruelty during their captivity, they no sooner got arms into their hands, but they resolved to be revenged on them; and accordingly, in the first engagement, they went all in a body over to the *Scythians*, and, in conjunction with them, falling upon the *Parthians*, cut their army to pieces, killed their king, and laid waste their country †. After this, both the

° DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt Valesii, p. 361.
IX. p. 15, & seq. † JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 1.
ibid.

P Vol.
† Idem

Greeks

Artabanus I.

Greeks and Scythians returned to their own countries; and^d, on their departure, *Artabanus*, the third son of *Pampatius*, and uncle to the deceased king, took possession of the crown, which he held a very short time, being killed a few days after in battle by the *Thogarians*, another nation of the *Scythian* race^e.

Pacorus I.

Artabanus was succeeded by his son *Pacorus I.* who, hearing of the great exploits of the *Romans*, sent ambassadors to *Sylla*, who was then in *Cappadocia*, to desire the friendship and alliance of so powerful a people. The *Parthians*, tho' the most warlike and wealthy nation in *Asia*, were at that time scarce known at *Rome*. *Sylla* therefore was overjoyed to hear, that their king had resolved to send ambassadors to him, and looked upon it as one of the most fortunate occurrences of his life, that he should be the first *Roman*, to whom so great and gallant a nation should apply for an alliance with the people of *Rome*. He was then only prætor, and had been sent by the senate to restore *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, to the throne, whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. However, to dazzle the eyes of the ambassadors with an air of grandeur, he took great state upon him in the audience he gave them; for in the place where he received them, he ordered three seats to be put; one in the middle for himself, that on the right hand for king *Ariobarzanes*, and the other on the left for *Oromazes*, the chief of the embassy. This compliance of the *Parthian* ambassador cost him his life, *Pacorus* having caused him to be beheaded on his return, for debasing the majesty of the *Parthian* monarchy, by giving place to a *Roman* prætor^f. However, *Pacorus* afterwards sent ambassadors to *Lucullus*, to renew the alliance he had concluded with *Sylla*. He was succeeded by his son

Phraates III.

Phraates III. who taking under his protection *Tigranes*, the son of *Tigranes the Great*, king of *Armenia*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and invading *Armenia* laid siege to *Artaxata*, with a design to drive the father from the throne, and place the son on it in his room. But, on the approach of *Pompey*, he thought fit to withdraw, and, by a solemn embassy, to renew the alliance which his father had concluded, first with *Sylla*, and afterwards with *Lucullus*^g. He was, not long after, murdered by his own children, *Mithridates* and *Orodes*, in the twelfth year of his reign. Upon his death, *Orodes*, who was the elder brother, took possession of the throne; but

Orodes.

^f Idem ibid. ^g PLUT. in Syll. VEL. PATERCUL. l. ii. 24.
^h DION, l. xxxvi. p. 22. LIV. epit. l. 100.

was soon driven out by *Mithridates*, who, making himself *Mithridates II.* odious to the *Parthians* by his cruelties, was, in his turn, obliged to abandon the kingdom, and shelter himself with *Gabinus* governor of *Syria*. On his flight *Orodes* was replaced on the throne, by means of one *Surenas*, who, next to the king, held the first place of honour and power in the kingdom, and had always adhered to the interest of *Orodes*. *Gabinus* was easily prevailed upon to undertake the restoring of *Mithridates*; for as his heart was intirely bent upon gain, he wanted only a pretence to invade *Parthia*, knowing that it was at that time a wealthy nation. Accordingly he set out on his march, taking *Mithridates* along with him for his guide; but after he had passed the *Euphrates*, being accosted by *Ptolemy Auletes* king of *Egypt*, who offered him ten thousand talents on condition he restored him to his kingdom, the corrupt governor, dropping his former enterprize, repassed the *Euphrates*, and marched directly into *Egypt*, leaving *Mithridates* to shift for himself. The *Parthian*, seeing himself thus abandoned by *Gabinus*, raised what troops he could, and, returning into *Babylonia*, seized *Seleucia*, where he was closely besieged by *Orodes*, and in a short time reduced to such straits, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion. *Mithridates* no sooner got him into his power, but, considering him as an enemy, and not as a brother, he caused him to be put to death, and was himself an eye-witness of that cruel execution ^{put to death by his brother}. We must not confound, as *Justin* has done, *Orodes*. this *Mithridates* with *Mithridates II.* of whom we have spoke above, it being plain from *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Florus*, *Xiphilinus*, and from the very prologue of the forty second book of *Trogus Pompeius*, whom *Justin* has epitomized, that *Mithridates II.* and *Mithridates* the brother of *Orodes*, were two different princes. The former, by his many conquests and noble exploits, acquired the surname of *Great*; whereas the latter did nothing worth mentioning.

Orodes, by the death of his brother, became sole master of the whole *Parthian* empire; but did not long enjoy it in peace, a violent storm breaking out at a time, and from a quarter he least expected it. *M. Licinius Crassus* had been lately created consul at *Rome* the second time with *Pompey*; and in the partition of the provinces, had obtained, in virtue of a law made by *C. Trebonius* tribune of the people, *Syria*, with the neighbouring provinces. To *Pompey* the two *Spains* were assigned, with all the provinces of *Africa*. By the

^w *DION*, l. xxxix. *APPIAN*. in *Parthic*. p. 134, 140, 141, & in *Syriac*. p. 120. *JUSTIN*. l. xlii. c. 4.

Treboniau law they were both impowered to hold their provinces for the space of five years, to raise what forces they should think proper, and to make peace or war with whom they pleased, according to their own judgment, without having recourse to the senate or people of *Rome*, as all other governors had ever before been obliged to do *. *Craffus* was, according to *Plutarch* †, a man of known valour and great experience in war, and had, on many occasions, given signal proofs of both in the armies of *Sylla*, under whom he had learnt the military art. He was likewise an eloquent orator, well versed in history, acquainted with *Aristotle's* philosophy, and deemed one of the best antiquaries of his time. His obliging behaviour, his wonderful address and affability, prejudiced people at first in his favour, and gained upon their affections; but his insatiable avarice made all his good qualities in a manner overlooked; for though he was born of a rich family, and heir to a great estate, yet he let no means of increasing his revenues escape him, and often used such as were wholly unworthy his birth and rank, being of opinion, as he himself declared, that no citizen was to be accounted a rich man, till he was able to maintain an army at his own expence. As he had therefore used all his interest to obtain the province of *Syria*, so he was overjoyed when it was conferred upon him for such a term of years, and with so unbounded a power and authority, being resolved to carry the war into *Parthia*, in hopes of enriching himself with the spoils of that nation, which was deemed very rich, as never having been subdued by any foreign enemy. He was so transported with joy at the thoughts of the immense treasures, which, he took for granted, he was to bring back with him from *Parthia*, that he could not forbear talking of his intended expedition in a manner unworthy of his age and character, even with persons whom he scarce knew. He did not confine his view to *Syria* alone, or *Parthia*, but flattered himself with atchieving such things, as should eclipse the great exploits of *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, and *Sylla* himself, whose names had spread terror over all the nations of the east. He fancied himself already on the banks of the *Indus* and the *Ganges*, and over-ran in his thoughts *Bactria*, *India*, and the most remote provinces of *Asia*, beyond the boundaries of *Alexander's* conquests. Intoxicated with these hopes, he began, towards the end of his consulship, to make his levies, and form the legions, which were to attend him into *Sy-*

M. Lici-
nius Craffus
re-
solves to
make war
on the Par-
thians.

* LIV. l. cv. PLUT. in Craffo, Pomp. & Cat. Min. AP-
PIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. p. 437, 438. DIO, l. xxxix. † PLUT.
in Craffo.

ria. But some of the tribunes of the people, disapproving his design of making war upon the *Parthians*, who had entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and religiously observed their engagements, did all that lay in their power to reverse the *plebiscitum* or decree of the people, passed at the instigation of *Trebonius*, who was now out of office. *Ateius Capito*, one of the tribunes, having stirred up the people, by representing to them how base and shameful a thing it was to disturb the tranquillity of a peaceable nation, who had done the *Romans* no injury, would have arrested *Crassus*, though consul, if eight other tribunes had not opposed the violence of their colleague, and rescued *Crassus* out of the hands of the officer who had seized him. When the consul, after performing, as usual, his vows in the capitol, was ready to set out for his province, *Ateius* assembled the people, prepared to obstruct his departure; which *Crassus* being alarmed at, desired *Pompey* to accompany him to the gates of the city; which he did accordingly, keeping in awe by his presence, as he was greatly revered by the people, those who had most zealously opposed the consul's expedition. *Ateius*, seeing he could not prevent the departure of *Crassus*, hastened to the gate of the city, through which he was to pass; and there having ordered a fire to be kindled, as soon as *Crassus* appeared, he threw some perfumes into it, and, invoking the infernal gods, uttered a thousand imprecations against *Crassus*, which made all those, who heard them, tremble with horror². Tho' *Crassus* took no notice of these curses, yet the superstitious *Romans* ascribed to them all the misfortunes and calamities which befel him, and those who attended him in this fatal expedition (D); whereas they were owing, as we shall see anon, to a quite different cause.

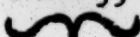
Crassus

² DIO. & PLUT. *ibid.* Flor. l. iii. c. 11. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 46. APPIAN. *bell. civil.* p. 438.

(D) *Florus* tells us, that *Crassus*, on his setting out from *Rome*, was cursed by *Metellus* tribune of the people (12); and *Velleius Paterculus* (13), *Appian* (14), and *Dion* (15), that he was cursed by all the tribunes, but especially by *Ateius*, who signalized himself on that occasion.

(12) Flor. l. iii. c. 11. (13) Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 46. (14) Appian. *de bell. civil.* l. ii. p. 438. (15) Dio, l. xlix.

Sets out
from
Rome.
Year of
the flood,
2944.
Before
Christ 55.



Plunders
the temple
of Jerusa-
lem.

Crassus having, with the assistance of *Pompey*, got safe out of *Rome*, pursued his march to *Brundisium*; where he immediately embarked his men on board several transports, and, notwithstanding the wind blew then very high, set sail for *Asia*, and, with much ado, reached the ports of *Galatia*, having lost many ships in his passage. Soon after his landing he had an interview with *Dejotarus* king of *Galatia*, who, though stricken in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. *Crassus*, thinking this an unseasonable undertaking, said pleasantly, *You begin, O king, full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day.* The twelfth hour was, with the *Romans*, the last of the day. As *Crassus* was upwards of sixty, and looked older than he was, *Dejotarus* replied, *And you, O general, are not too early in your expedition against the Parthians?*

FROM *Galatia* *Crassus* pursued his march into *Syria*, the province allotted to him; and being there informed, that immense treasures were lodged in the temple of *Jerusalem*, which *Pompey* had not ventured to touch, he marched thither with part of his army, in order to seize them. *Eleazar*, one of the priests and at that time keeper of the sacred treasure, had under his charge, besides many other things of an inestimable value, a raster of massy gold, weighing three thousand *Hebrew* pounds, or seven hundred and fifty common pounds. This, for the better securing of it, he had inclosed into a beam made hollow for that purpose, and placed the beam over the entrance from the holy place into the holy of holies, hanging from it the veil which parted those two places. *Eleazar*, who was apprized of the motive of *Crassus's* march to *Jerusalem*, to save the other ornaments of the temple, and the riches which were deposited there by private persons, discovered the golden raster to *Crassus*, and suffered him to take it away, after

^a PLUT. *ibid.*

————— *Crassumque in bella secutæ
Sæva tribunitiæ moverunt prælia diræ,*

says *Lucan* (16). *Crassus* the night before he set out for his province, supped with *Cicero*, in the gardens of his son-in-law *Crassipes* (17). From thence *Cicero* removed to *Tusculanum*, and *Crassus* hastened to *Brundisium* in his military habit, being resolved, in spite of the tribunes, to make war on the *Parthians* (18).

(16) *Lucan*. l. iii. (17) *Cic. epist. familiar. l. i. epist. 9.* (18) *Idem, l. iv. ad Attic. epist. 12. & l. ii. de divinac.*

having

having made him solemnly promise with an oath, that he would meddle with nothing else. But *Crassus* no sooner received it, than forgetting his oath, he seized on the two thousand talents which *Pompey* had left there untouched; and rummaging the temple, plundered it of every thing else which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thousand talents more; so that the whole booty, which he sacrilegiously took from thence, amounted to ten thousand talents^b; that is, to two millions and upwards of our money. *Josephus*, who relates this, thinking it would scarce be credited by other nations, alledges the authority of *Strabo* and other writers to prove, that immense treasures had been deposited in the temple, by the *Jews* of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Cyrenaica*^c; but the historical writings of *Strabo*, which he quotes, have not reached our times.

Crassus, thinking himself now sufficiently furnished for his *Begins* intended expedition, marched to the *Euphrates*, and having *hostilities* crossed that river on a bridge of boats, which he threw over *with the* it, entered the *Parthian* territories, and began hostilities, *Parthians*. without any other motive than his insatiable avarice, and an eager desire of enriching himself with the plunder of a country, which was generally esteemed very rich. The *Romans* had, by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, made peace, and entered into alliances with the nation he thus invaded, and no complaints of any infraction or injuries had ever been heard, which might give just reason for a war; so that the *Parthians*, expecting nothing less than such an invasion, and having made no preparations for their defence, were easily driven out of all *Mesopotamia*. The city of *Zenodotia*, which *Ste-* *And seizes* *phanus* places near *Nicephorium*, was the only place that made *great part* any opposition. *Apollonius*, who was governor, or rather *of Meso-* tyrant, as *Dio* calls him, of that city, sent deputies to *Cras-* *potamia*. *potamia*. *Crassus*, acquainting him, that he was willing to surrender up the place to him; but as soon as the detachment sent to take possession of it had entered the gate, he surrounded them, and cut them in pieces. But both he and the inhabitants paid dear for their treachery; for *Crassus* having immediately invested the city with his whole army, and taken it by assault, reduced the inhabitants to slavery, confiscated their goods, and sold their persons to the best bidder. For this conquest and an inconsiderable advantage gained over one *Talymenus Ilaces*, or *Syllaces*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, who, having engaged the *Romans* with a small body of horse, was

^b JOSEPH. Antiq 1. xiv. c. 12.^c Idem ibid.

overcome and wounded, *Crassus* suffered himself to be saluted by the soldiery with the title of *imperator*, which was usually given after some signal victory. This turned to his disgrace, the whole army laughing at his vanity, and expecting little from a general who was thus elated with the least success ^d. The other cities made no resistance; so that he over-ran all *Mesopotamia*, and might, if he had taken advantage of the consternation the *Parthians* were in, have penetrated as far as *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, and made himself master of *Babylonia* as well as *Mesopotamia*; but, instead of pursuing the career he had begun, in the beginning of the autumn he repassed the *Euphrates*, and, leaving only seven thousand foot and a thousand horse to garison the places he had taken, put his army into winter-quarters in the cities of *Syria*. This was undoubtedly the greatest fault *Crassus* committed in his *Parthian* expedition, after that of his undertaking it upon most unjust motives; for his hasty retreat gave the enemy time to recover from the terror which his arms had spread all over the east, and to raise an army against the ensuing year, which the *Romans* could not withstand. On his return into *Syria*, he was joined by his son, at the head of a thousand chosen horse. This young *Roman* had served under *Cæsar* in *Gaul*, in quality of his lieutenant, and had been honoured with several military crowns, which generals used to bestow on such as distinguished themselves by their valour. When *Cæsar* understood that his father had begun the war with the *Parthians*, he gave him leave to go into the east and serve under him; and indeed *Cæsar* had all along pressed *Crassus* to break with the *Parthians*, to force his way into *Bactria*, and from thence into *India*, knowing, that the farther that general, of whose power he was jealous, penetrated into the eastern countries, the more able he himself should be to put in execution his design of subverting the republic; but the unfortunate young *Crassus* came into *Asia*, only to be a witness of his father's ill conduct, and to partake of his father's misfortunes ^e.

His extor-
tions in
Syria.

IN *Syria* *Crassus* spent his time more like a publican than a general, being wholly taken up with examining into the revenues of that province, and improving them by the most shameful methods, in order to amass new treasures. The plunder of the temple of *Jerusalem* was not the only sacrilege he was guilty of; he robbed in like manner all the temples of *Syria*, appropriating to his own use their rich ornaments and

^d Dio, l. xl. PLUT. ubi supra.

^e PLUT. & Dio, ibid.
furniture.

furniture. The temple of the Syrian goddess, named *Atargetis*, at *Hierapolis*, which some writers call *Bambyces*, others *Edeffa*, and the Syrians *Magog*, was famous all over the east, on account of the immense treasures laid up there, as being the collection of many years. These the avaricious proconsul seized; and lest any of the rich vases and ornaments should be embezzled, he spent a great deal of his time in seeing the money counted; and the gold and silver vessels weighed before him. Having thus ransacked all the temples and sacred places within the limits of his province, which *Gabinus* himself, his predecessor, had spared, he began to load the Syrians with such taxes as reduced them to beggary. He commanded all the cities of his province to furnish him each with a certain number of men, and then discharged them for a sum of money. No one could obtain justice without a large bribe, nor redeem themselves from the insolence of the soldiers, without advancing a large sum to the general. In short, there was not any means of amassing money, how unjust or oppressive soever, which he did not use, as if he had been sent, not to govern, but to plunder, the province. In the mean time, the military discipline was entirely neglected, the soldiers lived in their quarters without any order, and the whole army gave themselves up to idleness, debauchery, and all manner of effeminate pleasures. We are told, that as *Crassus* was going out of the temple of *Hierapolis*, which he had plundered, his son, who walked before, stumbled at the threshold, and falling pulled down his father with him. This was interpreted by the soothsayers as a very bad omen; but the intire neglect of military discipline was the surest preface of the misfortunes, which afterwards befel both his son and the whole army.

Crassus having thus spent the winter, early in the spring drew together his troops out of their several quarters, in order to pursue the war which he had begun with the *Parthians*. As *Orodes* their king was a very warlike prince, he had, during the winter, assembled a numerous army; but, before he entered with it upon action, he sent embassadors to the Roman general, to know for what reason he made war upon him. The embassadors arrived in *Syria* while *Crassus* was assembling his troops, and being introduced to him, first put him in mind of the alliance which the *Parthians* had concluded with *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and then told him, that if he was sent a-

His interview with the Parthian embassadors.

^f STRABO, l. xvi. p. 748 PLIN. l. v. c. 23 PLUT. & DION
ibid.

gainst the *Parthians* by the people of *Rome*, they did not pretend he should disobey his orders, since in that case a war must ensue, which could not be terminated but by the final ruin of one of the empires; but if *Crassus*, as they had been informed, had undertaken this war, contrary to the inclinations of the people of *Rome*, to satiate his private interest, that the king their master, pitying his old age, would suffer the *Romans* he had left in *Mesopotamia*, where they were rather besieged than in garison, to retire unmolested. *Crassus*, without alledging any pretence for his invading the *Parthian* dominions, answered this speech with a rodomontade, saying, *that they should have his answer at Seleucia*. Hereupon the chief of the embassadors, by name *Vageses* or *Vabises*, smiling and shewing him the palm of his hand, said, *You shall sooner, O Crassus, see hair grow here, than be master of Seleucia*; and, without adding a word more, retired, and acquainted his master, that he must prepare for war^g.

Orodes finding, on the return of his embassadors, that the proconsul was bent on a war, immediately took the field, and, dividing his troops into two bodies, marched in person with one to the frontiers of *Armenia*, to make a diversion there, the king of that country having raised a considerable army to reinforce the *Romans*. The other he sent into *Mesopotamia*, under the command of the brave *Surena*, or *Surenas*. This general, if we may depend on the character *Plutarch* gives us of him^h, had all the qualifications that form a consummate hero. He was descended from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of *Parthia*, and had derived from his ancestors the right of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation: To this illustrious birth he is said to have joined an extraordinary wisdom and discretion, though he was but thirty years of age, and to have surpassed in valour and prowess all men of his time. His valour kept the princes and nations of *Asia* in awe, and prevented their entering into a confederacy against the formidable power of *Parthia*. *Orodes* was indebted to him, as we have hinted above for his crown. The taking of *Seleucia*, when held by *Mithridates*, was chiefly owing to him; for he was the first who mounted the ramparts of that capital, struck terror into the enemy's troops, and made them fly before him. His stature was majestic, his air graceful, and his behaviour towards all extremely obliging. In wealth, power, and authority, he was, next to the king, the first man in the king-

The character of Surenas the Parthian general.

^g FLOR. I. iii. c. 11. PLUT. DIO, ibid.

^h PLUT. in Crasso. dom.

dom. His equipage, when he travelled, consisted of a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, a thousand horse men completely armed for his guard, and besides a great number of light-armed troops, which with his domestics, amounted to ten thousand more. He is said to have united the luxury of an *Asiatic* with the intrepidity of a conqueror; for he carried with him whatever could contribute to his pleasures; and at the same time was ready to expose himself to the greatest dangers, being always at the head of the troops he commanded in the most perilous and desperate enterprizes. Though his courage was such as to brave death in a breach or battle, yet he was not ashamed to paint his face and perfume his hair, after the manner of the effeminate *Medes*; whereas the *Parthians* marched against the enemy with their hair in disorder, and making as hideous a figure as they could, to strike the more terror¹.

BUT, to resume the thread of our history, *Orodes* having *Surenas* divided his army into two bodies, *Surenas* marched with that *retakes* which was under his command into *Mesopotamia*, where he *most of the* soon retook most of the cities which *Crassus* had made himself *cities of* master of the year before. Hereupon several *Roman* soldiers, *Mesopotamia* who garisoned the other places, making their escape out of *Mesopotamia*, fled to *Crassus*, and filled his camp with a terrible report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy. They told their fellow-soldiers, that the *Parthian* troops were very numerous, brave, and well disciplined; that it was impossible to overtake them when they fled, or escape them when they pursued; that their defensive arms were proof against the *Roman* darts, and their offensive weapons so sharp, that no buckler was fence against them, &c. *Crassus* looked upon this account only as the effect of a panic and cowardly fear; but the common soldiers, and many of the chief officers, were so disheartened at it, that the quaestor *Gaius Cassius*, the same who afterwards conspired against *Cæsar*, and most of the legionary tribunes, advised *Crassus* to suspend his march, and deliberate with more leisure on the enterprize, before he proceeded farther in it. But *Crassus* obstinately persisted in his former resolution, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, being confirmed therein by the arrival of *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his guard, and promised to send to the proconsul ten thousand cuirassiers and thirty thousand foot, whenever he should stand in need of them.

¹ PLUT. *ibid.* & APPIAN in Parthic.

At the same time he advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of *Mesopotamia*, but to take his rout over the mountains of *Armenia*. The reasons with which he supported this advice were, that as *Armenia* was a mountainous country, the *Parthian* horse, in which the main strength of their army consisted, would prove there intirely useles; and besides, that if he took this rout, his army should be plentifully supplied with all necessaries: whereas, if he marched by the way of *Mesopotamia*, he would be perpetually harassed by the *Parthian* horse, and often be obliged to lead his army through sandy deserts, where he would be distressed for want of water and all other provisions. This was the best advice that could be given him, and the reasons for it were unanswerable; but *Crassus*, despising all that was said to him, told *Artabazes*, that as he had left many valiant *Romans* to garrison the towns, which he had made himself master of the last year in *Mesopotamia*, he was obliged to take that rout, *Armenia*. lest they should be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; but as to the auxiliaries the king of *Armenia* had offered him, he willingly accepted them, and desired *Artabazes* to send them to him with all possible expedition. Thus *Crassus*, hearkening to no advice but what tended to his ruin, set out on his march for *Mesopotamia*. *Dion Cassius*, a judicious historian and at the same time an experienced warrior, observes here, that the *Romans* under the command of *Crassus* were on all occasions, either ignorant of what was necessarily to be done, or in no condition to execute it; and adds, that one would have thought they had been blinded and persecuted by some divinity, since they could neither make use of their minds nor bodies. This divinity was, no doubt, the true God, tho' unknown to *Dion*, who thus revenged the robbing and profaning his holy temple at *Jerusalem*.

Enters

Mesopotamia, contrary to the advice of all his officers.

THE proconsul, being greatly encouraged by the prospect of the reinforcement promised him by the king of *Armenia*, began his march, and, contrary to the advice of his chief officers, advanced to the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*. He had under his command seven legions, four thousand horse, and a great many auxiliaries, the whole army amounting to forty thousand men and upwards. With these he passed the *Euphrates*, near the city of *Zeugma*, in the province of *Comagene* (E), and again entered *Mesopotamia*. *Plutarch*, *Dion Cassius*,

(E) *Strabo* and *Pliny* place the city of *Zeugma* in *Comagene*, a province of *Syria*, and tell us, that it was so called from a bridge built here over the *Euphrates*, the word *Zeugma* in the Greek tongue signifying a bridge. This bridge was, according to *Dion Cassius* and

Cassius, and *Julius Obsequens* speak of many prodigies, by which the gods declared before-hand, that they did not approve of this expedition, and gave him warning of the ill success that would attend it. While the troops were passing the *Euphrates*, the sky was all on a sudden overcast, and so dreadful a storm arose, that the soldiers were filled with fear and consternation. The incessant claps of thunder, the flashes of lightning that followed one another, and the violent wind which blew in the soldiers faces, seemed to have been sent by the gods, on purpose to put a stop to their march. Part of the bridge was broke down by the wind and lightning while the army was passing. The horse which *Crassus* used to ride in battle, fell into the river, and was drowned with the groom who led him. The golden eagle, which was the chief standard of the army, is said to have turned about of itself on the staff on which it was fixed. Many other standards were, by the violence of the wind, blown into the river, and lost. While *Crassus* was offering the usual sacrifices for the purifying of the troops, he let fall the entrails of the victim, which the priests had, according to custom, put into his hands. From this event the soldiery drew bad presages; but the general, deriding their superstition, told them, That they had no occasion to be afraid, for his arms should not slip out of his hands in the same manner *.

THE army having thus crossed the *Euphrates*, and entered the enemy's country, *Cassius* advised the proconsul to advance to some of the towns in which he had left garisons, and there rest and refresh his troops, till he had got certain intelligence of the number, strength, and power of the enemy; but, if he did not approve of this counsel, he thought the best thing he could do was to march along the *Euphrates* to *Seleucia*; for, by keeping close to that river, he would avoid being surrounded by the *Parthians*, and at the same time be plentifully supplied, by means of his ships, with all necessary provisions. *Crassus* seemed to approve of this advice, and was ready to come into it, when *Abgarus* king of *Edeffa*, of whom we have spoke in a former volume, arrived at the

* PLUT. & DION. *ibid.*

and *Stephanus*, the work of *Alexander the Great*. But it is not at all probable, that *Alexander* should have gone so far as *Comagene* to cross the *Euphrates*; and besides, *Arrian* tells us, that he led his army over that river at *Thapsacus*, after having repaired a bridge there, which had been destroyed by the *Persians*, in order to prevent him from entering *Mesopotamia*.

Betrayed
by Abgarus
king of
Edeffa.

Roman camp, and prevailed upon the proconsul to follow a quite different plan. *Abgarus*, as he had formerly served under *Pompey*, was well known in the *Roman* army, and looked upon by the soldiery as a friend; but in reality was a traitor, and sent by *Surenas*, with whom he kept a private correspondence, on purpose to bring about the destruction of *Crassus*; and this part he acted so well, that the ruin of the *Roman* army was chiefly owing to him. In the first interview he had with the *Roman* general, he told him, that he wanted wings and feet more than arms against a nation that was ready, on his approach, to withdraw with their most valuable effects into *Scythia* and *Hyrkania*; that they had not courage enough to look the *Romans* in the face; that the name of *Crassus* had already spread a general terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining of a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered himself for a guide to lead them the shortest way to the enemy; and *Crassus*, blinded with his flattering speeches, gave intirely into the snare, and followed the traitor, who had so strongly insinuated himself into his favour, that he would hearken to no-body but him. Under the conduct of this crafty and treacherous guide, they first entered into a vast green plain, divided by many rivulets; and their march proved very easy cross this delicious country: but the farther they advanced, the worse the roads grew, insomuch that they were obliged at last to climb up mountains and rocks, which brought them to a dry and sandy plain, where they could neither find food to satisfy their hunger, nor water to quench their thirst. Then *Abgarus* began to be suspected by the tribunes, and other officers, who earnestly pressed their general to follow him no longer, but to retreat to the mountains. At the same time an express arrived from *Artabazes*, acquainting *Crassus*, that *Orodes* had invaded his kingdom at the head of a mighty army, and that he was obliged to keep his forces at home for the defence of his own dominions. The same messenger advised the proconsul, in his master's name, to avoid by all means the barren plains, where his troops would perish with hunger, and to take to the mountains, and approach *Armenia*, that they might join their forces against the common enemy; but all was to no purpose, for *Crassus*, instead of giving ear either to the wise counsels of his own officers, or of a king, who was a sincere and hearty friend to the *Romans*, blindly and obstinately followed the advice of the treacherous *Abgarus*, or rather his own ill fate; nay, he flew into a violent passion against the messenger sent him by *Artabazes*, for the treacherous

The painful
march
of the Ro-
man army.

treacherous advice he had given him¹. *Cassius* could not hear this mad answer without the greatest indignation; but *Abgarus* endeavoured to soften him, by promising to lead the army very soon into a delicious and fruitful country beyond the deserts, which would make them amends for the fatigue they had undergone. As to *Crassus*, he gave no other answer to the complaints of his troops, than that they could not expect to meet with the delights of *Campania* in the most remote parts of the world.

THUS they continued their march for some days cross a desert, the very sight of which was sufficient to throw them into the utmost despair; for they could not perceive either near them, or at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook, not so much as a hill, or a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen all around them but huge heaps of burning sand. The *Romans* had scarce got through this desert, when word was brought them by their scouts, that a numerous army of *Parthians* was advancing full march to attack them; for *Abgarus*, under pretence of going out on parties, had often conferred with *Surenas*, and concerted measures with him for destroying the *Roman* army. Upon this advice, *The imprudent conduct of Crassus.* which occasioned great confusion in the camp, the *Romans* being quite exhausted, and tired out with their long and troublesome march, *Crassus* drew up his men in battalia, following at first the advice of *Cassius*, who was for extending the infantry as wide as possible, that they might take up the more ground, and by that means prevent the enemy from surrounding them; but *Abgarus* assuring the proconsul, that the *Parthian* forces were not so numerous as was represented, he changed this disposition, and believing only the man who betrayed him, drew up his troops in a square, which faced every way, and had on each side twelve cohorts in front. Near each cohort he placed a troop of horse to support them, that they might charge with the greater security and boldness. Thus the whole army looked more like one phalanx, than troops drawn up in *manipuli*, with spaces between them, after the *Roman* manner. The general himself commanded in the centre, his son in the left wing, and *Cassius* in the right. In this order they advanced to the banks of a small river called the *Balissus*, the sight of which was very pleasing to the soldiers, who were much harassed with drought and excessive heat. Most of the officers were for encamping on the banks of this river, or rather rivulet, to give the troops time to refresh themselves after the fatigues

¹ PLUT. DION. *ibid.* APPIAN. in *Parthic.*

The Roman army attacked by the Parthians.

The Romans galled by the arrows of the Parthians.

of so long and painful a march, and in the mean time to procure certain intelligence of the number and disposition of the *Parthian* army; but *Craſſus*, suffering himself to be hurried on by the inconsiderate ardour of his son, and the horse he commanded, only allowed the legions to take a meal standing; and, before this could be done by all, he ordered them to advance, not slowly, and halting now and then, after the *Roman* manner, but as fast as they could move, till they came in sight of the enemy, who, contrary to their expectation, did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented. But this was a stratagem of *Surenas*, who had concealed his men in convenient places, ordering them to cover their arms, lest their brightness should betray them, and, starting up at the first signal, attack the enemy on all sides. The stratagem had the desired effect; for *Surenas* no sooner gave the signal, than the *Parthians*, rising as it were out of the ground, with dreadful cries and a most frightful noise, advanced against the *Romans*, who were greatly surprized and dismayed at that sight, and much more so, when the *Parthians*, throwing off the covering of their arms, appeared in shining cuirasses and helmets of burnished steel, finely mounted on horses, covered all over with armour of the same metal. At their head appeared young *Surenas* in a rich dress, and was the first who charged the enemy, endeavouring with his pike-men to break through the first ranks of the *Roman* army; but finding it too close and impenetrable, the cohorts supporting each other, he fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion; but the *Romans* were much surprized, when they saw themselves suddenly surrounded on all sides, and galled with continual showers of arrows. *Craſſus* ordered his light-armed foot and archers to advance and charge the enemy; but they were soon repulsed, and forced to cover themselves behind the heavy-armed foot. Then the *Parthian* horse advancing near the *Romans*, discharged showers of arrows upon them, every one of which did execution, the legionaries being drawn up in such close order, that it was impossible for the enemy to miss their aim. As their arrows were of an extraordinary weight, and discharged with incredible force and impetuosity, nothing was proof against them. The two wings advanced in good order to repulse them, but to no effect; for the *Parthians* shot their arrows with as great dexterity when their backs were turned, as when they faced the enemy; so that the *Romans*, whether they kept their ground, or pursued their flying enemy, were equally annoyed with their fatal arrows.

THE

THE *Romans*, as long as they had any hopes that the *Parthians*, after having spent their arrows, would either betake themselves to flight, or engage them hand to hand, stood their ground with great resolution and intrepidity ; but when they observed that there were a great many camels in their rear loaded with arrows, and that those who emptied their quivers wheeled about to fill them anew, they began to lose courage, and loudly to complain of their general for suffering them thus to stand still, and serve only as a butt to the enemy's arrows, which, they well saw, would not be exhausted till they were all killed to a man. Hereupon *Craffus* ordered his son to advance at all adventures, and attack the enemy with thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts. But the *Parthians* no sooner saw this choice body, for it was the flower of the army, marching up against them, but they wheeled about, and betook themselves, according to their custom, to flight. Hereupon young *Craffus*, crying out as loud as he could, *They fly before us*, pushed on full speed after them, not doubting but he should gain a complete victory ; but when he was at a great distance from the main body of the *Roman* army, he perceived his mistake, for those, who before had fled, facing about, charged him with incredible fury. Young *Craffus* ordered his troops to halt, hoping that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not be afraid to come to a close fight ; but herein he was likewise greatly disappointed, for the *Parthians*, contenting themselves to oppose his front with their heavy-armed horse, surrounded him on all sides, and, keeping at a distance, discharged incessant showers of arrows upon the unfortunate *Romans*, thus surrounded and pent up. The *Parthian* cavalry, in wheeling about, raised so thick a dust, that the *Romans* could scarce see one another, much less the enemy ; nevertheless they found themselves wounded with arrows, tho' they could not perceive whence they came. In a short time the place where they stood was all strown with dead bodies. Some of the unhappy *Romans* finding their entrails tore, and many overcome by the exquisite torments they suffered, rolled themselves on the sand with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner. Others endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pain. Most of them died in this manner, and those who outlived their companions, were no more in a condition to act ; for when young *Craffus* exhorted them to march up to the enemy, some shewed him their wounded bodies, others their hands nailed to their bucklers, and some their feet pierced through and pinned to the

Young
Craffus
advances
against
the enemy.

Is reduced
to great
straits.

the ground ; so that it was equally impossible for them either to attack the enemy, or defend themselves. The young commander therefore, leaving his infantry to the mercy of the enemy, advanced at the head of the cavalry against their heavy-armed horse. The thousand *Gauls*, whom he had brought with him from the west, charged the enemy with incredible boldness and vigour ; but their lances did little execution on men armed with cuirasses, and horses covered with tried armour. However, they behaved with great resolution ; for some of them taking hold of the enemies spears and closing with them, threw them off their horses on the ground, where they lay without being able to stir, by reason of the great weight of their armour ; others dismounting crept under the enemies horses, and thrusting their swords into their bellies, made them throw their riders. Thus the brave *Gauls* fought tho' greatly harassed with heat and thirst, which they were not accustomed to bear, till most of their horses were killed, and their commander dangerously wounded. They then thought it adviseable to retire to their infantry, which they no sooner joined, than the *Parthians* invested them anew, making a most dreadful havock of them with their arrows. In this desperate condition, *Crassus* spying a rising ground at a small distance, led the remains of his detachment thither, with a design to defend himself in the best manner he could, till succours should be sent him from his father. The *Parthians* pursued him, and, having surrounded him in his new post, continued showering arrows upon his men, till most of them were either killed or disabled, without being able to make use of their arms, or give the enemy proofs of their valour.

YOUNG *Crassus* had two *Greeks* with him, who had settled in the city of *Carrhæ*. These touched with compassion in seeing so brave a man reduced to such straits, pressed him to retire with them to the neighbouring city of *Ischies*, which had declared for the *Romans* ; but the young *Roman* rejected their proposal with indignation, telling them, that he would rather die a thousand times, than abandon so many valiant men, who sacrificed their lives for his sake. Having returned this answer to his two *Greek* friends, he embraced and dismissed them, giving them leave to retire and shift for themselves in the best manner they could. As for himself, having now lost all hopes of being relieved, and seeing most of his men and friends killed round him, he gave way to his grief, and not being able to make use of his arm, which was shot through with a large barbed arrow,* he presented his side to one of his attendants, and ordered him to put an end to his unhappy life.

His

His example was followed by *Censorinus* a senator, by *Mega-* ^{His death} *bacchus* an experienced and brave officer, and by most of the nobility who served under him. Five hundred common soldiers were taken prisoners, and the rest cut in pieces.

THE *Parthians* having cut off or taken the whole detachment commanded by young *Crassus*, marched without delay against his father, who upon the first advice that the enemy fled before his son and was closely pursued by him, had taken heart, the more because those, who had remained to make head against him, seemed to abate much of their ardour, the greatest part of them having marched with the rest against his son. Wherefore having encouraged his troops, he had retired to a small hill in his rear, to wait there till his son returned from the pursuit. Young *Crassus*, had dispatched frequent expresses to his father, to acquaint him with the danger he was in ; but they had fallen into the enemies hands, and been by them put to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, arrived safe, and informed him that his son was lost, if he did not send him an immediate and powerful reinforcement. This news threw *Crassus* into the utmost consternation ; a thousand affecting thoughts rose in his mind, and disturbed his reason to such a degree, that he scarce knew what he was doing. However, the desire he had of saving his son and so many brave *Romans*, who were under his command, made him immediately decamp and march to their assistance ; but he was not gone far, before he was met by the *Parthians*, who, with loud shouts and songs of victory, gave, at a great distance the unhappy father notice of his misfortune. They had cut off young *Crassus's* head, and, having fixed it on the point of a lance, were advancing full speed to fall on the father. As they drew near *Crassus* was struck with that dismal and affecting sight, but on this occasion behaved like a hero ; for tho' he was under the deepest concern, he had the presence of mind to stifle his grief, for fear of discouraging the army, and to cry out to the dismayed troops, *This misfortune is entirely mine ; the loss of one man cannot affect the victory : let us charge, let us fight like Romans ; if you have any compassion for a father who has just now lost a son, whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against these insulting barbarians.* Thus *Crassus* strove to reanimate his troops ; but his efforts were unsuccessful : their courage was quite sunk, as appeared from the faint and languishing shout which they raised, according to custom, before the action. When the signal was given, the *Parthians* keeping to their old way of

*The whole
Parthian
army falls
upon Cras-
sus.*

Desperate
condition
of the Ro-
mans.

fighting discharged clouds of arrows on the legionaries, without drawing near them, which did such dreadful execution, that many of the *Romans*, to avoid the arrows, which occasioned a long and painful death, threw themselves like men in despair, on the enemy's heavy-armed horse, seeking from their spears a more quick and easy kind of death. Thus the *Parthians* continued plying them incessantly with their arrows till night, when they left the field of battle, crying out, that they would allow the father one night to lament the death of his son.

THIS was a melancholy night for the *Romans*. *Crassus* kept himself concealed from the soldiery, lying not in the general's tent, but in the open air, and on the bare ground, with his head wrapped up in his *paludamentum* or military cloke, and was, in that forlorn condition, says *Plutarch*, a great example to the vulgar of the instability of fortune; to the wise a still greater of the pernicious effects of avarice, temerity, and ambition. *Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, and *Cassius*, approached him, and endeavoured to raise him up and console him; but seeing him quite sunk under the weight of his affliction and deaf to all comfort, they summoned a council of war, composed of all the chief officers, wherein it was unanimously resolved, that they should decamp before break of day, and retire, without sound of trumpet, to the neighbouring city of *Carrhæ*, which was held by a *Roman* garison. Agreeable to this resolution, they began their march as soon as the council broke up; which produced dreadful outcries among the sick and wounded, who, perceiving that they were to be abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, filled the camp with their complaints and lamentations; but their cries and tears, though very affecting, did not stop the march of the others, which indeed was very slow, to give the stragglers time to come up. There were only three hundred light horse, under the command of one *Egnatius*, who pursued their march without stopping. These arriving at *Carrhæ* about midnight, *Egnatius*, calling to the centinels on the walls, desired them to acquaint *Coponius* governor of the place, that *Crassus* had fought a great battle with the *Parthians*; and without saying a word more, or letting them know who he was, continued his march with all possible expedition to the bridge of *Zeugma*, which he passed, and by that means saved his troops, but was much blamed for abandoning his general.

Crassus
gets to
Carrhæ.

HOWEVER, the message he sent to *Coponius* was of great service to *Crassus*; for that commander, wisely conjecturing, from the manner in which the unknown person had given him

that

that intelligence, that some misfortune had befallen *Crassus*, immediately ordered his garison to stand to their arms, and marching out met *Crassus*, and conducted him and his army into the city; for the *Parthians*, though informed of his flight, did not offer to pursue him, observing therein the superstitious custom which obtained among them and the *Persians*, not to fight in the night; but when it was day, they entered the *Roman* camp, and having put all the wounded, to the number of four thousand, to the sword, dispersed their cavalry all over the plain in pursuit of the fugitives. One of *Crassus's* lieutenants, named *Vargunteius*, having separated in the night from the main body of the army, with four cohorts, missed his way, and was overtaken by the enemy, at whose approach he withdrew to a neighbouring hill, where he defended himself with great valour, till all his men were killed, except twenty, who made their way through the enemy sword in hand, and got safe to *Carrhæ*^m; but *Vargunteius* himself lost his life on this occasion.

IN the mean time *Surenas*, not knowing whether *Crassus* and *Cassius* had retired to *Carrhæ*, or taken a different rout, in order to be informed of the truth, and take his measures accordingly, dispatched a messenger, who spoke the *Roman* language, to the city of *Carrhæ*, enjoined him to approach the walls, and acquaint *Crassus* himself or *Cassius*, that the *Parthian* general was inclined to enter into a treaty with them, and demanded a conference. Both the proconsul and his quæstor *Cassius* spoke from the walls with the messenger, and accepting the proposal with great joy, desired that the time and place for an interview might be immediately agreed upon. The messenger withdrew, promising to return quickly with an answer from *Surenas*; but that general no sooner understood that *Crassus* and *Cassius* were in *Carrhæ*, than he marched thither with his whole army, and, having invested the place, acquainted the *Romans*, that, if they expected any favourable terms, they must deliver up *Crassus* and *Cassius* to him in chains. Hereupon a council of the chief officers being summoned, it was thought expedient to retire from *Carrhæ* that very night, and seek for another asylum. It was of the utmost importance, that none of the inhabitants of *Carrhæ* should be acquainted with their design till the time of its execution; but *Crassus*, whose whole conduct evidently shews that he was blinded, as *Dion Cassius* observes, by some divinity, imparted the whole matter in confidence to one *Andromachus*, chusing

^m PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* EUTROP. l. vi. OROS. l. vi. c. 13.

Cassius
gets safe
into Syria.

Crassus
betrayed by
his guide.
is over-
taken by
the enemy

Invited by
Surenas
to an in-
terview.

him for his guide, and relying injudiciously on the fidelity of a man whom he scarce knew. *Andromachus* immediately acquainted *Surenas* with the design of the *Romans*, promising at the same time, as the *Parthians* did not engage in the night, to manage matters so, that they should not get out of his reach before day-break. Pursuant to his promise, he led them through many windings and turnings, till he brought them into deep marshy grounds, where the infantry were up to the knees in mire. Then *Cassius*, suspecting that their guide had led them into those bogs with no good design, refused to follow him any longer, and returning to *Carrhae*, took his rout towards *Syria*, which he reached with five hundred horse. *Octavius*, with five thousand men under his command, being conducted by trusty guides, gained the mountains, called, by *Plutarch* and *Appian*, *Sinnaci*, and there intrenched himself before break of day. As for *Crassus*, he was still entangled in the marshes, when *Surenas*, at the rising of the sun, overtook him, and invested him with his cavalry. The proconsul had with him four cohorts and a small body of horse; and with these he gained, in spite of all opposition, the summit of another hill within twelve furlongs of *Octavius*, who, seeing the danger that threatened his general, flew to his assistance, first with a small number of his men, but was soon followed by all the rest, who, being ashamed of their cowardice, quitted their post, tho' very safe, and, charging the *Parthians* with great fury, disengaged *Crassus*, and obliged the enemy to abandon the hill. Upon the retreat of the enemy, they formed themselves into a hollow square, and, placing *Crassus* in the middle, made a kind of rampart round him with their bucklers, resolutely protesting, that none of the enemy's arrows should touch their general's body, till they were all killed fighting in his defence. *Surenas*, loth to let so fine a prey escape, surrounded the hill, as if he designed to make a new attack; but finding his *Parthians* very backward, and not doubting but the *Romans*, when night came on, would pursue their march and get out of his reach, he had recourse again to artifice, and declared before some prisoners, whom he soon after set at liberty, that he was inclined to treat with the proconsul of a peace, and that it was better to come to a reconciliation with *Rome*, than to sow the seeds of an eternal war, by shedding the blood of one of her generals. Agreeable to this declaration, *Surenas*, as soon as the prisoners were released, advanced towards the hill, where the *Romans* were posted, attended only by some of his officers, and, with his bow unbent and open arms, invited *Crassus* to an interview. So sudden a change seemed very suspicious to the

The proconsul, who therefore declined the interview, till he was forced by his own soldiers to intrust his life with an enemy, whose treachery they had all experienced; for the legionaries, flocking round him, not only abused him in an outrageous manner, but even menaced him, if he did not accept of the proposals made him by the *Parthian* general. Seeing therefore that the troops were ready to mutiny, he began to advance, without arms or guards, towards the enemy, after having called the gods and his officers to witness the violence his troops offered him, and intreated all who were present, but especially *Octavius* and *Petronius*, two of the chief commanders, for the honour of *Rome* their common mother, not to mention, after his death, the shameful behaviour of the *Roman* legionaries. *Octavius* and *Petronius* could not resolve to let him go alone, but attended him down the hill, as did likewise some legionaries keeping at a distance. *Crassus* was met at the foot of the hill by two *Greeks*, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with great respect, and desired him in the *Greek* tongue to send some of his attendants, who might satisfy him, that *Surenas*, and those who were with him, came without arms. Hereupon *Crassus* sent two brothers of the *Roscian* family; but *Surenas* having caused them to be seized, advanced to the foot of the hill mounted on a fine horse, and attended by the chief officers of his army. *Crassus*, who waited for the return of his two messengers, was surprised to see himself prevented by *Surenas* in person, when he least expected it. The *Parthian* general, perceiving as he approached *Crassus*, that he was on foot, cried out in a seeming surprise, *What do I see? a Roman general on foot, and we on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately.* You need not be surprised, replied *Crassus*, we are come only to an interview, each after the custom of his country. Very well, answered *Surenas*, there shall be henceforth a lasting peace between king *Orodes* and the people of *Rome*; but we must sign the articles of it on the banks of the *Euphrates*; for you *Romans* do not always remember your conventions. *Crassus* would have sent for a horse; but a very stately one, with a golden bit and richly caparisoned, was brought to him by a *Parthian*; which *Surenas* presenting to him, *Accept this horse from my hands*, said he, *which I give you in the name of my master king Orodes.* He had scarce uttered these words, when some of the king's officers, taking *Crassus* by the middle, set him up upon the horse, which they began to whip with great violence before them, in order to make him quicken his pace. *Octavius*, offended at this insult, took the horse by the bridle; *Petronius*, and the few *Romans* who were present, seconded

*Insulted by
the Par-
thians.*

seconded him, and flocking all around *Crassus*, stopped his horse. The *Parthians* endeavoured to repulse them and cleared the way for the proconsul; whereupon they began to jostle and push one another with great tumult and disorder. At last *Octavius*, drawing his sword, killed one of the king's grooms; but at the same time another coming behind *Octavius*, with one blow laid him dead at his feet. Both parties fought with great resolution, the *Parthians* striving to carry off *Crassus*, and the *Romans* to rescue him out of their hands. In this scuffle most of the *Romans*, who came to the conference, were killed, and among the rest *Crassus* himself; but whether by a *Roman* or a *Parthian* is uncertain. Some writers tell us, that he fell by the hand of one *Promonæthros* or *Manarthes*, the *Parthians*; but others, with *Livy* n, *Florus* o, and *Sextus Rufus* p, leave it in doubt, whether he was killed by his own men, to prevent his falling alive into the enemy's hands, or by a *Parthian*. However that be, his head and right hand were immediately cut off, in order to be sent to *Orodes* in *Armenia*, and his mangled body left unburied, to be devoured by the wild beasts. Upon his death, the rest of the army either surrendered to the enemy, or, dispersing in the night, were pursued and put to the sword. The *Romans* lost in this campaign at least thirty thousand men, of which twenty thousand were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The latter continued in captivity among the *Parthians*, and contracting ignominious marriages, to the shame of *Rome*, as *Horace* emphatically expresses it (F), grew old on the lands, and under the standards of the barbarians. The standards of the vanquished legions were carried to *Seleucia*, and there

His whole
army de-
stroyed.

And killed.

ⁿ LIV. l. cvi. ^o FLOR. l. iii. c. ii. ^p SEXT. RUF. in brev.

(F) The words of *Horace* are:

Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? & hostium
(*Proh Curia inversique mores!*)
Consenuit focerorum in armis

Sub rege Medo Marfus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, & togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove & urbe Roma (19)?

(19) *Horat. carm. l. iii. od. 5.*

shewn

shewn for many years as fights ; and from this time the *Romans* looked upon the war with the *Parthians* as the most important of all their wars, the revenging of the death of *Crassus* and the recovering of their ensigns being ever after the chief object of their application ; but how they succeeded herein, we shall see in the sequel of this history. This battle is called by the *Latin* authors the battle of *Carrhæ*, because it was fought at a small distance from that city, and was, without all doubt, the most terrible blow, after the battle of *Cannæ*, which the *Romans* ever received.

Surenas, having thus intirely defeated the *Roman* army, set out on his march to *Seleucia*, spreading a report, that *Crassus* was still alive, that he intended to shew him to the numerous inhabitants of that great metropolis. His design was to entertain them with a comical scene, which he projected on his march. There was among the *Roman* captives one *Caius Paccianus*, who greatly resembled the proconsul *Crassus*. This man *Surenas* caused to be dressed after the *Parthian* manner, and having placed him on a stately horse, made him enter *Seleucia* at the head of the army, with twelve lictors carrying before him their fasces and axes. The guards of this mock consul were mounted on camels, each of them having an empty purse hanging at his girdle. The bloody heads of several *Roman* soldiers, stuck on spears, served for trophies, and revived in the minds of the citizens of *Seleucia*, the joy which the first news of the late victory had occasioned in that city. This odd train was followed by a company of lewd women, who with loose songs stigmatized the memory and character of *Crassus*. When the shew was over, *Surenas* produced, in the presence of the senate of *Seleucia*, a collection of lascivious tales, then known by the title of the *Milesian fables*, which a *Parthian* soldier had found in rifling the baggage of a young *Roman*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Rustius*. The general took occasion from thence to inveigh against the debauchery of the *Romans*, who put such infamous books into the hands of their youth, and corrupted their minds with lewd fables, instead of forming their bodies for the exercise of war.

WHEN the battle of *Carrhæ* was fought, king *Orodes* was, as we have hinted above, in *Armenia*, where he had concluded a peace with *Artabazes* ; for the king of *Armenia*, on the return of the expresses he had sent to *Crassus*, perceiving by the false measures he had taken, that the army under his command must have been infallibly lost, had entered into a trea-

The head
of Crassus
sent to O-
rodes.

ty of friendship with the *Parthian*, and cemented it by giving one of his daughters in marriage to *Pacorus* the son of *Orodes*. While the two kings were solemnizing their new alliance with expensive and public feasts, *Styllaces* or *Syllaces*, a *Parthian* officer, whom *Surenas* had sent with the news of his late victory, and the head of *Crassus* as a proof of it, arrived in the capital of *Armenia*. The two kings were at table, and *Jason* a tragedian of *Trallis*, was singing some songs out of the *Bacchis* of *Euripides*, when the messenger was introduced, and presented *Orodes* with the head of *Crassus*, saying, *Surenas sends you the head of the Roman general, who has been cut in pieces with his whole army*. The transports of joy which *Orodes* felt, at this sight and these words, are not to be expressed. The lords of both kingdoms, who attended their sovereigns, raised loud and repeated shouts of joy; and *Syllaces* was ordered to give a more particular and distinct account of that memorable action: which when he had done, *Orodes* commanded melted gold to be poured into *Crassus's* mouth, reproaching him thereby with avarice, which had been always his predominant passion ^r.

Surenas
put to
death.

The Par-
thians in-
vade Sy-
ria.

Surenas did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory; for *Orodes*, growing jealous of his glory and great authority among the *Parthians*, caused him to be put to death soon after ^r, placing *Pacorus*, his favourite son, at the head of the army in his room. The young prince, agreeable to his father's directions, marched into *Syria*, which the *Parthians* expected to find without defence, after the late defeat of the *Roman* army; but *Cassius*, the only general officer who survived the defeat of *Crassus*, meeting them on the frontiers, at the head of five hundred horse, who had escaped with him out of *Mesopotamia*, and some *Asiatic* levies, gave them so warm a reception, that they thought it adviseable to retreat to their own territories, and there raise more forces for a second invasion. Accordingly they repassed the *Euphrates*, and, having spent the winter in making new preparations, early in the spring they crossed the *Euphrates* anew, and reentered *Syria* with a very numerous army, under the conduct of *Orsaces*, an old and experienced commander; for *Pacorus* the king's son, being then but fifteen years of age, had only the name of general. *Orsaces* reduced, without opposition, such places as lay in his way; and being master of all the country between the *Euphrates* and the city of *Antioch*, closely besieged that metropolis, *Cassius* having shut himself

^r FLOR. l. iii. c. 11. SEXT. RUF. in brev. DIO. CASS. l. xl.
DIO. CASS. ibid.

up in it, as not having sufficient forces to keep the field and make head against so powerful an enemy. In the mean *Cicero*, to whom the province of *Cilicia* had been assigned, being informed by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, that *Cassius* was besieged in *Antioch* by the *Parthians*, and that the king of *Armenia* was ready to fall upon *Cappadocia*, drew together what forces he could, and with them marched to the eastern borders of his province lying next to *Armenia*, with a design to prevent the *Armenians* from invading *Cappadocia*, and to be at the same time near at hand to assist *Cassius*, in case the *Parthians* should pursue the siege of *Antioch* with vigour. He likewise sent another body of troops to mount *Amanus* with the same view, which falling in with a great party of *Parthian* horse, that had entered *Cilicia* through the streights of that mountain, cut them all off to a man. The news of this defeat and of *Cicero's* approach to *Antioch*, greatly encouraged *Cassius* and his men to make a vigorous defence, and so disheartened the *Parthians*, that despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and marching to *Antigonia*, another city in that neighbourhood, attempted to reduce it, but as they were quite unacquainted with the manner of managing sieges, their chief force consisting in cavalry, they were attended with no better success there, and were soon obliged to retire. *Cassius*, who was apprised of the rout they would take, drew them into an ambuscade, in which great numbers of them were cut off, with *Orsaces* their leader. Those who had the good luck to escape repassed the *Euphrates* with *Pacorus*; but returned again with new forces towards the end of the summer, and wintered in *Cyrrhestica*, a northern province of *Syria* ^t.

*But are
driven out
with
great loss
by Cicero
and Cas-
sius.*

As soon as the season was proper for action, the *Parthians* *Return,* took the field, and marching to *Antioch*, besieged that city a *and besiege* second time, and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* with all his forces *Antioch.* in it; for the province of *Syria* had been allotted to him, and *Cassius*, who had defended it before without any legal commission, was now returned to *Rome*. As *Bibulus* was no warrior, he did not so much as make one sally, but kept his troops within the walls, suffering the enemy to carry on their works without the least molestation. He would not even acquaint *Cicero*, who was still in *Cilicia*, with the danger he was in; nay, he was heard to say, that he had rather be

^t JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12. & de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 6. DIO. CASS. l. xl. PLUT. in Cicer. & Cic. ad familiar. l. iii. epist. 2. & l. xv. epist. 1, 2, 3, 4. & l. v. ad Attic. epist. 18, 20.

The siege
raised.

reduced to the utmost extremity, than seem to stand in need of his assistance. However, his lieutenants wrote both to *Cicero*, and to *Thermus* prætor of *Asia*, soliciting them to hasten to their relief; but, before their arrival, *Bibulus* effected by craft what he dared not attempt by force; for having by his emissaries encouraged *Ordonopantes*, a nobleman of *Parthia*, who had been disgusted by *Orodes*, to raise a rebellion in the heart of the kingdom, the army before *Antioch* was recalled to suppress it; by which means the siege of *Antioch* was raised, and all *Syria* delivered from the danger it was in of falling under the power of the *Parthians* ^u.

WE find no further mention made of the *Parthians* from this time to the breaking out of the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when the latter sent ambassadors to solicit succours from *Orodes*; which that prince was willing to grant, on condition that *Syria* was delivered up to him; but *Pompey* refusing to comply with his demand, he not only denied him the succours he required, but, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, put in irons *Lucius Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had sent to him to implore his assistance anew, or at least to obtain for him leave to shelter himself in the *Parthian* dominions ^w. But, for all this, *Cæsar* had no sooner got the better of *Pompey's* party, and settled his affairs at *Rome*, than he began to make great preparations, with a design to invade *Parthia*, and revenge the defeat and death of *Crassus* at *Carrhæ*; but when all things were ready for his expedition, *Cæsar* was killed, and the *Parthians* by his death delivered from a war, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to them ^x. Not long after, the eastern provinces being allotted to *Marc Antony*, in the famous partition of the *Roman* empire between him, *Octavianus*, and *Lepidus*, the cities of *Syria*, being grievously oppressed with the taxes *Marc Antony* laid on them, rose up in arms, and, having killed those who were sent to gather them, invited the *Parthians* to their assistance, assuring them that they were all to a man ready to join them and drive out the *Romans*. On this invitation the *Parthians* passed the *Euphrates* with a mighty army, under the command of *Pacorus* and *Labienus*, a *Roman* general of *Pompey's* party. He was the son of *Titus Labienus*, who had been

The Par-
thians in-
vade Sy-
ria, under
the com-
mand of
Pacorus
and *Labie-
nus*.

^u CICERO. ad famil. l. ii. epist. 17. & l. xii. epist. 19. & ad Attic. l. vi. epist. 6. l. vii. epist. 2. &c. DIO. CASSIUS. ibid. ^w DIO, l. xli, xlii. ^x PLUTARCH. in CÆS. APPIAN. de bell civil. l. ii. DIO, CASSIUS. l. xlii. & xliii.

Cæsar's lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his chief favourites ; but afterwards siding with *Pompey*, became one of his most inveterate enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of *Munda*. His son, pursuing the same interest, had been sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, to beg succours of the *Parthian* king, which he was soliciting when that battle happened. The bad success which attended his friends on that occasion having discouraged him from returning, he continued in *Parthia* ; and, having prevailed on *Orodes* to undertake this war, was sent with *Pacorus* to command under him ¹. On his entering *Syria*, he was met by *Saxa*, *Antony's* lieutenant, whom he overthrew in a pitched battle, obliging him to shelter himself in *Cilicia*. After this victory, having divided his army into two bodies, he marched with one after *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he killed him, over-ran all *Asia Minor* ; and having obliged *Plancus*, *Antony's* other lieutenant in those parts, to fly to the islands, subjected all the places as far as the *Hellepont* and the *Ægean* sea ². At the same time *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phænice*, as far as *Tyre*, which was the only city that held out against him, being defended by the *Romans*, who from all parts had flocked thither as to a place of refuge. Thus the *Parthians* made themselves masters of all *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, and *Phænice*, except *Tyre*, and exercised their power even in *Judæa*, where they plundered *Jerusalem*, drove *Hyrchanus* from the throne, and placed *Antigonus* on it in his room, in the manner we have related in the history of the *Jews*.

Their conquests in Syria, Phænice, and Asia Minor, &c.

BUT they did not long enjoy their new conquests ; for *Ventidius* *Antony*, after his reconciliation with *Octavianus*, having sent *Ventidius*, one of his lieutenants, against them, that general was attended with such success, that the *Parthians* were soon obliged to quit all they had taken and repass the *Euphrates* ; for *Ventidius* managed matters with such expedition, that, arriving in *Asia* much sooner than expected, he surprized *Labienus* before he was in a condition to withstand him, having no *Parthian* troops with him, but only a few *Roman* deserters, and a small body of raw and undisciplined *Asiatics*, gathered up in *Cyria*, *Phænice*, and *Asia Minor* ; wherefore, not daring to stand the approach of a *Roman* army, he retired as fast as *Ventidius* advanced, till he got to

Ventidius sent against them.

¹ DIO. CASS. *ibid.* EUSEB. in *chron.* APPIAN. in *Parthie.*
² DIO CASS. *ibid.* VELL. PATERCUL.
 PLUT. in *Anton.*
 l. ii. c. 5.

Gains
great ad-
vantages
over
them.

Labienus
taken and
put to
death.

mount *Taurus*, where he encamped so advantageously, that he could not be forced to a battle, and then sent to *Pacorus* for assistance. *Pacorus* sent immediately the flower of his army to the relief of *Labienus*; but the *Parthians*, despising the *Romans* on account of their late victories over them, engaged *Ventidius* before *Labienus* could join them, and were intirely defeated. The news of this defeat so disheartened those who were with *Labienus*, that they all abandoned him, every one shifting for himself in the best manner he could. *Ventidius* pursued them, slew some of them, and took the rest into his service. As for *Labienus*, he made his escape in a disguise; but after having sculked about for some time in *Cilicia*, from one hiding place to another, he was at last discovered by *Demetrius*, governor of *Cyprus*, taken, and put to death^a. After this victory, *Ventidius*, having made himself master of all *Cilicia*, marched to mount *Amanus*, which parted that province from *Syria*; and there met another army of *Parthians*, who, under the command of *Pharnapates*, one of *Pacorus*'s lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into *Syria*, in order to obstruct his further progress; but, *Ventidius* falling upon them, cut most of them in pieces, killed their general, and having gained a second victory as considerable as the former, pursued his march, without any further opposition, into *Syria*. Hereupon *Pacorus*, having assembled all his forces, made what haste he could to the *Euphrates*, which he repassed, leaving the *Romans* masters of all the countries on this side of that river^b.

Antony, who in the mean time was diverting himself with his new wife *Octavia* at *Athens*, being informed of the victories gained by *Ventidius*, made great rejoicings in that city; but hearing at the same time that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations for another invasion, he resolved to head his army in person, and not suffer his lieutenant to reap the whole glory of the war: wherefore early in the spring he left *Athens* with all his forces and marched towards the east; but, before he got thither, *Ventidius* had gained a third victory over the *Parthians*, far more glorious than the other two. It was obtained in the following manner: *Ventidius* fearing lest the *Parthians*, whose preparations were much advanced, should pass the *Euphrates* before he had time to draw all his troops together from their different quarters,

^a DIO, l. xlviii. p. 380, 381. APPIAN. in Parthic.

^b DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.* LIV. *epit.* l. cxxvii. FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. PLUT. in Anton.

had recourse to the following stratagem : there was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the character of an ally, who was intirely addicted to the interest of the *Parthians*, with whom *Ventidius* well knew he kept a private correspondence, communicating to them all the intelligence he could get of the counsels and designs of the *Romans*. This man's treachery *Ventidius* resolved to improve to his own advantage ; for taking the first opportunity that offered of conversing with him, and seeming to repose in him an intire confidence, he told him, that he had heard with much concern that the *Parthians* did not design to pass the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, as usual, but to enter *Syria* another way, at a passage much below the former ; for if they pass at *Zeugma*, said he, the country on this side the *Euphrates* is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt ; but, in case they take the lower passage the country being there all plain and level, they will have so great an advantage over us, that it will be impossible for us to make head against them. This conference was no sooner over, than the treacherous *Chaunæus*, for so he is called by *Appian*, conveyed a full account of it to the *Parthians*, with whom it had the desired effect ; for *Pacorus*, instead of keeping the road to *Zeugma*, took the other rout, and in that march lost forty days ; during which time *Ventidius* being joined by *Silo*, *Antony's* lieutenant in *Palestine*, and by all the legions which were quartered on the other side mount *Taurus*, found himself in a condition to give them a warm reception when they entered *Syria*. As they met with no opposition either in passing the river or advancing into *Syria*, they ascribed that inactivity to fear, and therefore, with great boldness went directly to attack the *Romans* in their camp, on the top of a steep hill. This *Ventidius* expected, and therefore sallying out upon them at the head of his legionaries, as they were ascending the hill, easily put them in disorder, by the advantage of the ground, and pursued them with great slaughter into the plain, where they rallied and made a most vigorous resistance, the victory being doubtful, till *Pacorus* was killed, fighting with incredible bravery at the head of the *Parthian* horse. His death was followed by the flight of the whole army, every one striving to regain the bridge, in order to retire into their own country ; but *Ventidius*, with a strong detachment of horse, getting to the *Euphrates* before them, cut off their retreat ; so that only a small number of them escaped by flight, and retired into the dominions of *Antiochus* king of *Comagene* ; the rest

Pacorus
killed, and
his army
intirely cut
off by
Venti-
dius.

rest were all put to the sword^c. This victory, which fully revenged the death of *Crassus*, and the *Romans* who were killed with him, was gained on the same day of the year, on which, fourteen years before, the famous battle of *Carrhae* was lost.

Orodes, when he heard of the defeat of his army and the death of his son, was so overwhelmed with grief, that, for some days, he abstained from all food, not being able to utter a single word the whole time; and when he recovered the use of his tongue, he acted and spoke in such a manner, as plainly shewed, that sorrow had got the better of his reason; for nothing was heard from him but the name of *Pacorus*, his dear *Pacorus*; sometimes he talked to him as if he had been present, commended his gallant behaviour, and launched out on the happiness of a father who was blessed with such a son. At other times, remembering that he was dead, he burst into a flood of tears, and was ready to lay violent hands on himself: and indeed never was grief more just; for this was the most terrible blow the *Parthian* monarchy had ever received, and the loss of the young prince was as great as that of the army, he being commended by all the antients as the most worthy person for justice, clemency, valour, and all other princely qualities, that the royal family of *Arfaces* ever produced. He so endeared himself to the *Syrians*, during the short time he lived among them, that they never expressed more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than they did for him, tho' descended from a family, which had brought many calamities on their country^d.

HAD *Ventidius* pursued the advantages of this victory, he might have driven the *Parthians* quite out of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, and extended the boundaries of the *Roman* empire to the *Tigris*; but, as he was afraid of giving umbrage to *Antony*, with whose jealous temper he was well acquainted, he contented himself with reducing those places in *Syria* and *Phœnice*, which had revolted from the *Romans* in the late war. Pursuant to this plan, he was with his whole army in *Comagene*, making war upon *Antiochus* king of that country, for siding with the *Parthians*, when *Antony* arriving took the command of the army upon himself and dismissed *Venti-*

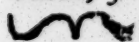
^c LIV. l. cxxviii. FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 751. VELL. PATRICUL. l. ii. c. 78. JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 27. A. GELL. l. xv. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. PLUT. in Anton. FRONTIN. stratagem. l. i. c. 1. & l. ii. c. 2. DION, l. xlix. ^d JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. iv.

dius. His pretence for this was, that *Ventidius* deserved a *Antony* triumph, and ought to go to *Rome* to ask it of the senate; *dismisses* but the true motive that prompted him to act in this manner *Ventidius*, was, that he envied him the great glory he had acquired, and *and takes* the reputation he was in with the army; for *Antony* was one *the com-* of those, who cannot bear to be served by persons of such ta- *mand of* lents as are capable of eclipsing their own; he was therefore *the army on* glad to get rid of him, and never employed him afterwards, *himself*. tho' he often stood in need of so able and experienced a general. *Ventidius*, on his return to *Rome*, was received there *Ventidius* with all possible marks of honour, and granted a triumph, *obtains a* with the general applause of the whole city. In his triumph *triumph*. two very remarkable circumstances concurred; the one, that he was the only *Roman* who ever triumphed over the *Parthians*, no one having, either before or after him, attained to that honour. The other circumstance, no less remarkable, was, that he triumphed after having been led in triumph himself; for in the *social* war, being made a captive, at the taking of *Asculum*, the chief city of *Picenum*, by *Strabo* the father of *Pompey the Great*, he was, with his father and mother who carried him in her arms, led before the triumphal chariot of that general. Afterwards his family being brought to poverty by the ruin of their city, he was obliged, when grown up, to betake himself to a mean and sordid employment for his livelihood; for at first he was only a muleteer, and being used to provide mules to carry the baggage of such *Roman* magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, *Cæsar* employed him in this capacity when he first went into *Gaul*; and having on that occasion observed in him a great quickness of apprehension and activity, took him with him into his province, and put him in the way of rising to great preferments; for he first gave him a small command in the army, from which he raised himself, by his distinguished merit, through all the stations of the camp to the highest post in the army, and became one of *Cæsar's* chief generals in all the wars he waged afterwards. Upon his death he sided with *Antony*, distinguished himself at *Mutina* and *Perusia*, and was at last sent as *Antony's* lieutenant into the east, where he gained the victories over the *Parthians* which we have mentioned ^e.

^e PLUT. APPIAN. DION CASS. *ibid.* A. GELL. I. xv. c. 4. VELL. PATERCUL. I. ii. c. 63. VAL. MAX. I. vi. c. 9. PLIN. I. vii. c. 43.

Orodes
barbarous-
ly murder-
ed by his
son Phra-
hates.

Antony
undertakes
a war
against the
Parthians.
Year of
the Flood
2963.
Before
Christ, 36.



IN the mean time *Orodes*, being in some degree recover from the distraction of mind, which the death of his son *Pacorus* had occasioned, appointed *Phrabates* the eldest, but the most wicked of all his children, to succeed him in the throne, admitting him at the same time to share the regal power with himself. *Phrabates* no sooner saw himself vested with the sovereign authority, than he caused all his brothers by the daughter of *Antiochus Eufabes*, king of *Syria*, to be put to death, for no other reason, but because they were of a more noble descent than himself. As this was highly resented by his father, he attempted to put him to death also, by giving him a potion of the poisonous juice of hemlock; but that proving only a medicine against the dropsy, which grief had brought upon the king, the cruel and unnatural son caused him to be stifled in his bed, and soon after dispatched all his brothers, who were thirty in number. The same cruelty he exercised over the nobility, and all the rest of the royal family, not sparing his eldest son, lest the discontented *Parthians* should place him, as he was already of age, on the throne. Hereupon many of the chief lords of *Parthia*, quitting their own country, took refuge in *Syria*, under the protection of *Antony*. Among these was one *Monases*, a man of great distinction, who, having gained the confidence of *Antony*, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with the *Parthians* his countrymen.

As *Antony* had, by means of his lieutenant *Publius Canidius*, reduced the *Armenians*, *Albanians*, and *Iberians*, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount *Caucasus*, he was easily persuaded to embark in a war, which he had long designed, all the *Romans*, who served under him, earnestly pressing him to revenge the death of *Crassus* and their countrymen, who had perished with him at *Carrhae*. Accordingly he began to make vast preparations for so great an undertaking; and as he formed all his schemes for the carrying of it on by the advice of *Monases*, in order to attach him the more to his service, he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, imitating therein the generosity of *Xerxes* towards *Themistocles*; and moreover promised to place him on the throne of *Parthia*, on his conquering that country. But in the mean time *Phrabates*, dreading the advantage which the enemy might draw from the advice of so wise and able a counsellor, who was well acquainted with the country, sent a

† JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 4. DIO. CASS. l. xlix. PLUT. in Crass.

solemn

solemn embassy to invite him home, on such terms as the banished *Parthian* thought fit to accept. This greatly provoked *Antony*; but nevertheless he did not think it adviseable to use any violence with him, for fear of discouraging others from revolting: He therefore dismissed him with great civility, and sent ambassadors with him to *Phrabates* to treat of a peace, hoping by that means to divert him from making the necessary preparations for a war, and to fall upon him before he was in a condition to withstand him; but herein he was greatly disappointed, for, on his arrival at the *Euphrates*, which he intended to pass and enter the *Parthian* dominions on that side, he found all the passes so well guarded on the other bank, that he thought it adviseable to march off to the left, with a design to reduce *Media*, and from thence invade *Parthia*. This plan had been suggested to him before by *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*, who, falling out with *Artavasdes* king of *Media*, had pressed *Antony* to take that rout, with no other view but to distress the *Median* his rival. *Antony* had rejected it when first proposed, intending to invade the *Parthian* dominions by the nearest cut over the *Euphrates*; but not succeeding in that, he fell in with the proposal of the *Armenian*, who in the end betrayed him; for, instead of conducting him the straight way from *Zeugma* on the *Euphrates* to the river *Araxes*, which parted *Media* from *Armenia*, and was about five hundred miles distance from the place whence he first set out, he led him over rocks and mountains so far about, that the army had marched a thousand miles and upwards, before they reached the borders of *Media*⁶, where they intended to begin the war; so that they were not only greatly fatigued, but had not sufficient time, the year being already far spent, to put in execution the design on which they were come. However, as *Antony* was in great haste to get back to *Cleopatra*, he left behind him most of the baggage of the army, and three hundred waggons loaded with battering rams and other military engines for sieges, ordering *Stati-
tianus*, one of his lieutenants, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard them, and bring them by slower marches after the army. With the rest of the forces he hastened forward, and marched three hundred miles more, without allowing his men any respite, till he arrived at *Praaspa*, or, as others call it, *Phraata*, the capital of *Media*, which he immediately in-
vested; but as the place was well fortified, he was soon made sensible of his mistake in leaving behind him his battering rams

*Invades
Media.*

*His long
and fatigu-
ing march.*

*Besieges
Phraata.*

⁶ DIO. CASS. & PLUT. *ibid.* STRABO, l. xi. & xvi.

Statianus
cut off,
with ten
thousand
Romans.

and other military engines ; for without them he could make no progress in the siege : and when the *Median* and *Parthian* forces came up with him, they did not think it worth their while to attack him, but pursued their march, with a design to prevent *Statianus* from joining him with the heavy carriages, without which, they well knew, he could never make himself master of the city. *Statianus* did not expect them, and therefore, being attacked before he had time to draw up his men, was cut off, with the whole body under his command, which amounted to ten thousand men. All the baggage and military engines were taken, and among the rest a battering ram eighty foot long. *Polemo*, king of *Pontus*, was made prisoner, and with him a few *Romans*, to whom the *Parthians* gave quarter in the end of the slaughter ; but all the rest were put to the sword ^h.

Statianus, on his first discovering the enemy, had dispatched an express to *Antony*, who made all the haste he could to his assistance ; but nevertheless came too late, and found, on his arrival, *Statianus* and all his men dead on the field of battle : but as no enemy appeared, he took courage, imagining they had fled at his approach, and returned to the siege, where he was daily harassed by the garison within, and by the enemy's army without. If he sent out small parties to forage, they were generally cut off by the *Parthian* cavalry ; and if he detached large bodies, those who remained were not able to stand the repeated sallies of the numerous garison. To obviate these inconveniences, *Antony* attempted to draw the enemy to a general engagement, and twice succeeded therein, but without reaping from thence any advantage ; for tho' he put the enemy to flight in both engagements, yet the loss they sustained was very inconsiderable, the *Parthians* preventing, by the swiftness of their horses, the evil consequences which generally attend such defeats. In the last he thought his victory complete, and pursued it to the utmost ; but in the end found that he had killed only eighty of the enemy's men, and taken thirty prisoners during the whole action. However, he continued before *Phraata* till his provisions were near spent, and the forage round the country quite consumed ; when he began to think of a retreat, seeing he had lost all hopes of making himself master of the besieged city ; but as he was to march three hundred miles through the enemy's country, for at that distance *Phraata* lay from the borders of *Armenia*, before he raised the siege

^h STRABO, l. xi. p. 523. DION. CASS. p. 407. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 82. PLUT. in Anton.

he sent ambassadors to *Phrabates* to acquaint him, that the *Roman* people was willing to grant him a lasting peace, provided he would return the standards and prisoners taken at *Carrhæ*. *Phrabates* received the ambassadors sitting on a golden throne, and, after having bitterly inveighed against the avarice and unbounded ambition of the *Romans*, told them, that he would not by any means part with the standards and captives taken at *Carrhæ*, but would allow *Antony* to retire unmolested, provided he withdrew immediately from before *Phraata*. *Antony*, who was reduced to great straits, no sooner received this answer, than he raised the siege, and began his march towards *Armenia*, hoping that *Phrabates* would be as good as his word; but he was therein greatly disappointed, for the *Parthian* army harassed him the whole way, and fell upon him eighteen times with all their forces, before he reached the *Araxes*, which was the boundary of the *Median* territories. 'Tis true, he always repulsed them, but not without great loss on his side; whereas that of the *Parthians*, as being all horsemen, was very inconsiderable, by reason of their quick retreats. The *Romans* were very fortunate in their guide, who, being a native of *Mardia*, a country bordering on *Media* and *Armenia*, was well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, and conducted them with great fidelity. However, the army was thrice in imminent danger of being intirely cut off by ambuscades, which they could not possibly have escaped, had they not received notice of them from the enemy's quarters. *Monæses* twice forewarned *Antony* of them by a messenger sent to him for that purpose, in return for the kindness shewn him during his banishment. The other time he had his intelligence from an old *Roman* soldier, who had continued among the *Parthians* ever since the battle of *Carrhæ*, and came to the *Roman* camp to acquaint his countrymen with the danger. This painful march lasted twenty seven days, during which time they were not only incessantly harassed by the *Parthian* arrows, but greatly distressed for want of provisions, the parties that went out to forage being generally cut off, and their beasts of burden either dead, or employed in carrying the sick and wounded. A quart of wheat was sold in the camp for fifty drachmas, and barley-loaves for their weight in silver. At last they were reduced to live upon such roots and herbs as they found in the fields, which occasioned many distempers among them. When the famine first began to rage in the camp, some, to avoid it, fled to the enemy; but were by the *Parthians* cruelly murdered in the sight of the rest; which put a stop to their deserting, and proved very advantageous

Reduced to
great
straits.

tageous to *Antony*, who would have been left alone, had the enemy treated kindly such as took refuge with them. *Antony*, seeing his men dying every day in great numbers, was often heard to cry out, *O, the ten thousand!* admiring the conduct of *Xenophon*, who marched a far longer way through the enemy's country, and, in spite of all opposition, led his men safe home. At length the army began to mutiny, and, falling upon those who had any gold or silver, plundered and murdered them, rifled *Antony's* baggage, seized on his money and plate, and committed many other disorders. Hereupon the general, quite disheartened, retired to his tent, and, calling one of his freed-men, ordered him to kill him, and, after his death, to cut off his head, and conceal it, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, and be insulted as that of *Crassus* had been; but the *Mardian* guide, coming into his tent in the mean time, prevailed upon him to forbear using any violence on himself, by assuring him, that the worst of the march was over, and that he was at a small distance from the river *Araxes*, beyond which the *Parthians* would not pursue him. Accordingly he arrived a few days after at that river, and crossed it, without being disturbed in the least by the enemy. The soldiers, seeing themselves at length out of the enemy's reach, and in a place of safety, fell down on the ground, and kissed it, embracing one another with tears of joy *.

Antony committed, without all doubt, many mistakes in the management of this war, but none in his retreat; for all the antients do him the justice to own, that he conducted it with as much art and success as it was capable of. He lost indeed a great many men; for on his reviewing his forces after he had passed the *Araxes*, he found twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse missing; but the greater part of these had perished by the hardships of the campaign, and very few by the enemy's swords. The greatest error he committed in this fatal undertaking, was his obstinately pursuing his march, after he had, with the utmost difficulty, got back into *Armenia*; for, instead of putting the remainder of his army into winter-quarters, and allowing them time to refresh themselves after so long and fatiguing a march, as he was in haste to get back to *Cleopatra*, he continued his march, tho' winter was far advanced, through *Armenia*, which was then covered with snow, and, in that mountainous country, lost eight thousand more of his men, who perished by reason of the hard season and excessive cold; so that, according to the

* PLUT: DIO. CASS. JUSTIN. FLOR. *ibid.*

most moderate calculation, he lost in all two and thirty thousand men¹. *Florus* tells us^k, that he did not bring back the third part of his army, which, at his first setting out on this destructive undertaking, consisted of an hundred thousand men. He was not indeed overcome in battle, as *Crassus* had been; but, if we compare the losses of both generals, we shall find *Antony's* expedition to have been the most unfortunate of the two; and yet, on his return into *Egypt*, he had the confidence to assume such honours as were due only to conquerors.

Antony was scarce returned from this expedition, when the kings of *Media* and *Parthia*, falling out about the booty they had taken on the defeat of *Statianus*, the former sent an embassy to him, offering to join him with all his forces against the latter. *Antony* accepted this offer with great joy, the more because he was informed at the same time, that the *Parthians*, not able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of their king, had taken up arms against him, and were greatly divided among themselves. These circumstances offered him a favourable opportunity of making amends, by a new expedition, for the miscarriages of the former. Accordingly he resolved to lay hold of it, and, leaving *Egypt*, hastened into *Syria*, there to make the necessary preparations for a second invasion; but *Cleopatra* feigning that his absence had thrown her into a languishing distemper, and that she could not live without him, he was so infatuated as to believe her, and giving over all thoughts of revenging his late losses, to drop the enterprize and return to the embraces of his beloved queen¹. However, he sent such a body of *Romans* to the assistance of *Artavasdes*, king of *Media*, as enabled him to gain a complete victory over *Phraates* king of *Parthia*; but the ensuing year a war breaking out between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former not only recalled the troops he had sent to the assistance of *Artavasdes*, but also retained those which *Artavasdes* had sent him in their room; by which means the king of *Media* was intirely defeated in a second battle, *Media* reduced by and taken prisoner by *Phraates*, who, pursuing his victory, reduced all *Media* and likewise *Armenia*, restoring to that throne *Artaxias* the son of *Artabazes*, who had been driven from it by *Antony*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*.

Phraates, elated with this success, began to oppress his subjects in a most cruel and tyrannical manner; whereupon

¹ PLUT. & DIO. CASS. *ibid.* ^k FLOR. l. iv. c. 10. ¹ PLUT. *Parthians* in Anton. DION CASS. l. xlix. p. 411.

the *Parthian* nobility, conspiring against him, drove him from the throne, and placed on it in his room *Tiridates*, one of their own body ; but the next year *Phrabates* returned into *Parthia* at the head of a numerous army, and, having overcome his rival in a pitched battle, recovered his crown. *Tiridates* took refuge in *Syria*, where *Octavianus* found him after the death of *Antony*, and was warmly solicited by him to lend him his assistance against *Phrabates*. At the same time ambassadors arrived from *Phrabates* on the same errand. *Octavianus* received them both in a very friendly manner, without intending to help either, but rather to egg them on against each other with fair promises, and by that means to waste and weaken the power and strength of that formidable empire. With this view he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue in *Syria*, till he should be in a condition to make head against his rival, accepting from him a son of *Phrabates*, who had fallen into his hands. This son he carried with him to *Rome*, where he kept him as a hostage¹. Not long after, *Tiridates* returned into *Parthia* and drove out *Phrabates* ; but was soon driven out again by him in his turn. *Phrabates* was assisted by the *Scythians*, who not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but supported him in it with a mighty army. Hereupon *Tiridates* with the leading men of his party, fled to *Rome*, to implore the assistance and protection of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom of him, provided he was restored to it by his means. *Phrabates* hearing he had fled to *Rome* dispatched ambassadors thither after him, to obviate his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebellious subjects and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands. *Augustus* received *Tiridates*, as well as the ambassadors, with particular marks of esteem ; but answered, that he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phrabates*, nor lend either of them assistance against the other. However, to gratify both in something, he gave *Tiridates* leave to continue at *Rome*, ordering him out of the public treasury a maintenance suitable to his rank ; and sent back to *Phrabates* his son, on his promising to restore the captives and standards that had been taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*². This *Phrabates* then promised to do, but could not prevail upon himself to perform, till the coming of *Augustus* into *Syria*, which happened three years after ; when dreading a foreign war, as he was greatly hated by his subjects on account of his

¹ DION CASS. l. li. p. 456. PLUT. *ibid.* JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5.

² JUSTIN. *ibid.* DION CASS. l. liii.

cruelty, he sent ambassadors to him, to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*; and on this occasion it was that he sent back all the captives and ensigns, which the *Parthians* had taken in their wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*. At the same time he agreed to such terms of peace as *Augustus* thought fit to propose, and gave four of his sons with their wives and children, as hostages for the performance of them. The ensigns *Augustus* caused to be hung up in a temple, which he built and consecrated to *Mars* twice the revenger, and appointed *Circensian* sports to be annually solemnized in memory of his victory at *Philippi*, (for before that battle he had vowed the temple to *Mars*) and of his recovering the *Roman* ensigns from the *Parthians*. *Justin* observes here^p, that *Augustus* did more by the greatness of his name, than any other could have done by a long and expensive war; but *Tacitus*^q tells us, that *Phraabates*, was induced to comply with the demands of *Augustus*, not for fear of him, but because he distrusted his own subjects. *Strabo*^r and *Josephus*^s, agreeing with *Tacitus*, relate the matter in the following manner: A very beautiful *Italian* woman, by name *Thermusa*, having been formerly sent by *Augustus* to *Phraabates* as a present, the king kept her at first as his concubine; but afterwards, on her bringing him a son, married her and declared her queen. In this station she gained an absolute ascendant over him, which she made use of to secure the succession to her son. With this view she proposed to *Phraabates* the delivering up of his other sons, who were four in all, to the *Romans*; and he readily came into the proposal, as not thinking himself safe against his discontented subjects, so long as there were any of the royal race of *Arfaces* of an age fit to govern. On this consideration, when hostages were demanded by *Augustus*, for securing the terms of their agreement, he delivered up to him his four sons, *Saraspades*, *Cerospades*, *Phraabates*, and *Vonones*, two of their wives, and four of their sons. These were all carried to *Rome*, where they remained many years; but *Thermusa's* son, by name *Phraatices*, was bred up at home, and appointed to succeed his father. The *Parthians* were so superstitiously addicted to the family of *Arfaces*, that

ⁿ LIV. l. cxxxix. FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. STRABO, l. ii. p. 288. & l. xvi. p. 748. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 91. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. ult. DIO, l. liv. p. 52. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 21. ^o Vide OVID. fast. l. v. & HORAT. l. iv. od. ult. ^p JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5. ^q TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 1, ^r STRABO, l. vi. p. 288. ^s JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

Phrabates well knew they would bear with him, notwithstanding their hatred to him, as long as they had no other of the same race to set up in his room; and therefore, not for fear of *Augustus*, but for his own safety, readily yielded up to him his four sons, who, being of an age to govern, gave him no small jealousy. But what he thus projected for his safety, proved at last his ruin; for as soon as *Phraatices* was of age, *Thermusa*, impatient to see him on the throne; poisoned her husband, to make room for him the sooner^t. But he was scarce seated on the throne, when the *Parthians*, disdaining to be governed by so wicked a parricide, rose up in arms, and drove him from it into banishment, where he perished some years after^u. In his room they placed one *Orodes* II. who was of the royal family of *Arfaces*; but generally hated on account of his cruel and savage temper. However, they preferred him to the sons of *Phraatices*, who, by their father, were descended from the *Italian* concubine *Thermusa*; but not being able to bear his unheard of cruelties, they killed him soon after at a banquet^w. Upon his death they dispatched ambassadors to *Rome*, intreating *Augustus* to send one of the sons of *Phrabates* to rule over them. The emperor readily granted them *Vonones*, who was received at first with great demonstrations of joy; but, as he betrayed a great inclination to the *Romans* and affected their dress and manners, the *Parthians* grew soon weary of their new king; and disdaining to obey, as they expressed it, a *Roman* slave, had recourse to *Artabanus* king of *Media*, who was likewise of the race of *Arfaces*, inviting him to take possession of the crown of *Parthia*. *Artabanus* willingly complied with their request; but being met on the frontiers by *Vonones*, was by him defeated, tho' he had a considerable army with him, and obliged to fly back into *Media*, where he raised new forces, and in a second engagement obtained a complete victory over *Vonones*, who took shelter in *Armenia*, where he was kindly received, and entertained by some of the chief lords of that country. But *Artabanus* threatening to invade *Armenia*, *Vonones* thought fit to retire from thence, after having solicited in vain the assistance of *Tiberius*, by a solemn embassy sent to *Rome* for that purpose. From *Armenia* the unhappy prince withdrew into *Syria*, and there delivered himself up to *Creticus Silanus* governor of that province,

^t STRABO, l. xvi. p. 749. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.
^u JOSEPH. ibid. ^w Idem ibid.

^u JO-

who,

who, in regard he had been brought up at *Rome*, suffered him to live at *Antioch*, with the pomp and title of a king. He was afterwards removed by *Germanicus* from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, whence he made his escape, tho' kept under a strict guard; but being soon after retaken, he was killed by one *Remmius* a *Roman* soldier *. *Germanicus* had removed him from *Antioch* to *Pompeiopolis* at the request of *Artabanus*, and also because he was in high favour with *Cneius Piso*, to whose wife *Plancina* he made rich presents, having brought with him into *Syria* immense treasures †.

Artabanus, having now no competitor to contend with, began to treat his subjects with great cruelty, whereupon some *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Sinnaces*, a man of great power and credit, and an eunuch named *Abdus*, entering into a plot against him, sent privately to *Rome* for *Phrabates*, the son of king *Phrabates*, who, as we have related above, had been delivered by his father to *Augustus* as a hostage. The deputies represented, that the *Parthians* were ready to revolt; that they wanted only a leader; that a descendant of *Arfaces* supported by *Rome* and seen on the banks of the *Euphrates*, would occasion an immediate and general insurrection. *Tiberius*, who had succeeded *Augustus*, was glad of so favourable an opportunity of raising new disturbances in *Parthia*; for *Artabanus*, elated with the success that attended him in his wars with the neighbouring nations, had not only seized on *Armenia*, and appointed his eldest son *Arfaces* king of that country, but sent a proud message to the governor of *Syria*, demanding the treasures which *Vonones* had left there and in *Cilicia*, and claiming all the countries which had been possessed by *Cyrus*, and since by *Alexander*. *Tiberius* therefore, overjoyed at the thoughts of humbling the haughty *Parthian*, immediately dispatched *Phrabates* to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince arriving in *Syria*, and there disliking the *Roman* way of living, to which he had been many years accustomed; and resuming the *Parthian* customs, was seized, on that sudden change, with a violent distemper; which put an end to his life. At the same time the plot was discovered, and the chief promoters of it either privately put to death, for *Artabanus* was afraid to use open violence, or so narrowly watched, that they could not meet, without being observed, to consult together about the necessary measures. However, *Tiberius* did not abandon the en-

* *SUET* in *Tiber.* & *Octav.* c. 21. *JOSEPH.* *ibid.* *TACIT.* *an.* l. ii. c. 2 & 4.

† *TACIT.* *ibid.*

terprize; but putting *Tiridates*, another prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, in the room of *Phrabates*, wrote to *Mithridates Iberus*, requesting him to invade *Armenia* with his brother *Pharasmanes* king of *Iberia*, and by that means to draw *Artabanus* out of his own kingdom. *Mithridates*, pursuant to the directions of *Tiberius*, entered *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army of *Iberians*, and made himself master of *Artaxata*, the metropolis of that kingdom. At the same time his brother *Pharasmanes*, having recourse to treachery, suborned some of the servants of *Arfaces* to murder him. *Artabanus* no sooner heard of the invasion of *Armenia* and the death of his son, but he dispatched his other son *Orodes*, with a mighty army, against the enemy, and at the same time sent to hire auxiliaries in *Sarmatia*, and the neighbouring countries. *Pharasmanes*, on the other hand, having joined the *Albanian* forces to his own, and received great supplies from *Sarmatia*, marched to the assistance of his brother, and meeting with *Orodes*, offered him battle; which he declining, *Pharasmanes* besieged him in his camp, and reduced him to such straits, that he was obliged at last to put all to the issue of an engagement, which proved very bloody, the *Parthians* behaving with their usual bravery. The victory was long doubtful; but in the end *Pharasmanes* having attacked and wounded *Orodes*, and a report being thereon spread through the *Parthian* army that he was killed, the *Parthians* retired in disorder, and left *Pharasmanes* master of the field. This victory was attended with the conquest of *Armenia*, which *Pharasmanes* over-ran without opposition, the *Parthians* flying every where before him. In the mean time, *Artabanus*, having raised another army, marched in person against the united forces of *Mithridates* and *Pharasmanes*; but was attended with no better success than his son *Orodes*, his army being intirely defeated, and himself obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the *Carmenians* and *Hyrceanians* ².

Artabanus
driven
from the
throne.

Tiridates.

UPON the retreat of *Artabanus*, *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, advanced with his legions to the banks of the *Euphrates*; and having crossed that river on a bridge of boats, caused *Tiridates*, whom he had brought with him, to be proclaimed king of *Parthia*. The new king was immediately joined by a great many *Parthian* lords, among whom were *Ornospades*, *Sinnaces*, and *Abdageses*. *Ornospades* brought with him a strong body of horse, and *Abdageses* all the ensigus of royalty, which had been committed to his care. When *Vitellius* found the *Parthians* inclined to receive *Tiridates*, thinking it enough to have countenanced them, he repassed

² TACIT. annal. l. vi. c. 36. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

the *Euphrates* with his legions, and retired into *Syria*. He was no sooner gone, than *Phrabates* and *Hiero*, two men of great power and authority among the *Parthians*, out of envy to *Abdageses*, who governed the new king and his whole court, returned to their old allegiance, and recalled *Artabanus*, who was, at his first appearing, joined by all those who hated *Abdageses*. The *Scythians* likewise, the *Dabæ* and the *Sacæ*, declared in his favour, and sent him powerful supplies; so that he was soon in a condition to take the field; which he did accordingly, at the head of a very numerous and well-disciplined army. *Tiridates*, who had spent his whole time in besieging a fortress, whither *Artabanus* had conveyed his treasures and concubines, did not think it adviseable to put the whole to the issue of a battle; and therefore retired into *Mesopotamia*, with a design to recruit his army in the country of the *Elymæans* and *Armenians*, and then try the fortune of a battle; but in his march he was abandoned by the greatest part of his troops, who either retired home, or fled to *Artabanus*; insomuch, that not thinking himself any longer safe within the *Parthian* dominions, he retired into *Syria*, *Artabanus* leaving his competitor in quiet possession of the crown ^a. But restored. it was not long ere new disturbances obliged *Artabanus* to quit the kingdom a second time. The nobility, not being able to bear his cruelties and haughty behaviour, conspired anew against him, and taking up arms, obliged him to shelter himself in the dominions of *Izates* king of the *Adiabeniens*, who not only received and entertained him in a manner suitable to his rank, but, by his kind offices, prevailed upon the *Parthian* nobility to receive him again, after he had, by a solemn oath, promised to forgive all those who had taken up arms against him. The *Parthians* had placed one *Cinnamus* on the throne in his room; who was by the same *Izates* persuaded to resign, of his own accord, the regal power and authority, to the banished prince. *Artabanus*, being thus restored to his kingdom by the mediation of *Izates*, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received at his hands, bestowed on him the rich country of *Nisibis*, and allowed him to wear a strait tiara, and to lie in a golden bed; which were privileges peculiar to the kings of *Parthia* ^b. From this time he governed with great equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, died greatly lamented by all his subjects, leaving behind him seven sons, viz. *Darius*, *Bardanes*, *Gotarzes*, *Orodes*, *Vologeses*, *Pacorus*, and *Tiridates*. By his last will he appointed *Bardanes* to succeed him, who, forget-

^a TACIT. *ibid.* c. 41, 42, 43, 44. JOSEPH. *ibid.* c. 6. DION. CASS. l. lviii. p. 537. SUET. in *Tiber.* c. 66. ^b JOSEPH. *ibid.*

Gotarzes

Gotarzes
driven out
by Bardanes.Gotarzes
resigns the
crown to
his brother
Bardanes.

ful of the obligations his family owed to *Izates*, made war upon him, for no other reason, but because he refused to join him against the *Romans*^c. His monstrous ingratitude towards a prince who had so well deserved of the *Parthian* nation, was highly resented by the chief lords of his kingdom, who taking up arms against him, killed him, and raised his brother *Gotarzes* to the throne^d. This is the account which *Josephus* gives us, in a few words, of the accession to the crown, and reigns of *Bardanes* and *Gotarzes*; but *Tacitus*, disagreeing with that writer, relates the matter in a quite different manner^e. According to him, *Gotarzes* and *Bardanes* were not the sons, but the brothers of *Artabanus*, who was succeeded by *Gotarzes*, a most cruel prince, and therefore so hated by his subjects, that they called *Bardanes* to the throne. *Bardanes*, as he was a man of great resolution and activity, marched in two days three thousand furlongs, and arriving at *Ctesiphon*, surprized and drove *Gotarzes* from the throne. With the same expedition he over-ran the chief provinces of the *Parthian* empire, and was every-where received with loud acclamations. *Seleucia* was the only city that refused to submit to him, which he closely besieged; but while he was wasting his time before that place, *Gotarzes* unexpectedly arrived at the head of a numerous army of *Dahans* and *Hircanians*, which obliged *Bardanes* to raise the siege, and retire to the plains of *Bactria*, where he encamped with a design to venture a battle in the open fields. *Gotarzes* followed him; but while the two armies were ready to engage, *Gotarzes* received private intelligence of a conspiracy formed by the chief men of the kingdom against himself, and also his brother, to whom he immediately imparted it. Hereupon the two competitors had an interview, in which, tho' at first distrusting each other, they were at last thoroughly reconciled, both of them swearing on the altars not to molest one another, but to turn their arms against their common enemies; nay, *Gotarzes*, judging *Bardanes* more worthy of the crown than himself, an instance of equity and moderation seldom to be met with, resigned it to him; and, in order to remove all ground of jealousy, retired into the most remote parts of *Hircania*. *Bardanes*, leaving *Bactria*, returned to the siege of *Seleucia*, which voluntarily submitted to him, after he had attempted in vain to reduce it by force. Being now sole master of the whole *Parthian* empire, he formed a design of re-

^c Idem ibid. ZONAR. l. iii. PHILOSTRAT. l. i. & iii de vita Apollon. ^d JOSEPH. ibid. ^e TACIT. annal. l. xi. c. 8.

covering *Armenia*; but *Vilius Marfus*, or, as we read in *Josephus*, *Cassius Longinus*, governor of *Syria*, threatening him with war, in case he made any attempts upon that kingdom, he thought it adviseable to drop the enterprize ^f.

IN the mean time, *Gotarzes*, repenting his resignation, and being recalled by the nobility, who, in time of peace, were ever plotting changes in the government, raised new forces, and advanced at the head of a powerful army as far as the river *Charinda*, where he was met and intirely defeated by *Bardanes*, who, elated with that victory, attacked and reduced all the countries lying between that river and the *Gindes*, which parts the *Dahans* from the *Arians*. There he was obliged to halt, the *Parthians* tho' victorious, refusing to follow him into countries so remote from their own. Having therefore erected monuments with pompous inscriptions, importing, that none of the *Arfacidæ*, before him, had exacted tributes from those nations, he returned home, loaded with the spoils of the countries he had conquered. The glory he acquired in this expedition inspired him with such pride, that he became quite insupportable to his subjects, especially to the nobility; who thereupon conspiring against him, killed him at a hunting match, when he was not attended as usual by his guards, as not apprehending any treachery or danger. He was, according to *Tacitus*, a prince endued with excellent qualities, and would have been one of the greatest kings that ever reigned in *Parthia* had he studied to be as much beloved by his subjects, as he was feared by his enemies ^g.

Bardanes murdered.

UPON the death of *Bardanes*, new disputes arose among the nobility about the electing of a king to succeed him, some declaring for *Gotarzes*, and others for *Meherdates*, the grandson of *Phrabates*, by whom he had been delivered to the *Romans* as an hostage. At last the party of *Gotarzes* prevailed, who was no sooner placed on the throne, than he began to use all sorts of cruelty on his subjects, especially on those who had adhered to *Meherdates*; whereupon they had private recourse to the emperor *Claudius*, soliciting him to send them *Meherdates*, since they could no longer bear with *Gotarzes*, whose cruelties had rendered him odious to all his subjects. *Claudius* readily complied with their request, and having exhorted *Meherdates* to govern with equity and moderation, blessings, said he, unknown to barbarians, and thence the more likely to please them, he dismissed him, toge-

Gotarzes.

Meherdates set up against him by the Parthian nobility, and supported by the emperor Claudius.

^f TACIT. *ibid.* c. 8, & 9. JOSEPH. *ibid.*

^g TACIT. *ibid.*

ther

ther with the ambassadors, and at the same time wrote to *Caius Cassius*, governor of *Syria*, injoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the *Euphrates*. As soon as *Meherdates* arrived in *Syria*, *Cassius*, agreeable to his instructions, drew together his legions, and marched with them to *Zeugma*, where the river was then fordable. There he encamped, and being joined by *Abgarus* king of *Edeffa* and such of the *Parthian* chiefs as privately favoured *Meherdates*, he exhorted, in their presence, the new king to press on the execution of his design without delay, lest the *Parthians* should in the mean time change their mind, as it had often happened, and cooling in their affections to him, retire home, or join his competitor. This advice, the best that could be given him, was frustrated by the treachery of *Abgarus*, who had, in appearance, espoused the interest of *Meherdates*, but was in reality intirely attached to *Gotarzes*; and therefore detained the young king many days at *Edeffa*, tho' *Carrhanes* a leading man among the *Parthians*, and a sincere friend to *Meherdates*, pressed him, by frequent messages, to advance with all possible expedition, and assured him, that if he only shewed himself, he would be joined by great multitudes; but *Meherdates*, neglecting the advice of his friends, followed that only of the treacherous *Abgarus*, who prevailed upon him to march a great way about, and, instead of entering *Mesopotamia*, tho' he was on the borders of that country, to pass through *Armenia*, which, as winter was already begun, was in great part covered with snow. As they came down into the champain country, wearied with the deep snow and steep mountains, *Carrhanes* joined them with his forces. Thence they crossed the *Tigris*, passed thro' the country of the *Adiabeniens*, and advancing to the city of *Ninos*, the antient seat of the kings of *Affyria*, made themselves masters of that place, as they did likewise of the strong castle of *Arbela*, so famous in history on account of the signal victory gained there by *Alexander* over *Darius*. In the mean time *Gotarzes*, having offered sacrifices on mount *Sambulos* to the gods of the place, especially to *Hercules*, came and incamped in the plain, with the river *Carma* between him and the enemy. *Meherdates* endeavoured by daily insults and haughty messages, to draw him to a battle; but he declined it, soliciting in the mean time by his emissaries, the friends of *Meherdates* to abandon and betray him: and herein he was attended with all the success he could have wished for; for first *Izates* king of the *Adiabeniens*, and afterwards *Abgarus* king of the *Edeffans* went over to him, with all the forces under their command,

Meherda-
tes betray
ed by Ab-
garus king
of Edeffa.

mand. *Meherdates* seeing himself thus forsaken by his allies, and mistrusting those who remained, resolved, as his only recourse, to commit the issue to chance, and risque a battle, which *Gotarzes* no longer avoided, his army being now as much strengthened as his enemy's was weakened. Both parties engaged with the utmost fury, and the victory continued doubtful, till *Carrhanes*, having put to flight one of the enemy's wings and pursuing it too far, was surrounded by a body of reserve, which prevented him from returning to the assistance of *Meherdates*; who thereupon, being intirely defeated, and so hemmed in that he could not make his escape, *His army* surrendered himself to one *Parrhaces*, a dependent of his father's, by whom he was immediately loaded with fetters, and *defeated,* and himself delivered up to the conqueror. *Gotarzes* looking upon him *and himself* not as one of the race of *Arfaces*, but as a Roman and *taken prisoner.* foreigner, ordered his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the Romans, but granted him his life to shew his clemency ^{h.}

NOT long after *Gotarzes* died, and was succeeded by *Vonones*. *Vonones*, at that time governor of *Media*, whose reign was short and inglorious; for he did nothing which writers have thought worth transmitting to posterity. Upon the death of *Vonones*, the crown of *Parthia* devolved upon *Vologeses*, the son of *Gotarzes* according to *Josephus*, of *Vonones* according to *Tacitus*. In the very beginning of his reign he invaded *Armenia* with a powerful army, and having, without opposition, made himself master of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta*, the two chief cities of that kingdom, he obliged *Rhadamistus* the *Iberian*, who had usurped the crown, to save himself in *Iberia*. Upon his retreat, *Vologeses* declared his brother *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, having before appointed his other brother, by name *Pacorus*, king of *Media*; for *Tiridates* and *Pacorus* had yielded the crown of *Parthia* to him, tho' born of a *Greek* concubine; whence he thought it incumbent upon him to procure a crown for those, who had so generously parted with one for his sake. But while he was in *Armenia*, a plague breaking out in his army, occasioned chiefly by want of provisions, he was forced to relinquish his conquests, and retire into his own dominions. Hereupon *Domitius Corbulo* entering *Armenia*, drove out *Tiridates*, with the few *Parthian* forces that had continued with him, and placed on that throne *Tigranes* the *Cappadocian*, as we have related in the history of *Armenia*. This affront *Vologeses* could not brook, *His wars* and therefore having publickly and with great solemnity, *with the* Romans.

^a Idem ibid. & l. xii. c. 14.

crowned *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*, he dispatched *Monæses*, one of his generals, with a strong body of chosen horse and *Adiabedian* auxiliaries, injoining him to drive out *Tigranes*, and recover *Armenia*, which had been long held by; and therefore belonged to, the princes of the family of *Arfaces*. As for himself, he dropped his expedition against the *Hyrca-nians*, who had lately revolted; and, having drawn together a mighty army, began to make the necessary preparations for a descent on the *Roman* provinces. *Corbulo*, whom *Nero* had charged with the defence of *Armenia*, was no sooner acquainted with the measures taken by *Vologeses*, than he sent two legions to the assistance of *Tigranes*, under the command of *Verulanus Severus* and *Vettius Bolanus*, with private injunctions to act rather with caution than eagerness and dispatch; for he was more desirous, as *Tacitus* observes, of keeping a war on foot, than bringing it to a speedy conclusion; besides he had wrote to *Nero*, that another general was necessary to defend *Armenia*, since *Syria* was threatened with a terrible storm from *Vologeses*. In the mean time, he posted the remaining legions along the banks of the *Euphrates*, and having raised new forces in the province, placed guards at all the passes, and erected forts over the several fountains to prevent the enemy from having any water in that dry and sandy country.

WHILE *Corbulo* was thus busied in securing *Syria*, *Monæses* advanced by long marches towards *Armenia*; hoping to surprize *Tigranes*: but with all his expedition, he found that prince well guarded against him; for he had furnished the strong city of *Tigranocerta* with all manner of provisions and warlike stores, and retired into it with all his forces. *Monæses*, after having attempted in vain to reduce it, withdrew, and began to lay waste the country. Hereupon *Corbulo*, who was unwilling to engage in a war with the *Parthians*, lest he should lose the reputation he had hitherto gained, sent ambassadors to *Vologeses*, to expostulate with him for falling upon a *Roman* province, for besieging a king who was a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and for ravaging a country which *Rome* had taken under her protection. At the same time he gave him to understand, that if he did not forthwith abandon the siege of *Tigranocerta*, he would look upon it as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, and in his turn invade the *Parthian* territories. *Vologeses*, as he did not care to provoke *Corbulo*, who had acquired great fame by his military exploits, answered with great moderation, that he would send ambassadors to *Rome*,

to beg of *Nero* the kingdom of *Armenia*, and to renew the alliance made by his ancestors with the people of *Rome*. Agreeable to this answer he immediately dispatched messengers to *Monæses*, ordering him to raise the siege of *Tigranocerta*; and retired himself with all his forces into the heart of his dominions, to wait there for the return of the ambassadors he had sent to *Rome*. The emperor *Nero* received them in a very obliging manner, but refused to renew his antient alliance with the *Parthians*, unless they renounced all pretensions to the crown of *Armenia*. This answer so incensed *Vologeses*, that he immediately drew again all his forces together, with a design to invade *Syria*; but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* strongly guarded by *Corbulo*, he turned all his efforts against *Armenia*; where he gained those advantages over *Cesennius Petus*, which we have related at length in the history of that kingdom. However, he consented at last, dreading the consequence of a war with the *Romans*, that his brother *Tiridates* should go in person to *Rome*, and there receive the crown of *Armenia* as a gift from *Nero*; which he did accordingly. By this means the antient alliance between the two empires was renewed, and the affairs of the east settled in peace ⁱ. From this time no further mention is made of *Vologeses*, till the beginning of the reign of *Vespasian*, to whom he sent ambassadors, offering to assist him with forty thousand *Parthian* horse ^k. *Vespasian*, as he was already settled on the throne, did not accept of the succours offered him; but, renewing all the antient treaties with the *Parthians*, dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with presents, and maintained, during the reign of *Vologeses*, a good understanding with the *Parthian* nation. *Vologeses*, being now disengaged from all foreign and domestic wars, applied himself to the building of a city, which, from his own name, he called *Vologesocerta*, or, the city of *Vologeses*; but was prevented by death from completing the work he had begun.

HE was succeeded by his son *Artabanus III.* who, falling out with *Vespasian*, espoused the cause of the counterfeit *Nero*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the history of *Rome*. However, the emperor did not think it adviseable to resent the affront, for fear of kindling a new war in the east, the kingdom of *Parthia* being at that time in a very flourishing condition, and the *Roman* provinces greatly weakened by a late irruption of the *Alani*, a barbarous people of *Scythia*, inhabiting the countries bordering on the

ⁱ TACIT. *ibid.*^k TACIT. *hist.* l. vi.

Pacorus
II.

Cosdroes.

river *Tanais* and the lake *Meotis*. *Artabanus* had formed a design of invading *Armenia*; but died before he could put it in execution ¹. Upon his death, his son *Pacorus II.* was raised to the throne; but all we know of him is, that he entered into an alliance with *Decebalus* king of the *Daci*, and maintained, during the whole time of his reign, which is said to have been very long, a strict friendship with the *Romans* ^m. He was succeeded by his brother *Cosdroes*, who invading *Armenia*, drove out *Exadares*, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor *Trajan*, and in his room placed his eldest son *Parthamasiris* on the throne. As this was an open infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two empires, *Trajan* hastened into the east, with a design to humble the *Parthians*, who, relying on their victories formerly gained over the *Romans*, were daily raising new disturbances in *Syria* and *Armenia*, and making incursions into the *Roman* provinces bordering on their dominions. His arrival in *Armenia* was so sudden and unexpected, that he reduced the whole country, almost without opposition, and took *Parthamasiris* himself prisoner. Animated with these successes, he entered *Mesopotamia*; and having there besieged and taken the strong city of *Nisibis*, after many skirmishes and encounters, he made himself master of that opulent country, never before subject to *Rome*. From *Mesopotamia*, which he reduced to a *Roman* province, he returned, in the beginning of the winter, into *Syria*, whence he acquainted the senate with the success that had attended his arms against the *Parthians*, and was by them honoured with the surnames of *Armenicus* and *Parthicus* ⁿ.

EARLY in the spring, he took the field again; but was warmly opposed by *Cosdroes*, whom he found encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*, with a design to dispute his passage; which he did with such vigour, that the emperor, after having several times attempted to ford that river, and been always repulsed with great slaughter, was obliged to cause boats to be built on the neighbouring mountains, which he privately conveyed from thence on carriages to the water side; and having in the night-time formed a bridge with them, he passed his army the next day, but not without great loss and danger, the *Parthians* harassing his men the whole time with incessant showers of arrows, which did

¹ XIPHILIN. in Othone.
epist. l. x.

^m SUIDAS, voce Ωντην. PLIN.
ⁿ SEXT. RUF. in brev. THEODOS. MIN.
SPARTIAN. in Trajan.

great execution. Having gained the opposite bank, he advanced boldly into *Affyria*, the *Parthians* flying every-where before him, and made himself master of *Arbela*. Thence he pursued his march, subduing, with incredible rapidity, countries, where the *Roman* standards had never been displayed before. *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, voluntarily submitted to him. The city itself was, after a vigorous resistance, taken by storm ; by which means he became master of all *Chaldea* and *Affyria*, the two richest provinces of the *Parthian* empire. From *Babylon* he marched to *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian* monarchy, which he besieged and at last reduced. But as to the particulars of these great conquests, we are quite in the dark, this expedition, however glorious to the *Roman* name, being rather hinted at, than described by the writers of those times. While *Trajan* was thus making war in the heart of the enemy's country, *Cosdroes*, having recruited his army, marched into *Mesopotamia*, with a design to recover that country, and cut off all communication between the *Roman* army and *Syria*. On his arrival in that province, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts, and most of the cities, driving out the garisons left by *Trajan*, opened their gates to him. Hereupon the emperor detached *Lucius* and *Maximus*, two of his chief commanders, into *Mesopotamia*, to keep such cities in awe as had not revolted, and to open a communication with *Syria*. *Maximus* was met by *Cosdroes*, and having ventured a battle, his army was intirely defeated and himself killed. But *Lucius*, being joined by *Euricius* and *Clarius*, two other commanders sent by *Trajan* with fresh supplies, gained considerable advantages over the enemy, and retook the cities of *Nisibis* and *Seleucia*, which had revolted. And now *Trajan*, seeing himself possessed of all the best and most fruitful provinces of the *Parthian* empire, but at the same time being well apprised that he could not, without a vast expence, maintain his conquests, nor keep in awe so fierce and warlike a people at such a distance from *Italy*, resolved to set over them a king of his own choofing, who should hold the crown of him and his successors, and acknowledge them as his lords and sovereigns. With this view he repaired to *Ctesiphon*, and having there assembled the chief men of the nation, he crowned one of the royal family, by name *Parthanaspates*, king of *Parthia*, obliging all who were present to pay him their allegiance. He chose *Parthanaspates*, because that prince had joined him at his first entering the *Parthian* dominions, conducted him with

great fidelity, and shewn on all occasions an extraordinary attachment to the *Romans*. Thus the *Parthians* were at last subdued, and their kingdom made tributary to *Rome*. But they did not long continue in this state of subjection; for they no sooner heard of *Trajan's* death, which happened soon after, than, taking up arms, they drove *Parthaspates* from the throne, and recalling *Cosdroes*, who had retired into the country of the *Hyrceanians*, openly revolted from *Rome*. *Adrian*, who was then commander in chief of all the forces in the east, and soon after acknowledged emperor by the army, did not care, tho' he was at that time in *Syria* with a very numerous army, to engage in a new war with the *Parthians*; but contented himself with preserving the antient limits of the empire, without any ambitious prospects of farther conquests: therefore, in the beginning of his reign, he abandoned those provinces beyond the *Euphrates*, which *Trajan* had conquered, withdrew the *Roman* garisons from *Mesopotamia*, and, for the greater safety of other places, made the *Euphrates* the boundary of, and barrier in, those parts, posting his legions along the banks of that river. Some writers are of opinion, that he did this out of a secret envy to his uncle *Trajan's* glory and reputation; but others commend it as a very politic and prudent action, the maintaining of those distant conquests being attended with many inconveniences, and no advantages, to the empire. Before he left *Antioch* to return to *Rome*, in order to keep the *Parthians* quiet, he dismissed their prisoners without ransom, and among the rest, the daughter of *Cosdroes*, who had been taken by *Trajan*. *Cosdroes*, in return for these favours, never offered to disturb the *Romans* in the possession of the provinces bordering on his dominions; but shewed himself always ready to assist them, as his best friends and allies^o.

Vologeses
II.

Cosdroes died after a long reign, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Vologeses*; in whose reign the *Alani* breaking into *Media*, then subject to the *Parthians*, committed there great devastations; but were prevailed upon, with rich presents sent them by *Vologeses*, to abandon that kingdom and return home. Upon their retreat, *Vologeses*, having no enemy to contend with at home, fell unexpectedly upon *Armenia*, surprized the legions there, and having cut them in pieces all to a man, entered *Syria*, defeated, with great slaughter, *At-*

^o THEODOS. MIN. in frag. SPARTIAN. XIPHILIN. ibid. PAUL. DIAGON. hist. miscell.

tilius Cornelianus, governor of that province, and advanced, without opposition, to the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, putting every-where the *Romans*, and those who favoured them, to the sword. Hereupon the emperor *Verus*, by the advice of his colleague *Antoninus*, surnamed *the Philosopher*, leaving *Rome*, hastened into *Syria*, and, having driven the *Parthians* out of that province, ordered *Statius Priscus* to invade *Armenia*, and *Cassius*, with *Martius Verus*, to enter the *Parthian* territories, and carry the war into the enemy's country. *Priscus* made himself master of *Artaxata*, and, in one campaign, drove the *Parthians*, though not without great loss on his side, quite out of *Armenia*. *Cassius*, on the other hand, having in several encounters defeated *Vologeses*, though he had an army of four hundred thousand men under his command, reduced, in four years time, all those provinces which had formerly submitted to *Trajan*, took *Seleucia*, burnt and plundered the famous cities of *Babylon* and *Ctesiphon*, with the stately palaces of the *Parthian* monarchs, and struck terror into the most remote provinces of that empire. On his return he lost above half the number of his forces by sickness and famine; so that after all the *Romans*, as *Spartianus* observes, had no great reason to brag of their victories and conquests. However, *Antoninus Verus*, who had never stirred, during the whole time of the war, from *Antioch* and *Daphne*, took upon him the lofty titles of *Parthicus* and *Armenicus*, as if he had justly acquired them in the midst of his pleasures and debaucheries¹. We are told, that some of *Cassius's* soldiers, in pillaging the temple of *Apollo* at *Babylon*, found under ground a small golden coffer, which, upon their opening it, cast forth such pestilential vapours as infected all those who were present, and by their means the rest of the army. As *Verus*, on his return to *Italy*, took *Cassius's* forces along with him, he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he passed, and spread the infection through *Italy*, whence it was communicated to the most remote parts of the empire, and every-where attended with great mortality. After the revolt and death of *Cassius*, which we shall have occasion to speak of in the history of the *Roman* emperors, *Antoninus the Philosopher* repaired into *Syria*, to settle the affairs of that province, and was, on his arrival, met by ambassadors from *Vologeses*, who, having recovered most of the provinces subdued by *Cassius*, and being

¹ EUSEB. in chron. ZONAR. l. iv. OROS. hist. miscel. THEODOS. MIN. ibid.

unwilling either to part with them, or engage in a new war, solicited the emperor to confirm him in the possession of them, promising to hold them of him, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of *Rome*. To these terms *Antoninus* readily agreed, and a peace was accordingly concluded between the two empires, which *Vologeses* did not long enjoy, being soon after carried off by a distemper, and not murdered by his own subjects, as we read in *Constantinus Manasses*, who calls him *Belegeses*.

Vologe-
ses III.

UPON his death *Vologeses* III. the son of his brother *Sanatrucres*, and grandson of *Cosdroes*, was raised to the throne. He sided with *Niger* against the emperor *Severus*, who thereupon, having settled matters of home, marched with all his forces against him, and, advancing to the city of *Ctesiphon*, whither he had retired, laid close siege to that metropolis. *Vologeses* made a most gallant defence; but the city, after a long siege, and much bloodshed on both sides, was at length taken by assault. The king's treasures, with his wives and children, fell into the emperor's hands; but *Vologeses* himself had the good luck to make his escape, which was a great disappointment to *Severus*, who immediately dispatched an express, to acquaint the senate with the success that had attended him in his expedition, against the only nation that was then formidable to *Rome*. He sent likewise a particular description of the countries, cities, rivers, and mountains he had passed, and of the battles he had fought, all drawn and painted upon tables; for which the surnames of *Parthicus*, *Arabicus*, and *Adiabenicus*, were decreed him. But he had no sooner crossed the *Euphrates*, than *Vologeses* recovered all the provinces, except *Mesopotamia*, which he had reduced. These expeditions were very chargeable to the *Romans*, and cost them much blood, without their reaping any advantages from them; for as they had not sufficient forces to keep in awe the provinces they had subdued, the inhabitants, greatly attached to the family of *Arfaces*, never failed to return to their antient obedience, as soon as the *Roman* armies were withdrawn. *Vologeses* was soon after engaged in a war, still more troublesome and destructive, with his brother *Artabanus*, who, encouraged by some of the discontented nobles, attempted to rob him of the crown, and place it on his own head. *Vologeses* gained several victories over his brother and rebellious subjects; but died before he could restore the empire to its former tranquillity.

Artabanus

Artabanus, who had a numerous army at his devotion, did not meet with any opposition in seizing the throne vacant by the death of his brother, though *Tiridates* had a better title to it, as being his elder brother. He had scarce settled the affairs of his kingdom, when the emperor *Caracalla*, desirous to signalize himself, as several of his predecessors had done, by some memorable exploit against the *Parthians*, sent a solemn embassy to him, desiring his daughter in marriage. *Artabanus*, overjoyed at this proposal, which, he thought, would be attended with a lasting peace between the two empires, received the ambassadors with all possible marks of honour, and readily complied with their request. Soon after *Caracalla* sent a second embassy, to acquaint the king, that he was coming to solemnize the nuptials: whereupon *Artabanus* went to meet him, attended with the flower of the nobility, and his best troops, all unarmed, and in most pompous habits; but this peaceable train no sooner approached the Roman army, than the soldiers, on a signal given them, falling upon the king's retinue, made a most terrible slaughter of the unarmed multitude, *Artabanus* himself escaping with great difficulty. The treacherous *Caracalla*, having gained by this exploit great booty, and, as he thought, no less glory, wrote a long and boasting letter to the senate, assuming the title of *Parthicus* for this piece of treachery, as he had before that of *Germanicus*, for murdering in like manner some of the German nobility. *Artabanus*, resolving to make the Romans pay dear for their inhuman and barbarous treachery, raised the most numerous army that had ever been on foot in *Parthia*, crossed the *Euphrates*, and entered Syria, putting all to fire and sword; but *Caracalla* being murdered before this invasion, *Macrinus*, who had succeeded him, met the *Parthians* at the head of a mighty army, composed of many legions, and all the auxiliaries of the states of *Asia*. The two armies no sooner came in sight of each other, but they engaged with the utmost fury. The battle continued two days, both *Romans* and *Parthians* fighting so obstinately, that night only parted them, without any apparent advantage on either side, though both retired, when night had put an end to the contest, crying, *Victory, victory*. The field of battle was covered all over with dead bodies, there being already above forty thousand killed, including both *Romans* and *Parthians*; nevertheless *Artabanus* was heard to say, that the battle was only begun, and that he would continue it till either the *Parthians* or *Romans* were all to a man

Artabanus
IV.

Treachery
of the em-
peror Ca-

Artabanus
invades
Syria.

An obsti-
nate en-
gagement
between
the Par-
thians and
Romans.

man cut in pieces. But *Macrinus* being well apprised, that the king came highly enraged against *Caracalla* in particular, and dreading the consequences which would attend the destruction of his army, sent a herald to *Artabanus*, acquainting him with the death of *Caracalla*, and proposing an alliance between the two empires. The king, understanding that his great enemy was dead, readily embraced the proposals of peace and amity, upon condition that all the prisoners, who had been taken by the treachery of *Caracalla*, should be immediately restored, and a large sum of money paid him to defray the expences of the war. These articles being performed without delay or hesitation, *Artabanus* returned into *Parthia*, and *Macrinus* to *Antioch* ⁹.

The Per-
sians re-
volt.

Defeat the
Parthians,
kill their
king, and
put an end
to the Par-
thian em-
pire.

As *Artabanus* lost on this occasion the flower of his army, *Artaxerxes*, a *Persian* of a mean descent, but of great courage and experience in war, revolting from the *Parthians*, prevailed upon his countrymen to join him, and attempt the recovery of the sovereign power, which, he said, they had been unjustly deprived of, first by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Parthians*, formerly their vassals. *Artabanus*, upon the news of this revolt, marched with the whole strength of his kingdom to suppress it; but being met by *Artaxerxes*, at the head of a no less powerful army, a bloody battle ensued, which is said to have lasted three days. At length the *Parthians*, though they behaved with the utmost bravery, and fought like men in despair, were forced to yield to the *Persians*, who were commanded by a more experienced leader. Most of their troops were cut off in the flight, and the king himself taken prisoner, and soon after put to death by *Artaxerxes*'s orders. The *Parthians*, having lost, in this fatal engagement, both their king and their army, were forced to submit to the conqueror, and become vassals to a nation which had been subject to them for the space of four hundred and seventy five years. Thus was this gallant and warlike nation subdued at last, and the empire once more transferred to the *Persians*; whose kings reigns, till they were in their turn reduced by the *Arabs*, will be the subject of the following section. However, the royal family of *Arfaces* did not end in *Artabanus*, but continued to reign in *Armenia* till the time of the emperor *Justinian*, holding that kingdom of the *Persian* monarchs, to whom the *Arfacide*

⁹ THEODOS. MIR. ubi supra. ZONAR. l. iv. SOZOMEN. hist. impart. l. iii. c. 1.

of *Armenia* were tributaries. Among these we find the following princes mentioned in history, *Arsaces*, *Teridates*, *Artavasdes*, *Teridates II.* *Arsaces II.* *Paras*, *Tigranes*, and *Arsaces III.* all descended from *Arsaces*, brother to *Artabanus IV.* the last king of *Parthia*. But of *Armenia*, and the princes who reigned there, after that country became subject to the *Persians*, we shall have occasion to speak in the next section.

C H A P. XIII.

S E C T. I.

The History of the Persians, from their recovering the empire from the Parthians, to their being subdued by the Arabs.

According to the Greek and Latin authors.

TH E reader hath before seen, after what manner, and how long, the *Persians* were subject to the *Parthian* princes. We are here to speak of their achievements after they had again rendered themselves independent ; and not only so, but lords also of many spacious provinces, and the first nation in the east. As we have no regular history of *Persia* by any *Greek* or *Latin* writer, what we offer to the reader in this section, is collected, as carefully as might be, from such as have occasionally mentioned the *Persian* affairs. These passages we have digested into their natural order ; and, if there be any omissions, they will be supplied in the next article, wherein we shall treat of the same period from the oriental historians (A).

A

(A) There is no branch of the *Universal History* which more clearly evinces the general usefulness of this work, or the peculiar symmetry of its parts, than this before us. All the general histories, that have been published in our own, or in other modern languages, are strangely deficient in this article. We have either a loose, unsatisfactory account of the passing of the empire of the east from the *Parthians* to the *Persians*, and from them to the *Arabians* ;

A TABLE of the Persian kings.

	Years.	Months.
Artaxares	14	10
Sapores	31	
		Ormisdates

Arabians ; or we have such a chronological table of their kings, as that inserted in our text, with a few remarks thereon from *Scaliger's Chronicon*, or some other collection ; and so we are hurried to another subject. It must be owned, that there are some particular relations which promise fairer, and perform more, than is either expected or done by the compilers of general histories; but then we can very truly affirm, that even these fall very far short of the following account. The learned 1) *Bizarus*, whose history of the *Persian* affairs is deservedly esteemed the best extant, takes all that he hath relating to this period from a very few *Latin* and *Greek* authors ; so that, for very want of materials, he is forced to draw in the *Roman* affairs, and other matters still more foreign ; nay, he once digressed so far as to mention *William the Conqueror* and compliment queen *Elizabeth* 2 . One might say much more as to other compendiums of *Persian* history (3) ; but we desire not to prejudice the works of others, or to give any more than a fair account of our own.

We have divided the history of this period into two parts. The first is composed of such material as the *Latin* and *Greek* writers furnish, particularly that noble collection which goes under the name of the *Byzantine Historians*, whence we have taken ten times as much as hath appeared in any modern language, and, by assembling a multitude of divided passages, have presented the public with something that looks like a connected history. Whereas *Bizarus* found himself so destitute of matter, that in his history of the *Persian* affairs, he makes the reigns of the *Roman* emperors his rule, and refers the series of *Persian* monarchs to a table. The second part is truly taken from *Oriental* writers ; but more especially from *Mirkbond*, and what is related therein is so necessarily a supplement to what the first part contained, that, without it, there would not only have remained a visible imperfection, but, in many places, it would have been unintelligible ; because, the *Greek* writers, out of a perverse humour, wilfully misrepresent the manners, customs, and literature of the *Oriental* nations. The comparison

(1) *Rerum Persicarum historia, initia gentis, mores, instituta, resque gestas ad hæc usque tempora complectens : auctore Petro Bizaro Sentinate. fol. Francofurti, A. D. 1601.* (2) *Hist. rer. Persic. l. v. p. 137.* (3) *Bartholm. Keckermannus. de monarch. Persar. Tom. II. Oper. ejusd. author. in fol. Genev. 1614. Reinec. comment. de reb. Persic. ap. hist. Jul. Schicard. catal. reg. Persar.*

	Years.	Months.
<i>Ormisdates</i>	1	10 days.
<i>Varanes</i>	3	
<i>Varanes II.</i>	17	
<i>Varanes III.</i>	00	4
<i>Narfes</i>	7	9
<i>Misdates</i>		
<i>Sapores II.</i>	70	
<i>Artaxerxes</i>	4	
<i>Sapores III.</i>	5	
<i>Varanes IV. or Cermanfæa</i>	11	
<i>Isdigertes</i>	21	
<i>Varanes V.</i>	20	
<i>Varanes VI.</i>	17	4
<i>Perozes</i>	20	
<i>Valens</i>	4	
<i>Cavadès</i>	11	
<i>Zambades</i>	8	
<i>Cavadès II.</i>	30	
<i>Cosroes</i>	48	
<i>Hormisdas</i>	8	
<i>Cosroes II.</i>	39	
<i>Siroes</i>	1	
<i>Adhesyr</i>	00	2
<i>Sarbaras</i>	00	6
<i>Bornarim</i>	00	7
<i>Hormisdas</i>	10	

Artaxares, *Artaxares*, or, as he is sometimes called, *Artaxerxes*, the Year of restorer of the *Persian* kingdom, was not only a private person, but of spurious birth, as we are informed by *Agathias* 230, (B). His mother was married to one *Pabecus* or *Pabec*, who was

therefore of these distinct histories will illustrate each of them, and enable the intelligent reader perfectly to comprehend both; whereby this wide chasm will be in some measure filled up, and this period of *Persian* history no longer remain, as it hitherto hath done, under an impenetrable obscurity.

(B) As we have taken the foregoing table chiefly from *Agathias*, and as we have generally preferred his authority, where-ever he speaks decisively, it is necessary we should say something of the merit of this author. He was a native of *Marina*, and addicted himself to the study of the law; and as those who dedicated their time to the acquirement of that science, studied mostly in colleges, he

was either a tanner or a shoemaker, but withal a person well skilled in judiciary astrology. It happened, that one *Sasanus*, or *Sasan*, a military officer, travelling through the country of the *Cadusians*, took up his lodging in the house of this *Pabec*, tho' it was a very mean one. *Pabec*, by his art, perceiving, that a person begotten by this stranger, would become the head of a most potent family, and also arrive at regal honours, he began to fret within himself, because he had neither sister, daughter, nor cousin in the house. At length, his ambition getting the better of his sense of shame, he caused his wife to go to bed to *Sasan*, who begat on her *Artaxares*. When afterwards *Artaxares* came to be king, *Pabec* and *Sasan* each claimed him for a son; whereupon the story became public, and it was agreed, that he should be styled the son of *Pabec* of the seed of *Sasan* ². *Artaxares* from his youth addicted himself to a military life, and having attained to great skill and no less reputation in the wars, he projected the delivery of

² AGATH. SCHOLAST. hist. de reb. gest. Justinian, imperat. edit. Paris. l. ii. p. 65. l. iv. p. 134.

he came from thence to be called *Scholasticus* (4), which the learned *Vossius* will have to signify the same as *Advocatus* (5). He was a poet and a historian; but it is in his last capacity only that we have to do with him. He was, it seems, so pleased with *Procopius's* memoirs of the *Persic* wars, that he resolved to continue them, which he did in the history we yet have, divided into five books. In the fourth of these he takes occasion to mention one *Sergius*, who was so well skilled in the *Persian* tongue, as to be on that account in great favour with *Cosroes* the first. This man making several journeys into *Persia*, and having many opportunities of conversing with the learned of that nation, procured, by their favour, the perusal of the royal annals from whence he made many extracts, which, at his earnest desire, he communicated to *Agathias*. These were, in that historian's opinion, of so great weight, that he preferred them to the memoirs of *Procopius*, differing from him to follow them; which shews, that he was thoroughly convinced of their authority. From these extracts he drew up a short, but very perspicuous and exact, account of all the *Persian* monarchs from *Artaxares*, who recovered the kingdom from the *Parthians*, to *Cosroes*, with whom himself was cotemporary (6). It is from this short account that we have taken the dates, and such other material circumstances, as, we thought, could not be had with the same probability of exactness from other historians, who wrote from later and less authentic memoirs.

(4) *Agath. Scholast. præfat. ad hist.* (5) *De histor. Græc. l. ii. p. 270.* (6) *Agath. Schol. hist. l. 4. p. 140, 141.*

his countrymen from the *Parthian* yoke. In pursuance of this design, he wrought them to a general revolt; and having in three battles routed, and in the last slain, the *Parthian* monarch, he assumed the double diadem and the pompous title of *king of kings*. He was, as all authors agree, a man of great abilities and undaunted spirit, or, in other words, a person of great courage and unbounded ambition ^b.

Asserts his right to all the provinces of the antient Persian empire.

HE was no sooner seated on the throne, than he formed a design of restoring the *Persian* empire to its antient glory; and having caused the necessary preparations to be set on foot, he gave notice to the *Roman* governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions, that he conceived himself to have a just and unquestionable title, as the successor of *Cyrus*, to all the *Lesser Asia*, which he commanded them immediately to quit, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the antient *Parthian* kingdom, which was already his. *Alexander Severus* was at this time the possessor of the *Roman* empire, a very youth, under the tutelage of his mother, and one who had hitherto dwelt always at *Rome*; he was therefore unwilling to engage in a war, especially if it might be avoided; and for that reason sent letters to *Artaxares*, importing that he would do wisely to keep within bounds, and not, out of vain hopes of conquest, to enterprize new wars, which might not be attended with the same success as formerly; that, in the present case, he ought to consider he was not to deal with *barbarians*, or with a nation unused to war, but with the *Romans*, whose emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Severus*, had often vanquished the *Parthians*. The *Persian* king had little regard to these letters, on the contrary he began to raise a great army, and to attack the fortified posts of the *Romans*, on the river *Euphrates*, making such a progress in the reduction of the adjacent provinces, that the emperor *Alexander*, how unwilling soever he might be, was constrained to raise an army, and to march towards *Mesopotamia*, in order to give a check to the *Persian* power ^c.

Sends an insolent message to the emperor Alexander.

Artaxares was employed in the siege of *Nisibis* or *Antiochia*, when he received the news of *Alexander's* marching towards him; upon which he thought proper to raise the siege, that he might recruit and refresh his army. He sent, however, deputies or ambassadors, if we may be allowed to call four hundred persons by that title, whom he selected for their extraor-

^b HERODIAN. hist. l. vi. ÆL. LAMPRID. in vit. Aurel. Alexand. Sever. OROS. hist. l. vii. c. ii. NICEPHOR. hist. eccles. l. i. c. 6. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. hist. dynast. dyn. 7. p. 186. ^c HERODIAN. & ÆL. LAMPRID. ubi supra.

dinary stature and great strength; and having furnished them with rich habits, and fine horses, he gave them commission, when they should be introduced to the emperor's presence, to speak thus: *The great king Artaxares commands the Romans and their prince to depart out of all Syria and Asia Minor, and to restore to the Persians all the countries on this side of the Ægean and Pontic seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors* ^d.

THESE heralds or ambassadors performed their commission *His mes-* very exactly; which so highly irritated *Alexander*, who was *sengers ri-* otherwise a prince of the gentlest disposition, that he ordered all *gorously* their equipage to be taken from them, and sent them into *treated.* *Phrygia*, where he assigned them farms, which they might cultivate for their subsistence. This done, he advanced into *Mesopotamia*, which he recovered in a great measure without fighting. Historians differ so much in the accounts they give us of the subsequent parts of this war, that it is almost impossible to reconcile them. We shall, however, relate what appears to us most probable, and give our readers our reasons in a note ^e.

Artaxares advanced with his forces into *Mesopotamia*, as *Gives bat-* soon as he thought himself strong enough to give the enemy *tle to, and* battle. His army consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand *is beaten* horse, ten thousand heavy armed soldiers, eighteen hundred *by the Ro-* chariots with scythes, and seven hundred elephants. *Alexander,* *mans.* however, did not decline fighting. An engagement ensued, in which the *Romans* were victorious, and *Artaxares* was compelled to retire into the heart of his dominions, where, with great assiduity, he applied himself to the recruiting and restoring of his army. On the other hand, the *Roman* emperor divided his forces into three bodies, the first, marching through *Armenia*, had orders to penetrate into *Media*; the second marched over the marshes, to enter the *Parthian* dominions on the other side; the third, which was the greatest, and which the emperor commanded in person, was to have fallen into the heart of *Artaxares's* dominions; and if this scheme had been thoroughly executed, in all probability, the *Persian* power would not only have been weakened, but even brought to the very verge of destruction ^f.

THE body of troops which passed through *Armenia*, under- *Restores* went great difficulties, and with very much fatigue arrived at *his affairs* last in *Media*. *Artaxares* quickly marched against them with *by firmness* a formidable army; but was not able to do much, for the *and vigi-* lance.

^d ZONAR. hist. ad. A. C. 230. ^e HERODIAN. & ÆL. LAMP-
PRID. ubi supra. ^f ZONAR. ubi supra. HERODIAN. l. vii.
country

country being uneven, the *Roman* foot had the better of his cavalry. While he was considering how these evils might be surmounted, he received advice of the other body of *Romans* breaking into his territories, which, in some measure, frustrated all his designs; however, having left guards sufficient to secure the passes, he marched with his forces against the new invaders. These troops finding no enemy to oppose them, plundered all the country, and proud of their spoils, would no longer be restrained under discipline; nay, at last they became so scandalously licentious, that they slew their commander in chief, *Flavius*, for endeavouring to restrain them, and for being more careful of their safety than they were themselves. In this situation the *Persian* king fell upon them, and rather destroyed than defeated them. The *Roman* emperor in the mean time, being under feminine counsels, failed to perform the share he had taken to himself in this enterprize; which was the ruin of his army, the remains of which having joined the corps under his command, he returned first to *Antioch* and then to *Rome*, where he triumphed, and was styled *Parthicus* and *Persicus*, with very little reason (C). *Artax-*

art:

(C) Nothing can be more opposite than the account given by *Herodian* and *Ælius Lampridius* of the *Persian* war. We will give a concise account of what is said by each of them, and leave it to the intelligent reader to decide as he pleases. *Herodian* affirms, that in the fourteenth year of *Alexander Severus*, letters came from the presidents of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, purporting, that *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* had made an inroad into *Mesopotamia*, and threatened to invade *Syria*, claiming all the continent opposite to *Europe*, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Propontis*, as the antient patrimony of the *Persians*. Upon this, after writing letters to no purpose to persuade the *Persian* to be quiet, the emperor *Alexander* marched into the east, where he divided his army, as we have related in our text, and by failing to perform what himself had undertaken, brought them all into a miserable situation; for which the army was so grievously offended with the emperor, that they openly said, he had most foully betrayed them. Upon this he led them back to *Antioch*, where he refreshed the remains of them, distributed amongst them large sums of money; and perceiving, that the *Romans* who were slain in *Persia*, by selling their lives dear, had exceedingly weakened the enemy, he had thoughts of invading their territories again, when he had advice of the *German* rebellion, which compelled him to return into *Italy* (7). On the other hand, we are expressly told by the writer of the life of *Alexander Severus*, addressed to *Constantine the Great*, that the *Persians* were intirely de-

(7) *Herodian. hist. l. vi. c. 6*——16.

feated,

ores made the best use of his absence, recovering what he had lost, restoring the glory of the *Persian* name; and having reigned with much reputation, died with honour and in peace, after enjoying the kingdom twelve years, or, as others say, fifteen years, abating two months ².

HE was succeeded in the throne by his son *Sapores* or *Sa-Sapores*. *Sapores*.
por, a prince equally famous for strength of body and abilities Year of
of mind, fierce and intractable in his nature, covetous of glo- Christ
ry, haughty, insolent, and cruel. He was no sooner seated 242.
on the throne, than he began to meditate a new war with the
Romans, to which he was encouraged by a traitor, who dwelt
in his court. The name of this man was *Cyriades*, the son
of another *Cyriades*, an eminent commander in the *Roman*
army. This profligate son of whom we are speaking, began
his exploits with robbing his own father. He was naturally a
voluptuous man; and therefore, as soon as he had possessed
himself of this treasure, he withdrew into *Persia*, where he
lived in that splendor and luxury, for which he had sacrificed
his honour. In conjunction with *Odomastes*, a *Persian* gene-

⁸ AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 134.

feated, and a great number made prisoners. He likewise informs us, that he transcribed from the journal of the senate, a speech of the emperor's after his return, which hath abundance of extraordinary particulars. Amongst others, the emperor assures the senate, that *Artaxerxes* was not improperly styled *the great king*; that he brought seven hundred elephants into the field, of which three hundred were taken and two hundred killed; that the *Romans* had cut to pieces an army of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, had sold a multitude of *Persian* prisoners, and that he had defeated the *Persians* in the plains where *Craffus* had been overcome by the *Parthians*. He affirmed the same thing in gross to the people of *Rome*, and was thereupon complimented with the title of *Conqueror of the Parthians and Persians* (8). This author mentions *Herodian's* account, and also some other accounts less favourable to the emperor *Alexander* than his; but he thinks the authorities cited by himself sufficient to weigh down all they say. However *Herodian*, we know, wrote only of such things as happened within his own life-time, and made it a rule with him to make every thing give way to truth. As for the author of this life addressed to *Constantine*, some will have him to be *Ælius Lampridius*, and again others attribute it to *Spartianus* (9); but, whoever writ it, it has much the air of a panegyric, or at least of an apology.

(8) *Æl. Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Seve.*
Latin. l. ii. p. 192.

(9) *G. J. Voss. de bist.*

ral, he wasted the adjoining provinces; and having at last prevailed on the king himself to take the field, *Cyriades*, with the deserters, who, for the sake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of *Antioch* and *Cæsarea Philippi*, both of which they were so lucky as to make themselves masters of; whereupon *Cyriades* took first the title of *Cæsar*, and then called himself *emperor*, acquiring by degrees, dominions, revenues, and forces, not altogether unworthy of that title ^h.

His dominions invaded by the Romans.

THE young emperor *Gordian*, when he had settled the affairs of the empire in the west, resolved to rescue the east also from the tyranny of pseudo-emperors, as well as from the terror of the *Persian* arms. With this view he marched into *Syria* at the head of a great army; and as long as his father-in-law, whom some writers call *Myfistheus*, others *Timefocles*, lived, every thing went well. The *Persian* found himself constrained to withdraw into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking *Charra* or *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*; but while he was preparing to push his conquests still farther, he was murdered by the treachery of *Philip*, whom he had made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law ⁱ.

Makes an advantageous peace.

THIS *Philip*, having possessed himself of the sovereign authority, made peace with *Sapor*, and abandoned *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* to him again. Part of these provinces, on the news of the senate's disapproving his conduct, he recovered again, without shewing any regard to his treaty; and, leaving a sufficient number of troops to secure the frontiers, marched back into *Italy*. As soon as the *Roman* army was withdrawn, *Sapor* and *Cyriades* renewed their incursions; and the latter, growing stronger than ever, began in all respects to be treated as an emperor. Indeed the *Roman* affairs were in such miserable confusion, that many, who would otherwise have opposed *Cyriades*, were now glad to be sheltered under his protection. At length, however, things began to take a new turn. *Valerian*, though he was seventy years old when he was advanced to the empire, yet spared he no pains to reduce all the numerous provinces thereof to a proper degree of obedience. While he was thus employed, first in the west, and then in the north, *Sapor*, with a numerous army, broke into the *Roman* territories, burnt and pillaged the country; and at length advancing as far as *Edeffa*, besieged it

^h TREBELL. POL. in hist. trigint. tyrant. ⁱ HERODIAN. hist. l. vii. JUL. CAPITOLIN. de vita Gordian. tert. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 243. ZONAR. hist. A. C. 244.

in form, one *Demosthenes*, who commanded therein, making a gallant resistance ^k.

Valerian no sooner received advice of this, than he posted with the troops about his person to its relief. His approach gave new spirits to the distressed inhabitants of the Roman provinces, and disposed them to take all the necessary steps for compelling the *Persians* to retire into their own dominions. The soldiers of *Cyriades* mutinied against him, put him to death, and declared for *Valerian*. *Sapor*, however, confiding in the strength of his army, continued still before *Edeffa*, in the neighbourhood whereof an action happened, in which *Valerian* was taken prisoner, whether by his own temerity, or the treachery of one of his commanders, cannot be well determined. This gave a mortal wound to the Roman affairs in the east, where *Sapor* gained continual advantages, and used his fortune with an insolence not to be endured. This at length drove the people to despair; so that, first under the command of *Callistus*, afterwards under that of *Odenatus*, prince of *P lmyrene*, they took arms, and not only protected themselves from any further insults, but also under the command of the last-mentioned general, defeated the *Persian*, and took part of his baggage, with all his concubines, which determined him to retire into his own dominions. In his march he is said to have made use of the bodies of his unfortunate prisoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the passages of his carriages over such rivers as lay in his way. On his return into *Persia* he was solicited by the kings of the *Caduceans*, *Armenians*, *Bactrians*, and other nations, to set the emperor *Valerian* at liberty, but to no purpose. On the contrary he used him the worse, treated him daily with indignities, set his foot upon his neck when he mounted his horse, and, as some writers say, after several years confinement caused him to be flay'd alive ^l (D).

FROM

^k JUL. CAPITOLIN. in vita Gordian. TREBELL. POL. hist. trigint. tyrann. ZONAR. hist. A. C. 253. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 252. ^l TREBELL. POL. in vita Valerian. AGATH. SCHOL. l. iv. p. 133. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 128.

(D) There is nothing more confused, nothing for which it is more difficult to account, than the manner by which *Valerian* fell into the hands of *Sapor*, and his treatment afterwards. *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the life of this emperor, expresses himself doubtfully as to the conduct of *Marcianus*, whether it was treacherous, or unfortunate only; but, as to the emperor himself, he is positive, that, after he was made prisoner, *Sapor* made use of him as a

*Treats him
inhumanly,
and is ever
after un-
fortunate.*

FROM this time forwards the affairs of *Sapor* wore but an indifferent aspect. *Odenatus*, flushed with victory at the head of a gallant army, and cloathed with the character of president over the *Roman* provinces in the east, bridled the *Persians*, and made them frequent visits in their own territories. Twice this general advanced as far as the city of *Ctesiphon*, seated on the banks of the *Tigris*, all the countries between *Palmyra* and that river being under his obedience. On his death his wife, the celebrated *Zenobia*, continued to oppose the *Persians*, and with success, till she was conquered and made prisoner by the emperor *Aurelian*, who vindicated the honour of the *Romans* on this side, and took ample vengeance for the ill treatment of *Valerian*. Much spoil, many prisoners, and one of the king's chariots, *Aurelian* carried with

footstool when he mounted his horse. The same writer hath preserved three letters; one from king *Belsotus*; another from *Balenus* king of the *Caduci*; and a third from *Artabaxes* king of *Armenia*, to the *Persian* monarch, in favour of *Valerian*, who, he says, died in his captivity at a very advanced age (10). *Zonarus* affirms, that however *Valerian* was taken, whether fighting in his own defence, or voluntarily yielding himself up, he was afterwards treated with the utmost indignity. He likewise says, that he was carried into the heart of *Persia*, and was so unhappy as to be an eye-witness of the massacring the *Romans*, in order to fill up the hollow ways with their carcasses; and this, says he, was the end of *Valerian* (11). *Zosimus* relates things more particularly. He informs us, that *Valerian*, finding his army much weakened by sickness, and distrusting the fidelity of most of his officers, endeavoured first to negotiate, and then to buy a peace from *Sapor*; who, refusing to treat with any but the emperor, he imprudently went to confer with him, attended only by his ordinary guards, and so was surprized, put into chains, and carried away prisoner into the inland parts of *Persia*, where he died of extreme old age (12). *Agathias* asserts, that *Valerian* was not only treated with the utmost ignominy, after he was made prisoner by *Sapor*, but that at length he ordered him to be flay'd alive; which was accordingly performed (13). *Cedrenus* says, that *Valerian*, with twenty thousand men, were made prisoners by *Sapor* at the battle of *Cæsarea*; and that his skin being pulled over his ears, he died in miserable torture (14). To cite more authors would be tedious, as well as to no purpose; for we do not pretend to ascertain any fact, but to shew, that the death of *Valerian* is very uncertain; and this we have already sufficiently done.

(10) *In vita Valerian.*
A. C. 259, 260.
Hist. comp. p. 104.

(11) *Hist. A. C.* 259.

(13) *Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p.* 133.

(12) *Hist.*

(14)

him into *Italy*, and with them graced his triumph at *Rome*^k. *Sapores*, however, continued to enlarge his dominions at the expence of his barbarous neighbours, and having reigned, with great variety of fortune, thirty one years, died, and left the kingdom to his son. An eastern writer informs us, that *Aurelian* made peace with *Sapores*, and gave him his daughter in marriage, in whose train were two *Greek* physicians, who first brought the writings of *Hippocrates* into the east^l. In the reign of this monarch flourished, according to the same writer, the famous heretic *Manes*, whose opinions so long disturbed the church^m (E).

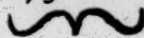
Hormisdas

^k TREBELL. POL. in vita Gallien. Odenat. & Saturn.
^l GREGOR. ABUL PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 138. ^m AGATH.
 SCHOL. I. IV. p. 134. FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Aurelian. GRE-
 GOR. ABUL PHAR. dynast. 7. p. 130.

(E) The ecclesiastical historians are not agreed at what time *Manes* flourished. However, as *Cedrenus* (15), who wrote his compend of histories from good memoirs, places him under the reign of *Sapor*, we may as well speak of him here as any-where else. Concerning him and his doctrines we are told in general, that one *Terebinthus*, an arch heretic, having fled out of *Palestine* into *Persia*, and being there received into the house of a widow, took the name of *Buda*, pretended to have been born of a virgin, to have been brought up in the mountains, and to have received a command to teach men a new religion, or at least new notions in religion. He being either killed by the people, or by an evil spirit that he conversed with in this woman's house, left behind him in her hands four treatises, containing the sum of his doctrines. This woman having bought a slave called *Cabricus*, when a boy of seven years old, caused him to be carefully educated, and, when she died, left him all she had. By this means the writings of *Terebinthus* or *Buda* coming into his hands, he read, considered them, and resolved to pass for somebody as well as his master. The first thing he did, was to change his name from *Cabricus* to *Manes*; then he began to propagate his opinions, which were taken principally from the writings of *Zoroaster* and the *Gnostics*. Part of the scriptures he rejected, part he retained; but magnified his own writings above all. He asserted two principles, the one good, and the other evil. He spoke respectfully of *Jesus Christ*, yet denied that he suffered, and rose again, affirming that the Jews crucified a phantom. He gave himself sometimes out for the Messiah, at others for the Comforter. He chose twelve apostles, and seventy two disciples, who discharged their offices faithfully, spreading his notions far and

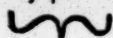
(15) *Idem*, p. 259.

Hormisdas
Year of
Christ,
273.



Hormisdas succeeded *Sapores*, of whom we have little to say. It was during his reign that the *Palmyrenians* were foolish enough to take arms again, in order to free themselves from the *Romans*, or rather, as other parts of the *Roman* empire had done, to assert a right of making emperors. They cast their eyes on one *Antiochus*, whom they arrayed in purple, and saluted emperor; but *Aurelian* did not leave them long at liberty to carry on this scheme. He returned with his victorious army, reduced *Palmyra*, and dyed the cloaths of his soldiers, if we may be allowed the expression, in the blood of its inhabitants. As for *Antiochus*, he took no notice of him at all. And for *Hormisdas*, he had not interfered, and therefore *Aurelian* did not trouble his country; he had the good fortune consequently to die in peace, after having sat on the throne a year and ten days ⁿ.

Varanes I.
Year of
Christ,
274.



Varanes the first succeeded him. Of him we know very little more than that he reigned three years, during which space we find not that he enterprized any thing against the *Romans*, or they against him. In truth, the empire was at this time in a very indifferent condition; for, after the death of *Aurelian*, the *Roman* forces in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were very unquiet. At length *Saturninus* set himself up for em-

ⁿ AGATH. SCHOL. hist. l. iv. p. 134. FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Aurelian. ZOSIM. hist. A. C. 274.

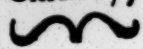
wide, some of them penetrating into *China* (16). As for *Manes* himself, he was, according to the manner of those times, a person of considerable learning; for he drew a map of the world, and wrote a treatise of its use. He likewise composed a large book of enigmatical figures, which, he pretended, contained a series of revelations to the end of the world (17). In the end he is said to have lost himself in that whirlpool which swallows up most impostors, the affectation of working of miracles. He would needs undertake to cure the king of *Persia*'s son, who laboured under a mortal disease; but he failed in his attempt, the young prince died, and he was imprisoned. He made his escape afterwards, and for some time wandered about, and was concealed by his disciples. At length he was apprehended by the king of *Persia*'s officers, and, as some say, was crucified by the order of *Sapor*, though, as others affirm, he was slay'd alive (18). However, his opinions did not perish with him; for his sect flourished afterwards in *Persia*, and was encouraged by some of its kings.

(16) *Epiphan. hæc. 6. August. hæc. 46. Theodoret. lib. hæc. fab. 10. Gregor. Abul-Phar. dinast. vii. p. 130.* 17) *Herbelot. Artic. Ertenk. Giagrasab.* (18) *Cedren. compend. p. 260. Gregor. Abul-Phar. ubi supra.*

peror, but with no great good luck; yet as he was a man of probity, and an excellent commander, he kept the *Persians* within their limits; so that the prince, of whom we are speaking, never had any opportunity of exerting himself °.

Varanes the second ascended the throne on the death of the former king of the same name. He had at first some thoughts of invading the *Roman* provinces; but he quickly found, that the state of things was changed; for, on the first motion of his troops, the emperor *Probus* advanced in person into the east. Upon this *Varanes* desisted from his enterprize, and, hearing of the emperor's great success, ordered *Narses*, who commanded for him in *Armenia*, to send deputies to compliment *Probus*, to make him presents, and to treat of peace. The emperor received them very haughtily, refused the presents they brought him, and wrote an answer to the letter of *Narses* to this purpose: That all he had was his; that he wondered how he could send him such trifles: wherefore, to him, who might perhaps esteem them, he had sent them back, as well knowing how to have all that he possessed, when the *Romans* should desire it. However, he granted them peace at this time, and terrified them so much with his power, that the *Persians* were afraid to make their usual excursions for some time ^P. At length *Varanes* took heart, and began to think of recovering some of the provinces which his ancestors had lost; but, before he was able to do any thing, he found himself disturbed by domestic seditions; and, before these were calmed, *Probus* assembling a great army, began his march towards the east. *Varanes* conceived himself delivered from this misfortune, when he heard that the army, in a sedition, had killed the emperor; but he was mistaken, for *Carus* his successor, after subduing several barbarous nations, shortly after entered *Mesopotamia*, and carrying all before him, advanced beyond *Ctesiphon*, as if he intended an absolute conquest of that province. The fears of the *Persians* were, however, soon over; for the emperor *Carus* died in the first march he afterwards made, either by an illness under which he had long laboured, or by his tent's being set on fire by lightning. What was still more happy for the *Persians* was a notion, the *Romans* took from thence, that fate had assigned *Ctesiphon* for the bounds of their empire, which they were

Varanes
II.
Year of
Christ 277



° AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra. FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Saturnin. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 134. ^P FLAV. VOPISC. in vita Prob. EUTROP. hist. Rom. l. ix. M. A. CASSIODOR. chron. xxxi.

never to pass but to their hurt (F). Soon after *Numerianus*, the son of *Carus*, was also slain; and the *Roman* army, under the command of *Dioclesian*, returned into *Italy*. *Varanes* gained hereby some respite, which he employed in strengthening his frontiers; but when, on the news of the disturbances

(F) There is nothing so valuable in an historian as truth, and yet there is nothing more frequently wanting. We generally esteem those authors most, who lived nearest the times of which they wrote; and yet we are as often deceived by them as by any others. A desire of praising immoderately those of whom they write, too often influences historians to represent things otherwise than they apprehended them. *Vopiscus*, in his life of the emperor *Carus*, affects a great deal of candour and impartiality, especially in respect to the death of that emperor, which had been generally supposed ominous to the empire. He expired in his camp before *Ctesiphon*, blasted, as the report went, by lightning; whence it was inferred, that the *Romans* should never penetrate farther than this city. It was built by the *Parthians* on the east bank of the *Tigris*, and was a very populous place; and besides, the country beyond it was quite unknown to the *Romans*, as well as very improper for their manner of making war, which probably gave birth to this opinion. However, *Vopiscus* was resolved to destroy it, in order to which he produces a letter from *Calphurnius*, secretary to *Carus*, wherein he gives a very ambiguous account of that emperor's death. He says it happened after the greatest clap of thunder which was heard during the storm; that his servants, for grief, set fire to his tent, which occasioned the report that he was burnt by lightning; whereas, according to the best account this writer could get, he died of his sickness. *Vopiscus* then mentions the notion that *Ctesiphon* was fatal to the *Roman* empire, and that the death of *Carus* was thought a judgment for attempting to pass farther. But, says he, let cowardice make use of such art to cover it; the brave will ever despise them. The most excellent *Cæsar Maximian* will never believe this; but, on the contrary, will attempt and finish the conquest of the *Persians*, and penetrate beyond them (18). Would it not have been better, it, instead of this flourish, he had told us, that, immediately after the death of *Carus*, his army, under the command of his son *Numerianus*, was attacked and beaten by the *Persians*, and thereby forced to retire into the *Roman* provinces again (19)? Yet he says nothing of this, either here, or in the life of *Numerianus* (20), whom some writers affirm to have been taken and put to death by the *Persians* after their victory (21).

(18) *In vita Car.* (19) *Zonar. hist. A. C. 283.* (20) *Flav. Vopisc. in vita Numerian.* (21) *Gregor. Abul-Phar dynast. 7. p. 132.*

which had happened in the *Roman* empire, he began to think of invading its provinces, *Dioclesian* suddenly returned into *Armenia* with a great body of forces, and thereby struck such a terror into the *Persians*, that they were afraid to undertake any thing. A little after died *Varanes*, after an unfortunate reign of seventeen years, leaving the kingdom to his son ¹.

Varanes the third reigned no more than four months. He is dignified by historians with the title of *Segansaa*. *Agathias* hath given us the reason of this appellation, He tells us, that it was the custom of the *Persian* monarchs to incorporate the nations they subdued into the body of their subjects, not by removing them hither or thither, but by allowing them to live, as formerly, under their own laws, themselves adding to their titles that which the antient princes of the country bore. *Varanes* the second having, a little before his death, overcome this nation, his son took the title of *Segansaa* or *Seganshâh*, which, *Agathias* expressly tells us, signified king of the *Segani* or *Segeftani* ².

Narfes succeeded next, a prince of high spirit, who designed, no less than *Artaxares*, the founder of the new *Persian* monarchy, had done, the reduction of all the *Persian* provinces, held at this time either by the barbarous nations, or conquered by the *Romans*. It is certain, that never did a fairer opportunity offer for the execution of this vast design, than at the entrance of this prince's reign. The *Roman* empire was in such distraction, that tho' there were two emperors, yet they found the weight too heavy for them, and therefore created two *Cæsars* to share the burden of government. War was kindled in every corner of the empire, when *Narfes*, with a great army, broke into *Mesopotamia*, and in a short time recovered most of the places which had been heretofore in the hands of his ancestors. But it was not long before *Dioclesian* sent *Galerius*, one of the *Cæsars*, with a numerous army, to *Antioch*, to check the progress of the *Persian*. *Narfes* did not decline an engagement; but his success was not equal to his courage, either in this, or in a second battle. *Galerius* being conqueror in both, passed the river *Tigris*, and advanced into the very heart of the king of *Persia's* dominions. *Narfes* tho' he retired continually, yet kept a strict eye upon the enemy, beseeching his own troops

Varanes
III.
Year of
Christ
294.

Narfes.
Year of
Christ
294.

¹FLAV. VOPISC. in vit. Prob. & Car. ZONAR. hist. A. C. 283. SEXT. AUREL. VICTOR. in Car. AGATH. SCHOLAST. p. 134. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. 7. p. 132. ²AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 135.

not to look upon his conduct as timorous, but to be assured, that he would take an opportunity of vindicating their honour, and revenging the loss he had sustained. He was as good as his word ; for *Galerius*, elated with success, abating of his usual care and circumspection, *NarSES* took advantage thereof, and falling upon the *Roman* army while they were upon their march, gave them so total a defeat, that scarce any remains of them could be afterwards drawn together. *Galerius* himself with much ado escaped, and making haste to the army of *Dioclesian*, prepared to give the emperor the best account he could of his misfortune. *Dioclesian* used him but very indifferently, shewed a high dislike of his conduct, and in a manner refused to trust him with another army. At length, however, the zealous importunities of *Galerius* prevailed, and, levies being made with all possible expedition, he was sent with fresh forces against *NarSES*. The *Persian* king had, in this interval, made the best use of his victory, retrieving not only the cities and country which he had lost, but also bringing into the field a numerous army, composed especially of chosen horse, to maintain the conquests he had made, in case the *Romans* should once more dispute them^c.

Constrained
to submit to the
Romans.

Galerius acted now as *NarSES* had before ; he added prudence to fortitude, and depended no less on his own conduct, than on the courage of his forces. He went with a few of his friends to view the *Persian* army, and having happily performed this exploit, he returned to his own, which he disposed in such a manner, as to attack the *Persians* at unawares, whereby he gained a complete victory. *NarSES* himself was wounded, and forced to fly with a small remnant of his army into the mountains. His baggage, treasure, papers, all fell into the hands of *Galerius*, as did likewise his sisters, his queen, his concubines, and children. In vain he endeavoured to repair his misfortune ; the spirits of his subjects were effectually damped by this blow, insomuch, that he found it impossible to collect another army capable of taking the field against the victorious *Romans*, who were shortly after joined by *Dioclesian* and his army, who, at the time of the engagement lay encamped at *Antioch*, in order to have sustained *Galerius*, in case any thing amiss had befallen him. Overcome therefore with the reflection of his misfortunes, *NarSES*, to rid himself of these troublesome neighbours, consented to give up five of his provinces ; on which condi-

^c ZONAR. hist. A. C. 297. EUTHOP. hist. Rom. l. ix. AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra.

tion peace was granted him, and his queen restored; but as for his sisters, his concubines, and the other persons of quality, who were taken in the battle, they were carried to *Rome*, and there led in triumph. The grief of this broke the heart of *Narjes*, when he had enjoyed the regal dignity about seven years ^t.

HE was succeeded by *Misdates*, otherwise called *Hormisdas* the second; who wore the diadem seven years and five months, but without doing any thing remarkable. As he was long in a declining condition, and had no issue, the nobility of *Persia* were under the utmost concern for the consequences of his decease, without a successor declared. At length it appeared, that the queen was with child; upon which a council of the magi was summoned, and they were required to inform the nobles whether the queen was with child of a son or a daughter. The magi answered, Of a son. Hereupon the diadem was placed upon the queen's great belly, and all the nobility swore allegiance on the faith of the foregoing prediction to the son she should bear. The king dying in the interim, the public peace was preserved by this expedient; and at the end of nine months the queen was delivered of a son, who was a king before he was born ^u. This was

Sapores, or *Sapor* the second, who governed the dominions of his ancestors long and happily. The account we have given in the last reign is strongly controverted, and it must be allowed, that there are more testimonies alledged against it than can be urged in its support. Yet we have given it the preference, for a reason which will appear at the bottom of the page, and which we are persuaded, will induce our readers to be of the same mind (G). This prince, if we

^t M. A. CASSIODOR. chron. xxxiii. CEDREN. hist. compend. p. 268. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 132. ZONAR. EUTROP. AGATH. ubi supra. ^u AGATH. SCHOLAST. lib. iv. p. 134.

(G) There are several passages in the writings of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (22), *Zosimus* (23), *Socrates* (24), and other writers, which seem to intimate, that *Sapor* was not a posthumous child, but born in his father's life-time, and educated by his direction. They also speak of one *Hormisdas*, who fled to the emperor *Constantine*, as if

(22) *Hist. lib. xvii. xviii. xix.*
Hist. eccles. lib. ii.

(23) *Hist. lib. ii.*

(24)

we may credit an ecclesiastical historian, was educated under the care of an eunuch named *Uxtazades*, who was secretly

a

he had been brother to this prince. Now, if these facts were true, it would follow, that what is above related must be false. But if it be considered first, that the relations found in these authors are so worded, as that they may be made to suit with either fact : That, secondly, there is nothing expressly said of the manner in which *Sapor* came to the crown. And that, thirdly, these writers appear to be frequently very indifferently instructed as to the history of *Persia*, and scarce at all acquainted with its religion : We must confess, that no great stress can be laid on what they deliver, much less on what is inferred from their accounts. On the other hand, what *Agathias* relates, he had from the *Persian* records, and the *Persian* records are the best evidence for *Persian* affairs (25). But besides, there is another reason which so strongly corroborates what *Agathias* tells us, that one can scarce entertain any doubt of the truth of the fact mentioned by *Agathias*. *Sapor* succeeded in the *Persian* throne about the same time that *Constantine* became emperor, and he reigned seventy years. In the fifteenth year of his reign, *Hormisdas* retired into the *Roman* dominions. Now, if *Hormisdas* had been the brother of *Sapor*, and had been a man before the death of his father, we must conceive that *Sapor* was within a few years as old as he, otherwise he could not have been his rival. But this would stretch the life of *Sapor* to an incredible extent, and would also involve us in new difficulties. It is therefore better to acknowledge *Agathias*'s account, which concurs exactly with the most remarkable events recorded by other historians. As to the story of *Hormisdas*, it runs thus ; he is said to have been a prince of the blood-royal of *Persia*, and that coming in when his father celebrated his birth-day feast, he observed that the nobility did not rise to salute him. Upon which he threatened, that if ever he came to the crown, he would treat them as *Marfyas* the *Phrygian* was treated. Most of the *Persian* lords knew not what to make of this ; but one of them told the rest the story of *Marfyas*, who, for contending with *Apollo*, was by him flayed alive. This irritated them so much against the prince *Hormisdas*, that they not only excluded him from the succession, but caused him also to be closely imprisoned, whence, however, he escaped by the contrivance of his wife ; and flying to the emperor *Constantine* met with a favourable reception, which he very well deserved, by the diligence and fidelity which he manifested on all occasions in the service of the *Romans* (26). There is certainly a strong air of fable in the first part of this narration ; for that a *Persian* prince should

(25) *De reb. gest. Justinian. lib. iv. p. 134.*
lib. ii. A. C. 324.

(26) *Zosim. hist.*

a christian. Whoever had the care of his education, certain it is, that he became a very great prince, if we may bestow that character on one who was no very good man. He was a zealous asserter of the dignity of the *Persian* diadem, and pursued steadily that design which *Artaxares* had first set on foot, viz. of uniting all the territories of the antient *Persian* kings under his obedience. But he did not pursue this design, as some of his predecessors had done, openly, and at the head of armies: if he had, in all probability he would not have been more fortunate than they; for the *Persian* militia were by no means able to combat the regular forces of the *Romans*. This prudent monarch took quite different measures; he encouraged the barbarous people dwelling on the frontiers of the *Roman* provinces to ravage and harrafs them; this he did more openly, when the affairs of the *Romans* were in confusion, and with greater secrecy, when they were better established. He extended his own dominions towards the east, and towards the north; he encreased his revenues, by encouraging industry and trade among his subjects; he disciplined his forces, and above all things affected a mighty esteem and veneration for the civil and religious constitution of his country*.

THIS last-mentioned disposition induced him to persecute the christians, who were represented to him, by the magi and the *Jews* settled in his dominions, as men of detestable principles, bad subjects to their governors, and avowed enemies of religion; that is, of its fundamental articles. It is said, that he put *Simeon* bishop of *Ctesiphon*, and many other ecclesiastics, to death, and that he even cut off the head of the

*Persecutes
the christ-
ians in his
dominions.*

* AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xvii. EUSEB. in vit. Constant. SOZOMEN. hist. eccles. lib. ii.

be acquainted with the story of *Apollo* and *Marsyas*, must appear strange, if not incredible. Again, that so rash and cruel a prince should, in getting out of prison, leave all his ill qualities behind him, and come a perfect wit and hero (for so these writers paint him afterwards) to the court of *Constantine* (27); this surely is very wonderful also; and therefore stripping off these marvellous appendages, if we credit the bare matter of fact, that *Hormisdas*, a prince of the blood-royal of *Persia*, fled to the *Romans*, and behaved well in their service; it will answer all reasonable purposes, and the current of our history receive no interruption.

(27) *Zonar. hist. A. C.* 340.

eunuch

eunuch before-mentioned, notwithstanding he had been his governor, and his father's old and faithful servant. One great crime objected to the christians was, their regard for *Constantine*, then emperor of *Rome*. His power was too great for *Sapores* to think as yet of attacking him openly; he therefore sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to compliment that prince, and to renew that peace which had for so many years subsisted between the two empires, directing his ministers privately to inquire into the strength of the *Romans*, and to buy up a quantity of arms, of which his subjects stood in great need. The emperor, though well informed of the design of *Sapores*, received his ministers very graciously, granted their requests, and at their return charged them with a letter for the king of *Persia* their master. Of this letter there are two copies extant, the one more full and correct than the other. The intent of the epistle was to persuade *Sapores* to treat the christians with greater lenity. The arguments made use of therein are just and natural, delivered in language becoming the writer, and him to whom it was addressed (H). In all probability, it had its effects; for we are informed by an impartial author, that *Sapores* treated the christians afterwards with less severity. Indeed, he had never troubled them at all

(H) *Sozomen* hath given us a long account of the cruel persecution raised against the *Persian* christians by *Sapor*; but even this writer intimates, that the whole was not only excited, but managed also, by the magi. Those who are desirous of entering farther into this matter, may find in the works of this historian a very copious account, not only of the general persecution, but of the principal martyrs, their quality, and behaviour (28). *Eusebius*, in his life of *Constantine*, affords us a concise view of the persecution; but then, he gives us the letter of the emperor at large; whereas *Sozomen* gives us only an extract of it. In this letter the emperor first gives a short account of his faith, then of his success and grandeur, which he attributes wholly to God's blessing thereon; he afterwards expatiates on the odious folly of idolatry; but without insinuating any thing of his suspicion that *Sapor* was an idolater. He then very pathetically represents the miseries which had constantly attended unjust and cruel princes, especially persecutors, of whom he particularizes *Valerian*; whom he asserts to have been happy in all his undertakings, until he persecuted the christians. Lastly, he warmly recommends the christians in his dominions to the favour of *Sapor*, and beseeches him for his sake to look upon them as his good and faithful subjects (29).

(28) *Hist. eccles. lib. ii. c. 9, 10, 11, 12.*
stant.

(21) *In vit. Con-*

if he had not been instigated by some malicious priests of his own religion, and the indiscretions perhaps of some christian priests.

HOWEVER, he abandoned not the scheme he had formed of raising himself and his successors to the supreme dominion over the east. When he thought he had brought things to bear, he generously acquainted *Constantine* with his intention, transmitting to him by his ambassadors a letter, or rather a manifesto, wherein he expressly set forth his claim to all the dominions antiently belonging to the *Persian* emperors, affirming, that the river *Strymon* was the legal boundary of his empire. *Constantine* returned him an answer, full of dignity and resolution; and though he was now grown in years, made great preparations for war, assembled a numerous army, and resolved to command it in person. When the season of the year approached, he joined his forces, and immediately began his march for the eastern provinces; but providence prevented his design from taking effect, by removing him out of this life, so that together with his empire, he left the management of this *Persian* war to his successors. *Sapores* did not fail to make use of the advantages afforded him by the disorders which happened in the empire on the death of *Constantine*. He instantly entered the *Roman* provinces, and reannexed to his own dominions what his ancestors had lost. It is a very difficult thing to give any account of this war from the *Greek* and *Latin* historians, notwithstanding the writings of many who lived in those days have come down to our hands, by reason of their evident partiality, some commending the emperor *Constans*, as a very martial prince, others upbraiding him with pusillanimity, both endeavouring rather to suit history to their own opinions, than to the truth. By making proper allowances, however, for the visible biasses of these writers, the truth seems to have been, that in pitched battles, and in defending of towns, the *Romans* were superior to the *Persians*; but that in swift marches, horse-combats, and surprizes, the *Persians* had the advantage.

HENCE it came to pass, that altho' *Sapores* reconquered large tracts of country, and was successful in many engagements; yet could he not prevail against *Nisibis*, the strongest fortress the *Romans* had in those parts, tho' he often besieged it, and exerted his utmost force, in order to deliver his sub-

¹ ZONAR. hist. A. C. 337. ZOSIM. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 338. EUTROP. lib. x. AMM. MARCEL. EUSEB. SOZOM. ubi supra.

jects from a thorn that continually pricked them ; but he was constantly defeated, and constrained after great losses to rise from before it. As to the circumspection of the emperor *Constans*, when in the field, it might very probably be owing to the situation of those countries, which were the seat of war. In a plain country, such as *Mesopotamia*, the emperor was forced to act with great circumspection, because the enemy had all advantages, their cavalry having room to extend themselves, to retire, and come back to the charge, which in a mountainous situation they could not have done. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Romans* were backward in fighting, and more solicitous about fortifying their camps than seeking the enemy. In the battle of *Singara*, which was fought in the night, *Sapores* had at first the advantage by reason of the surprize the *Romans* were under ; but when they had recovered themselves a little, they repulsed the enemy to briskly, that in the end *Sapores* was forced to retire, after having lost his son in the battle, and received a dangerous wound himself. Both parties were in the end tired out with the war ; the *Roman* emperor therefore leaving the care of the eastern provinces to *Gallus*, whom he had lately created *Cæsar*, returned into the western provinces of his empire, while *Sapores*, who perceived that little was now to be got from the *Romans*, turned his arms upon his eastern neighbours, and left the care of his frontiers towards the *Romans* to his most experienced generals. In his expeditions against the *Barbarians*, he was more fortunate than against the *Romans*. Some he subdued by force, others readily yielded him obedience ; with his most powerful and inveterate enemies he made a solid and lasting peace. In the midst of this success, he received advice that overtures had been made to his generals in the west for the conclusion of a peace. To shew therefore his readiness in this point, he dispatched one *Narfes*, a nobleman of great credit in his court, to carry his letters to *Constans*, with the terms on which he was content to enter on a treaty. This minister proceeded to *Sirmium*, in order to have an interview with *Constans* ; there he presented him with the letters of the *Persian* king written in the usual strain of the *Persian* monarchs, *i. e.* in a lofty swelling style. The purport was, that notwithstanding *Sapor* knew himself to have a just claim to all the countries between *Persia* and the river *Strymon*, yet he was content for the sake of peace to be satisfied with *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* ; which once yielded up, he would willingly become the friend of the *Romans*. *Narfes* perceiving how ill his master's letter was taken, endeavoured all that in him lay to pacify the *Romans*, and to obtain from the emperor

peror an account of his demands, with which *Constans* readily complied. He named on his side ambassadors, who were to go to *Sapor*, and who were charged with letters, importing that, while himself was possessed of but a part of the *Roman* empire, he had notwithstanding maintained its antient boundary in the east; and that now being master of the whole, it was not reasonable to expect that he should yield to such conditions as had been proposed. The *Roman* ambassadors found the king of *Persia* at *Ctesiphon*, where they had many conferences with him and his ministers, though to very little purpose, for the *Persian* would remit nothing; however, time was gained, in which *Constans* came first to *Constantinople*, and then prepared to set out for the east.

ABOUT this time one *Antoninus*, an officer of great credit in the *Roman* army, being persecuted by some of the emperor's favourites, fled to *Sapor*, by whom he was received with open arms, treated with the utmost kindness, and immediately admitted into the highest confidence. In the mean time, the emperor had been prevailed upon to remove *Ursicinus*, who was general of the horse in the east, and to give his command to *Sabinian*, a very old man, who thought himself very cautious, but was by others esteemed timid, and most unfit for supreme command. *Antoninus* quickly gave the *Persian* notice of the incapacity of the *Roman* general, who thereupon determined, with the numerous army under his command, immediately to enter the *Roman* provinces, and to advance as fast as possible without embarrassing himself with sieges, or attempting to divide his forces, in order to garison towns. Accordingly, he passed the *Tigris*, and marched with all imaginable diligence towards the *Euphrates*, intending, if possible, to penetrate into *Syria*, hoping to pillage that fruitful country, which had enjoyed so many years peace². But *Ursicinus*, who was returned again into the east with the title of general of the foot, prevented him by throwing up works on the side of the river, and posting himself with his troops behind them. *Sapor* then, by the advice of *Antoninus*, turned to the left; and before it was expected, invested the city of *Amida*. In the neighbourhood of this place he took several strong castles, and in one of them a considerable number of christian virgins, who had dedicated themselves to the service of God. The *Persian* treated them not only with humanity, but with the utmost politeness, being desirous to shew that prosperity soften-

Antoninus deserts, and Sapor renews the war.

* ZONAR. hist. A. C. 350 ZOSIM. hist. lib. ii. A. C. 352. AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xviii. EUTROP. lib. x. MARCEL. lib. xviii. c. 5.

² AMMIAN.

ed his disposition, instead of rendering him arrogant. *Amida* made a long defence, and the siege thereof is said to have cost *Sapor* thirty thousand men. It was at last, however, taken by storm after a siege of seventy three days. The principal officers of the garison he hanged, the men he sent into slavery, after which he put an end to the campaign on this side; he entered, however, afterwards *Mesopotamia*, where he took the town of *Singara*, and ruined it; he then attacked *Bezabda*, and after a siege of some days, took it, and fortified it; then he advanced to *Virta*, which he likewise invested; but, after a siege of some continuance, was obliged to retire. The emperor *Constans* in the mean time passed the *Euphrates*, and came to *Amida*, over the ruins of which he is said to have wept; he then advanced, in hopes of regaining the places taken by *Sapor*, and proceeded to besiege *Bezabda*, but to no purpose; for the rainy season, and a scarcity of provision, obliged him to raise his siege, and return into *Syria*, where he continued all the winter ^a (I).

Sapor,

^a AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. xx. EUTROP. lib. x. ZONARAS, A. C. 355. ZOSIM. hist. lib. iii. SOZOMEN. hist. ecclef. lib. iv.

(I) It would have been very easy to have rendered this part of our history more particular and more entertaining than it is, if there had not been two very cogent arguments offered by the very nature of the work to keep us here much within bounds. For first, as all the accounts we have come from *Latin* and *Greek* authors, they especially regard the conduct of the eastern emperors, their ministers and generals, and consequently belong rather to the *Constantinopolitan* than *Persian* history. Secondly, they agree so little among themselves, and yet are all of them so partial to their own countrymen, that should we relate exactly what those writers are pleased to say of the *Persians*, we should rather deceive than inform our readers, as too many historians do. There was a necessity of making these observations, that the nature of this part of our history might be well understood. We have herein stuck close to facts, without scrupulously reporting circumstances, because the latter have frequently appeared to us improbable, or at least violently exaggerated. *Ammianus Marcellinus* is the author on whom we have principally depended in the history of this reign. He was a man of quality, a soldier, and one who actually served in this very war, of which he writes. Besides all this, he was a native of *Antioch*, and therefore perfectly well acquainted with the seat of the war. However, as he was a *Pagan*, he lessens all the christian emperors, that his hero *Julian* may appear with the greater lustre; and as he was a *Roman*, he exaggerates the barbarity

Sapor, in the beginning of the next spring, drew together a great army, and made a shew of entering the Roman provinces immediately, which compelled the emperor *Constantians* to prepare also to take the field. As he had by this time not only a very great body of forces, but those too the very best in the empire, his great excellence lying in an exact knowledge of military discipline, in all probability the war would have been both bloody and lasting, if it had not been prevented by the military prudence of the *Persian*, to whom when an account was brought of the *Roman* preparations, he instantly determined to put strong garisons into his frontiers, and then to withdraw the remainder of his forces; which he accordingly did. The *Roman* emperor perceiving, that, without a peace, the war was at an end, did the like on his side; and having given directions for fortifying the places which were most in danger, he resolved to march away immediately against *Julian*, who had taken the title of *Augustus*, and had given just grounds to suspect he aimed at the empire ^b.

His prudence saves his forces.

IN this march the emperor fell sick and died; whereby *Julian* was raised to be absolute lord of the *Roman* empire, the whole forces of which he intended to make use of in order to destroy the *Persians*; that is, to break their force so effectually, as that it should be impossible for them ever to trouble

His dominions invaded by the emperor Julian.

^b AMMIAN MARCEL. l. xxi. EUTROP. ubi supra. ZOSIM. ubi supra. SOZOMEN. hist. eccl. l. v. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 113.

rity and want of discipline among the *Persian* troops, who yet held the *Romans* at bay, and made very long sieges, which tumultuary armies never do (30). *Zosimus* is by far more outrageous than *Marcellinus*. He was so bigotted a heathen, that he will not allow *Constantine the Great* to have done the least thing worthy of that title. He censures him for withdrawing the garisons from the frontiers of the empire, and insinuates, that by this means the *Persians* ravaged the *Roman* provinces with impunity (31). The christian writers, on the other hand, magnify all the actions of *Constantine* (32). In such a situation we could do no more than assemble the matters of fact relating to *Persia*, and deliver them in a plain style, and in their natural order; for had we entered into the comparing of authors and weighing authorities, we should have exceeded all bounds, and, after all, perhaps wasted our time to no great purpose.

(30) *Hist. rer. gest. sub. imp. Constant. Julian. Jovian &c.*
 (31) *Hist. l. ii. prop. fin.* (32) *Euseb. in vit. Constant. Zonar. hist. Rom. Sozomen. hist. eccles. &c.*

more the *Roman* provinces. Full of this great project, he did every thing which might conciliate the minds of the soldiers, raise his own reputation, or by any means contribute to facilitate his enterprize ; in which he succeeded so well, that the army discovered an unusual alacrity, and readily followed him into the dominions of *Sapor*, who contented himself with acting on the defensive, having no hopes at all of defeating the *Romans* in a pitched battle under so martial a prince. In this expedition *Hormisdas* the *Persian* commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, and by his advice it was that the emperor regulated most of his designs. As long as he did this, success attended his arms ; some strong places he took by force, others yielded through fear ; but most were given up to him by treachery. At length he besieged *Ctesiphon*, which had been the bulwark of the *Parthian* empire, but without success ; for it was well fortified, and had a numerous garison. Here it was that the *Romans* began to discover how puissant an enemy they had to deal with ^c.

Whom he
destroys, by
drawing
him too far
into his
country.

THE *Persians* skirmished with him every day ; the country on all sides was burnt and destroyed, insomuch, that it appeared impracticable to hope any further advantages on this side. *Julian* therefore resolved to repass the *Tigris*, on which he had a fleet of transports laden with provisions. A *Persian* of quality deserting to him assured him, that the method he took would be equally prejudicial to his fame and to his affairs ; that hitherto he might be justly stiled the conqueror of the *Persians*, and that he might still better deserve this title, if he would follow his advice ; which was, to quit the side of the river, to burn his fleet, and to march through a broad open road, into which he promised to conduct him, where, after three or four days march, he would find an end put to all the difficulties, which he either actually struggled with, or even apprehended. *Hormisdas*, when the emperor consulted him upon this project, told him plainly, That it was impracticable, and that he would be undone if he pursued it. *Julian*, however, was inflexible ; he ordered his soldiers to furnish themselves with twenty days provisions, and having so done he commanded the fleet to be set on fire, maugre all the solicitations of his friends, who, while it was yet in a flame, convinced him that he was betrayed ; whereupon he ordered the *Persian* nobleman and his attendants to be put to the torture. This was executed upon the servants ; but as for

^c EUTROP. l. x. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxiii. ZONAR. A. C. 363. SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. iii. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 307. ZOSIM. l. iii.

their lord, he was fled. It served only to increase the emperor's disquiet; for the men readily acknowledged, that they came on purpose to mislead him. Orders were then given to save as many of the vessels as was possible, which, however, were but a few; and then, as if he had perfectly lost his senses, *Julian* threw himself and his army into that road, which had been pointed out to him by his enemies. For three or four days they met with little or no interruption; but afterwards *Sapor*, with the whole force of *Persia*, coasted them in their march, and at the beginning of the night continually set upon their rear guard. The weather proving intensely hot, water scarce, and provisions failing, *Julian* saw plainly that his obstinacy had brought him into difficulties almost unsurmountable. He still continued to bear up against them with great constancy, and the soldiers, encouraged by his example, repulsed the *Persians* with great slaughter, as often as they attacked them. At length, on the twenty fifth of *June* in the evening, a mighty cloud of dust arose, occasioned by the advance of the greater part of the *Persian* horse. On this occasion the *Persian* noblemen gave full testimony of their valour, making such an impression on the left wing of the *Roman* army, as obliged the emperor to repair thither in person; whither he was no sooner come, than he received in his body an arrow, whether from the enemy, or from one of his own soldiers, could never be known, of which wound he died the next night. This threw his army into a terrible consternation, notwithstanding they had been victorious in the fight the day before, slain many thousand *Persians*, and amongst them fifty persons of quality ^d.

Sapor, as soon as he was informed of the emperor's death, made proclamation that he would give a great reward to the man by whose hand he fell; which, however, was never claimed. At the same time, to shew his desire of peace, he sent deputies to *Jovian*, who had succeeded *Julian*. In four days a peace was concluded, whereby the five provinces in dispute were for ever yielded to the *Persians*, together with the strong fortress of *Nisibis*, which had so long been the bulwark of the empire. As soon as the treaty was concluded, *Sapor* furnished the *Romans*, for their money, with provisions, and also gave and received hostages for the due performance of the treaty; which was exactly executed, tho' with much reluctance, by the *Romans*; yet of the migh-

*Makes an
advanta-
geous peace
with the
Romans.*

^d AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxiv. xxv. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 308. ZONAR. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABUL. PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 140. ZOSIM. l. iii. A. C. 303.

ty army led by *Julian* into *Persia*, scarce a tenth part returned, and even these perhaps had never returned, but by the favour of this peace, which they so much decried * (K).

DURING

* AMMIAN. MARCEL. ubi supra. SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. iii. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 308. EUTROP. l. x. AGATH. SCHOLAST. p. 136.

(K) The various accounts which are given by different authors of the death of the emperor *Julian*, belong to the *Constantinopolitan* history ; and therefore we have but just touched upon this subject here. *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Zosimus* afford the highest commendations to their hero *Julian*, on account of his penetrating farther into the *Persian* territories than any of his predecessors. The last-mentioned of these authors carries his eulogy so far, as to pretend that *Julian* conquered the greatest part of the *Persian* empire ; than which nothing can be falser, or more ridiculous. Almost all the *Greek* historians agree in blaming *Jovian* for the peace he made ; and on this account they degrade him far below his predecessor. It may not be amiss to take this opportunity of setting in a true light a point, which hath so generally, and so long, been misunderstood. *Julian* was, without question, a very gallant man and an excellent soldier ; but he was as certainly no general, since there is scarce a maxim in the art of war, against which he did not expressly act in this *Persian* expedition. All the *Roman* generals, who had suffered themselves to be dazzled with the reputation of conquering the *Persians*, had perished in their foolish attempts ; for, from *Crassus* to *Carus*, no *Roman* had ever penetrated the *Persian* dominions, but to his own dishonour ; and therefore there could be nothing more contrary to reason, than *Julian's* pushing forwards as he did. Again, he acted without any certain view ; he marched he knew not where ; he fought he knew not what ; he took for guides he knew not whom ; he burnt a fleet, when of all things it was most necessary to him ; he sacrificed his soldiers, in making them pass rivers almost unpassable in themselves, and in the sight of an enemy perfectly acquainted with the country. In one word, there were five large provinces in dispute : *Julian*, if he had taken cool and proper measures, might have disposed things so as to have secured them for ever to the *Romans* ; but instead of doing this, he did the single thing he should not have done ; he quitted the antient *Roman* method of making war, to take up that of the *Persians* ; and by engaging *Sapor* in his own way, and in his own country, sacrificed a numerous and victorious army. But if *Julian* was not, *Sapor* certainly was, a general ; he

(22) *Zosim. hist. Rom. l. iii. Ammian. Marcel l. xxvi. Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 136.*

managed

DURING the rest which so advantageous a treaty afforded *Turns his* to the *Persians*, their monarch neglected no opportunity of arms a-
 settling effectually the bounds of his empire towards *Tartary* *gainst*
 and *India*. This took him up some time, and served also to *other ene-*
 exercise his soldiers ; but after the death of *Jovian* the *Roman mies.*
 emperor, when the affairs of that people were again disor-
 dered, *Sapor* did not fail to make a new irruption, in breach,
 as the *Latin* writers say, of the peace subsisting between the
 two empires. The issue of this war is no less obscure than
 its commencement. All we know of it is, that at the be-
 ginning, *Sapor* had great advantages in *Armenia*, having slain
Arfaces, who then reigned in that country, where he also re-
 duced a large territory under his obedience ; but, on the ar-
 rival of *Arinthus*, he was constrained to abandon a great part
 of his conquests. However, being intent on aggrandizing
 the *Persian* dominions on this side, he still remained in arms,
 and transferred the imperial seat to *Ctesiphon*, the old capital
 of the *Parthian* empire, that he might be always at hand to
 improve such opportunities as might offer (L). It does not,
 however,

managed the war as it ought to have been managed ; he retired
 that he might conquer ; and when he had conquered, he thought
 of nothing but making an advantageous peace. In this he shewed
 himself a wise king, a great captain, and an able statesman. The elo-
 quence of the *Greek* writers will everlastingly do justice to the milita-
 ry virtues of *Julian*, and the christian piety of his successor. As we
 are now writing the *Persian* history, we thought it but justice to
 vindicate the character of a *Persian* monarch, by a short recapitu-
 lation of facts, which is all that is intended by this note.

(L) *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath given a pretty large account of
 this *Armenian* war, wherein he charges the king of *Persia* with
 breach of faith to the *Romans*, and with excessive cruelty and treach-
 ery towards the *Armenians*. He says, that he took advantage of
 that confusion which overspread the *Roman* affairs, after the death
 of the emperor *Jovian*, to fall upon the *Armenians*, first by slight
 incursions, quickly after more openly and with greater force ; that
 in the progress of the war, he, on some pretence or other, pre-
 vailed on *Arfaces* king of *Armenia* to admit of a personal conference
 with him ; at which he seized him, and instantly caused his eyes
 to be put out, and himself to be cruelly beaten with silver rods ;
 and a short time afterwards ordered him to be crucified, laying
 then siege to the capital of *Armenia*, where the queen, the king's
 sons, and treasures were ; that the *Armenians*, in this distress, had
 recourse to the emperor *Valentinian*, who sent to their assistance *A-*
rinthus, with an army which obliged *Sapor* to retire, tho' he ex-
 claimed

however, appear, that, after this time, he gained any great victory; and all we know farther is, that in the beginning of the reign of *Gratian*, this restless and ambitious monarch ended his days, after having reigned seventy years, or, as some say, seventy two, with great variety of fortune^f.

Artaxerxes.
Year of
Christ,
380.

To *Sapor* succeeded *Artaxerxes*; but who he was is a question. Some writers are positive that he was the son of his predecessor; others are no less positive that he was his brother. Those who will have him to be son of *Sapor*, give us this account of the matter: They say, that *Sapor* had four sons, *Hormisdas*, *Adarnasses*, and *Narses*, by great princesses; this *Artaxerxes* by a lady of exquisite beauty, but of no distinguished family. *Hormisdas*, by going over to the *Romans*, forfeited his right to the crown, and so *Adarnasses* came to be considered as his heir; but this prince threw away his title to the kingdom, by displaying his own unworthiness to possess it; for the inhabitants of *Mesopotamia* having presented to king *Sapor* a tent of camels skins, curiously painted, and enriched with gold, the king gave it to his son, and afterwards

^f AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra. CEDREN. ibid. p. 312. ZOSIM. l. iv. PAUL. DIACON. l. xi. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxvii.

claimed against it as a breach of the peace (34). It is easy enough to see that this account is perplexed, and altogether favourable to the *Romans*; but it is not easy to unravel it, or, at this distance of time, to point out all the misrepresentations contained therein. We know, however, that they are not wanting, and that the true ground of the war was this: *Julian*, when he made his irruption into *Persia*, compelled *Arsaces* king of *Armenia* to attend him with all the forces he cou'd raise, tho' he would not accept the assistance of other princes. This he did, because *Arsaces* was a christian, and he had a mind to harass him and his subjects. When *Sapor* came to treat with *Jovian*, he excluded the *Armenians*, intending to revenge himself upon them for the assistance they had given *Julian*; so that the war was not altogether without pretence, any more than the complaint of the *Romans* assisting them, since they could not do this according to the letter of their treaty with the *Persians*. Some time after, when *Valentinian* suspected *Para*, who succeeded his father *Arsaces*, he, by fraud, got him into his hands, and, after very ill usage, caused him to be cruelly put to death; which fact was highly resented by *Sapor*. Henceforward the peace was ill observed on both sides; and, on the whole, it is most evident, that *Sapor* did not employ either fraud or force more unjustly than the *Romans*, with whom he had to deal, tho' the authors of that nation are not always ready to acknowledge as much.

(34) *Ammian. Marcel. l. xxvii. Socrat. l. iii.*

asking

asking him how he liked it ; *The thing*, replied he, *is well enough ; but when I come to be king, I will have a tent of the skins of men.* His actions corresponded so exactly with this barbarous expression, that it was judged proper to set him aside. *Narjes* had the misfortune to offend the king, who therefore disinherited him, whereby the crown came to this *Artaxerxes*, who least thought of it ; a most romantic and incredible tale ! But the other opinion, that *Artaxerxes* was not the son, but the brother, of *Sapor*, is not at all the more probable, as making the foregoing story inconsistent and unintelligible ; we ought therefore to suppose he was his kinsman only. However, our *European* historians tell us nothing more concerning this prince, than that he maintained the peace with the *Romans*, and governed his dominions quietly four years ⁸ (M).

To

⁸ AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 137 ZONAR. A. C. 340. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 143.

(M) In this note we are to render a reason for our departing in the text from all authorities, in making the successor of *Sapor* neither his brother nor his son, but his kinsman only ; and this we shall do as briefly as is consistent with the readers satisfaction. For, first, we will shew, that he could not be the brother of *Sapor* ; secondly, we will shew, that he could not be his son ; and, thirdly, we will reconcile our conjecture to history. If this *Artaxerxes* had been the brother of *Sapor*, he must have been older, or younger ; if older, why was he not king before him ? or how came so cunning and so cruel a prince, as the *Romans* make *Sapor* to be, to spare an elder brother during a reign of seventy years ? Younger he could not be, since *Sapor* himself was a posthumous son (35). If he had been the son of *Sapor*, then, the historian says, he had three elder brothers, of whom *Hormisdas* escaped to the *Romans*, in the twenty fourth year of the reign of *Sapor*, and he was the second son ; how then could this be, especially if, as the *Greek* historians say, *Hormisdas* was married ? It remains, that we account for the expression of *Agathias*, who expressly affirms *Artaxerxes* to have been the brother of *Sapor* ; for we have set the credit of *Agathias* too high to be unhinged by a slight criticism. We say then, that *Agathias*, writing after the *Persian* records, retained the word *brother*, which the *Persians*, as other oriental nations do, used only in a large sense ; and therefore this does not contradict, but confirm, our conjecture, that *Artaxerxes* was the near kinsman of *Sapor*, and no more. The reason of our introducing this notion into our text was, the desire we had to make the history clear, plain, and consistent, which this account does. As to the story of the tent, we

(35) *Agath Scholast. l. iv.*

Sapor III. To him succeeded his son *Sapor*, the third of that name, who reigned five years; but what he did in that space, we find not in any *Greek* author, probably because, adhering to the peace made with his grandfather, he troubled not the *Roman* empire, then governed by *Theodosius the Great* ^h.

Varanes IV. *Varanes*, or, as the *Greeks* write it, *Vararanes*, the fourth of that name, succeeded his father *Sapor*. He is also known by the surname of *Cerma Saa*, of which we have little or no account as to its meaning. Elsewhere, however, this difficulty will be cleared up, and the title shewn to be *Kerman Shâh*, which province of *Kerman* was in his reign added to the *Persian* empire. He also maintained the peace with the *Romans*, being otherwise employed; and therefore the *Greek* historians say very little of him, any more than of his predecessors, tho' he reigned eleven years ⁱ.

Isdigertes. *Isdigertes* succeeded *Varanes*, a monarch deservedly renowned for his many great virtues. He was cotemporary with *Arcadius* emperor of the east, with whom he lived not only in terms of peace, but of friendship; insomuch, that at his death the emperor *Arcadius* declared him protector of his son *Theodosius* the second, and of the *Roman* empire. Of this when *Isdigertes* was informed, he sent *Antiochus*, one of his eunuchs, a person of great wisdom and experience, to take care of his pupil's education, and by him declared to the senate of *Constantinople*, that he would turn the whole force of the *Persian* monarchy upon whomsoever should attempt to disturb the young prince's administration, whereby the empire was preserved, during a minority, in perfect quiet. As the young *Theodosius* grew up, the ties of friendship became stronger between the two empires, and embassies

^h AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. ubi supra. ⁱ AGATH. SCHOLAST. ubi supra. GREGOR. ABUL PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 146.

find it in *Zonaras* (36), as we found the story of *Marfyas* in *Zosimus* (37); and we take them both for fictions. Truth is always uniform, and therefore, as far as these stories are consistent with each other, and with common sense, we acknowledge them to be true; but, where they differ from these, we crave leave to differ from them. In all probability the fact was, that the family of *Hormisdas* settled at *Constantinople*, and that *Artaxerxes* was the next of the blood royal resident in *Persia*, and in a capacity of succeeding to the crown; for, as we shall see hereafter, the *Persians* were not scrupulous in setting aside young children.

(36) *A. C.* 340.

(37) *Lib.* ii, iii.

were

were more frequent than in former times (N). Amongst other ministers whom *Theodosius* made use of, *Marathas*, a

(N) This fact is doubted of by *Agathias*, and he assures us, was not doubted of by him only, but by many of the learned in his time; the reason of which, he says, was the silence of cotemporary authors, and the story's being traced no higher than the writings of *Procopius* (38). We have, however, made no doubt of inserting this as a fact in our text, and we hope to give the reader satisfaction for so doing in this note. As to *Procopius*, if he was alone, he would be an incontestable witness; for he did not live at any great distance, neither was he one who reported things upon trust. We find this in the introduction to his history, and he says expressly, that *Arcadius's* will was sent to *Isdigertes*, and that the nomination of this prince to the tutelage of young *Theodosius* preserved the empire in peace (39). All the Greek writers own, that, in the space of twenty one years, which this *Persian* king reigned, he never attempted any thing against the *Romans*; but, on the contrary, lived with *Theodosius* in the strictest amity all his days, which seems to be a strong presumption in favour of this account. *Zonaras*, in his history, relates this fact without the least sign of diffidence or suspicion (40). *Cedrenus* doth the same with this additional circumstance, that the emperor *Arcadius* bequeathed the *Persian* king a great sum of money for his trouble (41). As to *Antiochus*, all authors agree, that he was the first governor of *Theodosius*, and that, for a time, the empire was swayed by his counsels (42). The reason *Agathias* doubted the fact, seems to be his zeal for the *Roman* glory, which, he thought, was tarnished by the choice *Arcadius* made of a barbarian for the tutor of his son. *Procopius* informs us, that it was the high reputation of *Isdigertes* for wisdom and probity, which induced *Arcadius* to make choice of him; and for this he commends him (43). Yet *Agathias* himself yields a higher compliment to *Isdigertes* than *Procopius*; for if, without being his tutor, that monarch abstained from any attempts upon his dominions, merely because *Theodosius* was a child, he was one of the most generous princes that ever lived, and deserved the confidence of all the princes his cotemporaries. The truth seems to be, that *Procopius*, as a man of business, a courtier, and a soldier, was free from prejudice; whereas *Agathias*, who was a downright scholar, and lived in an age when it was fashionable to hate the *Persians*, could not let a story so much to their honour pass, without intimating a doubt about it (44).

(38) *Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 136.* (39) *Procop. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 2. p. 8.* (40) *A. C. 423.* (41) *Hist. comp. p. 335.*
 (42) *Sozomen. hist. eccl. l. ix. Evagr. hist. eccl. l. i. Cedren ubi supra.* (43) *Procop. ubi supra.* (44) *Agath. Scholast. ubi supra.*

Mesopotamian bishop, was one, a person equally remarkable for the innocence of his life, and for the winning pleasantry of his conversation. His stay in *Persia* quite altered the state of the christian church in that country; for whereas before they were looked upon not only as heretics, but as very bad subjects, on account of their inclination to the *Roman* emperors, who were of their own religion, *Marathas* so fully informed him of the true doctrines of the christian faith, that he began to entertain just ideas of the innocency and loyalty of its professors. This alarmed the *Persian* priests, and they instantly began to form schemes for the destruction of so wise and good a man. He had, it seems, by his prayers cured the king of a fixed and inveterate head-ach, which induced that monarch to reverence him greatly, and for his sake his religion, without forsaking, however, his own. To drive the bishop from court, and to revive in the king's mind his antient dislike to the christians, the *Persian magi* contrived a very whimsical expedient, which yet had well nigh effected their purpose, ridiculous as it was. They let down a man into a pit behind the sacred fire in the king's oratory, and having covered the person placed therein with carpets, they directed him, when the king came to worship, to speak the following words in a shrill voice; *Impious and ungrateful prince, I will chase thee from thy throne, if thou banish not that christian, whom thou believest to be acceptable to God.* *Isdigertes* was mightily surprized when he first heard this; but more so, when he heard it constantly repeated as often as he went to his devotions. At length he determined to send back *Marathas*, but with the utmost civility, as well in respect to his master as to himself; but when he came to break it to the bishop, that prelate penetrated the contrivance, and advised the king, when he next heard the voice, to order certain persons to dig in the place whence it came. *Isdigertes* did so; the man was discovered, the fraud detected, and the *magi* decimated. The king moreover granted hereupon free leave to the christians to build churches throughout his dominions, where-ever they thought fit, and freed them in all respects from the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors^k.

*Christians
ty highly
favoured
by him.*

Marathas returned after this to *Constantinople*, and was employed a second time in an embassy to *Persia*. The *magi*, hearing of his coming, had recourse to new frauds; but the king easily saw through these without assistance. They were therefore so far from preventing his giving a favourable re-

^k SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 8.

ception to the bishop, that they engaged him to treat this prelate with still greater marks of favour than he had given him before. *Marathas* had not been long in *Persia* before a new opportunity offered for raising his credit with the king. The prince of *Persia* was thought to be possessed. This pious prelate, assisted by *Abdas*, whom he had consecrated bishop in *Persia*, joined their prayers to God for the prince's recovery; which soon after happened, to the joy of the whole court, and to the honour of the christian religion. *Isdigertes* governed in the whole twenty one years, and, during that space, lived in perfect peace and friendship with the *Romans*, as also with the christians in his own dominions, whom he treated not only with lenity, but indulgence¹.

Varanes, or *Vararanes* the fifth, succeeded his father *Isdi-* Varanes
gertes, and seems, notwithstanding what the *Greek* writers V.
 affirm, to have had, in his own disposition, a great tender- Year of
 ness for the christians. He had not, however, been long up- Christ,
 on the throne, before he found himself provoked to such a 421.
 degree, as constrained him to lay aside all indulgence, and
 openly to persecute them. Thus it came to pass: *Abdas* the
Persian prelate, in a high and unwarrantable fit of zeal, burnt
 a fire-temple to the ground. The king sent for him, and,
 having a great respect for his person, reproved him gently,
 and advised him to rebuild it; which he absolutely refused to
 do. The christian writers universally condemn the rashness
 of the first act, and the prelate's constancy in the second.
 However, the *magi* resented this matter so warmly, and, by
 their clamour, so incensed the people, that the king was ob-
 liged to proceed to extremities, to order all the christian
 churches to be demolished, and to put the bishop *Abdas* to
 death. After this a furious persecution began on the old
 supposition, that such as differ in religion from their prince
 cannot be loyal to his government. As for persons of qua-
 lity, they were deprived of their places, had their estates con-
 fiscated, but were indulged in life and liberty, in hopes of
 their coming over. *Hormisdas*, a man descended of the an-
 tient race of *Achemenes*, after being stripped of his fortune,
 was reduced to keep camels for his bread. Another noble-
 man had his wife taken from him, and given to his slave;
 but these methods wrought no conversions. The meaner
 sort of people were still in a worse way; they were delivered
 over to the mercy of the priests, and consequently were

¹ AGATH. SCHOLAST. l. iv. p. 137. PAUL. DIACON. l. xvi.
 GREGOR. ABUL-PHAR. dynast. vii. p. 140.

subjected to an inexpressible variety of deaths and torments ^m.

War
breaks out
with the
Romans.

THESE things quickly occasioned differences to arise between the *Persian* and *Roman* monarchs, especially as reasons of state concurred with these religious jars. *Theodosius*, in the days of *Isdigertes*, had lent a certain number of miners, who were to be employed in working anew some silver and gold mines, which had been long neglected in *Persia*. These miners *Varanes* refused to send home; and therefore as well on this account, as because multitudes of christians fled out of *Persia* into the dominions of *Theodosius*, both parties began to prepare for war. The king of *Persia* made choice of one *Narses* for his general, and sent him to his frontiers, where he expected to have found a numerous army; but he was mistaken; the troops were not come to the place of rendezvous; and, before they could be assembled, the *Roman* general *Ardaburius* marching through *Armenia*, fell into *Azazene*, a *Persian* province, and began to waste it with fire and sword. *Narses* no sooner received this news, than he instantly marched to give him battle with the forces he had about him. The consequence was, that the *Persian* was worsted; but, being an able captain, made a good retreat. He saw, that it was now impossible to prevent the destruction of *Azazene* by force; and therefore, returning back to the place of rendezvous, whither by this time the *Persian* troops were come, he, at the head of a very numerous army, made an irruption into *Mesopotamia*, a *Roman* province, which obliged the *Roman* general quickly to return, and as quickly to block up *Nisibis*, the principal fortress which the *Persians* had on that side. *Narses* finding himself disappointed, for he conceived that the *Romans* would immediately have given him battle a second time, resolved, if it was possible, to provoke them to fight. With this view he sent a message to *Ardaburius*, telling him, That if he would appoint a day, he would be ready to meet him in the field. But *Ardaburius* wisely answered, That the *Romans* fought when they pleased themselves, and not when their enemies thought it for their advantage. *Varanes*, in the mean time, had solicited the *Saracens* to break with the *Romans*; and they very readily complied, their captain *Alamundarus* being naturally an enemy to the *Romans*. This man, having raised a prodigious army, promised the *Persian* king to perform wonders, at least to reduce *Antioch* and *Syria* under his power; neither

^m THEODORET. hist. eccles. l. v. c. 39. SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 20. EVAGR. l. i. c. 19.

meant he to perform less than he promised, for, passing the *Euphrates*, he broke, like a torrent, into the *Roman* province; but beginning to plunder without mercy, the people recovered their spirits, and, joining the *Roman* army, fell upon *Alamundarus* in his march, and cut to pieces a hundred thousand men, which forced the remainder of the *Saracens* to fly with shame into their own country. When this news reached the ear of the *Persian* monarch, with this further circumstance, that *Nisibis* was so closely pressed, that it could not long hold out, he determined to put all things to the risque, and to march to the relief of that city with the whole force of *Persia*. This resolution once taken, *Varanes* instantly put it in execution, directing all his troops in the frontier provinces to rendezvous at a certain time, and marched immediately with an army he had collected from the nine provinces of *Persia*, together with his elephants, that his presence might influence all the necessary preparations. His design succeeded perfectly well; for by that time he entered *Mesopotamia*, all his generals were arrived; so that he advanced towards *Nisibis* with a prodigious army. The *Romans*, hearing of his approach, the number of elephants he brought with him, and his mighty strength in cavalry, were seized with a sudden panic, and, without staying for his coming, raised the siege, and fled. This was highly pleasing to *Varanes*, who, thinking now the worst was over, retired to his capital, and left his generals to manage the war. Herein he acted incautiously and unhappily; for the *Romans* recovering their spirits, defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, repulsed the *Saracens* a second time, and, under the command of *Ardaburius*, beat the *Persian* forces, with the slaughter not only of a great number of men, but of seven generals. However, *Varanes* continued the war, and being himself a prince of great firmness and much military skill, he found means to make even victories disadvantageous to the *Romans*; for, by keeping a court on the frontiers, repairing his armies by constant supplies, and preserving his magazines in good order, he kept the enemy still on the defensive; and as they found it difficult to recruit, all actions that were bloody were favourable to the *Persians*, tho' they were beaten. The emperor *Theodosius*, perfectly sensible of the situation of things, sent *Helion*, a person of great distinction, with a large body of troops, to reinforce his army, directing him to enter into a negotiation with *Varanes*, and to conclude a peace, if possible. *Helion* pursuing his instructions, and finding the *Roman* army intrenched, sent *Maximin*, the colleague of *Ardaburius*, to offer *Varanes* peace, on certain conditions.

Varanes,

Varanes, ordered *Maximin* to be conducted to the tent of one of his principal officers, and, in the mean time, hold a council of war, wherein it was resolved immediately to attack the *Romans* in their camp; and, in case they were repulsed, to accept the terms offered by *Maximin*. There was in the *Persian* army a corps of troops, distinguished by the title of *immortal*, because their number was continually kept up to ten thousand men, by draughts out of other corps. This body of troops took upon themselves this dangerous piece of service, which, however, they reckoned would prove the less so, if they could take the *Romans* unprovided. In order to this they divided themselves, and while five thousand attacked the intrenchments, the other five thousand formed behind a hill, waiting there for an opportunity to attack the *Romans* in flank. But their enterprize miscarried; for *Procopius*, a *Roman* general, observing the troops that were formed behind the hill, marched round with a great body of forces, and getting between them and those who attacked the *Roman* camp, charged them on all sides with incredible fury; so that the victory was quickly determined on the side of the *Romans*, with a prodigious slaughter of the *Persian* soldiery. *Varanes* then condescended to hear *Maximin*; and when that officer had explained to him his master's demands, he told him, That, for his sake, he would be content to make peace on those terms, and put an end to the severities exercised upon the christians. An accident, however, happened, which carried this matter much farther, and contributed more than the peace between the two empires to the re-establishment of christianity in *Persia*. It was this: When the province of *Azazene* was ravaged by the *Romans* in the beginning of the war, seven thousand *Persians* were brought prisoners to the city of *Amida*, where they fell into extreme want. *Acases*, bishop of that place, having assembled his clergy, represented to them in the most pathetic terms the misery of these unhappy prisoners. He then observed, that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, so he would certainly be better pleased with the relief of these his creatures, than with being served in gold and silver vessels in their churches. The clergy entertained this motion not only with readiness, but with applause, sold all the consecrated vessels, and having maintained the *Persians* during the war, sent the whole seven thousand home, at the conclusion of the peace, with money in their pockets. *Varanes* was so much astonished at this, that he sent to invite the bishop to his capital, where he received him with the utmost reverence, and did the christians many

favours



favours at his request. After this, *Varanes* enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and, having reigned twenty years, died, beloved and honoured by his subjects ⁿ.

To *Varanes* the fifth succeeded *Varanes* the sixth, or, as *Varanes* he is called by some authors, *Isdigertes*. It is not probable, VI. that he ever broke the peace made by his father with the Ro- Year of
mans; inasmuch as we meet with nothing concerning him in Christ
any of the *Greek* historians, further than that he was cotem- 442.
porary with *Theodosius* the second, and his successor *Marti-*
anus, and that he reigned seventeen years and four months ^o.

Peroses succeeded his father *Varanes*, or *Isdigertes*. He *Peroses*.
was a prince of a restless and turbulent spirit, and could not Year of
bear that the *Hunns*, who at this time began to be terrible, Christ
as well to his subjects as those of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, 458.
should incroach, as they daily did, upon his dominions. Those
he had to do with were distinguished by the name of *Euthalites*
or *white Hunns*, and were much more civilized than the
rest, as living in cities, and under a certain form of govern-
ment; which the rest of their nation did not. To rid him-
self of those neighbours, *Peroses* marched at the head of a
great army, after having carefully settled the affairs of his
empire, and done all that in him lay to secure its peace in his
absence. *Gonza* was the capital of the nation he attacked,
and lay directly north of *Persia*. *Peroses* marched strait thi-
ther, hoping to put an end to the war by a general action.
But the *Euthalites*, or *Nephalites*, as some authors call them,
were wiser. They knew that a wasted country was not lost;
and therefore retiring continually, they drew *Peroses* and
his army so far into their territories, as to cut off their retreat,
and, at the same time, to hinder them from receiving provi-
sions. The distress of the *Persians* was so great, and the sol-
diers were so enfeebled and dispirited, that they were con-
strained to accept any conditions that were offered them.
The king of the *Euthalites*, being informed of their condition,
sent to acquaint *Peroses*, that if he had a mind to deliver
himself and his army, he might do it upon these terms, viz.
swearing never to invade the Euthalites, and coming to do ho-
mage to him as his lord. To the first of these *Peroses* readily
yielded; but the last seemed intolerable. At last the magi,
who were about his person, proposed to him an expedient,
which removed all difficulties. This expedient was, that he
should go pay his compliments to the king of the *Euthalites*
at sun-rising, when his prostrating himself would be under-

ⁿ SOCRAT. hist. eccles. l. vii. c. 17—21. ZONAR. hist. Rom.
A C. 435. AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 137. ^o AGATH. ubi supra.

stood by that king as an act of submission; but by himself would be conceived to be no more than an act of reverence to the sun. This expedient was approved and carried instantly into execution. The king of the *Euthalites* was satisfied, and *Peroses*, with the remainder of his army, returned back into *Persia*. As soon as he had a little settled his affairs, and had leisure to look about him, the *Persian* monarch, unmindful of his oath, provided for a second expedition against the *Hunns*. He took, however, more prudent measures than before; that is, he not only raised a very numerous army, but he likewise took care to be well furnished with provisions. He also settled his domestic concerns in the best manner possible; and leaving the prince his son regent of the kingdom, he began his march a second time towards the northern frontiers of his empire. The *Euthalites* supposing, as they very well might, that *Peroses* would expect to penetrate, as he did before, into the heart of their country, carried off their effects, but concealed their forces behind certain mountains, from whence issuing suddenly on all sides of the *Persian* army, they totally routed it, and, at their leisure, killed or made prisoners almost all the soldiers of whom it was composed, amongst whom *Peroses* himself perished, when he had worn the *Persian* diadem twenty years[†] (O).

WHEN

† PROCOP. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 24. p. 10 AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 138. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 355.

(O) The story of *Peroses* is related at large by *Procopius*, in the beginning of his memoirs of the *Persian* war. He informs us, that, in his first expedition, the *Persian* monarch carried with him a certain *Roman* ambassador, whose name was *Eusebius*, a discreet person, and one equally beloved by the king and by his nobility. Him therefore, when the *Persian* generals had discovered the miserable situation they were in, they made choice of to break the matter to *Peroses*, that, before it was too late, some method might be taken, to extricate them out of their misfortunes. *Eusebius* having artfully drawn the king into a discourse of the presence of mind necessary in great distresses, and being desired to speak his mind freely of the state they were now in, he told *Peroses* this story: *A lion once saw a kid tied at a distance, and pressed by hunger, leaped at it with all his force; but, falling short of his prey, he dropped into a pit, which had been prepared for him, and out of which all his force could not deliver him* *Peroses* easily comprehended the drift of this fable, and, by the advice of his magi, acted as the reader hath been told above. In his second expedition, *Peroses* wanted such an adviser, otherwise he had not fallen as he did. The enemy,

WHEN the *Persians* had received advice of the disastrous *Valens*. death of their king, they made choice of his brother *Obalas*, Year of or, as he is usually called by the *Greek* writers, *Valens*, not *Christ*, caring to trust so young a person as *Cavades* then was, with ^{482.} the reins of government, tho' his father had left him regent. This *Valens* proved an excellent prince, tender, compassionate, just, affable, and desirous of assuaging, as far as he might, the misery of his country, almost wholly subjected by the *Euthalites*, to whom, for two years, he paid tribute, and with whom, for two others, he held war. At length, worn out with cares, he died, after a short and troublesome reign of four years, the less regretted by his subjects, on account of his being a man peaceably disposed, and therefore very unfit to restore the ancient lustre of the kingdom ^P (P).

Cavades,

^P CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 356. AGATH. hist. l. iv. p. 138.

my, it seems, having timely notice of his intention, spent many months in digging a vast ditch in the midst of a plain, and in removing all the earth which was thrown out of it. In the middle they left a narrow neck of land, and having covered this mighty ditch with hurdles, they strewed these with mold, and covered them with grass plots. This done, they drew all their forces, on the approach of *Peroses*, into a line of battle before the ditch, and, as the *Persian* troops advanced, they drew off in close order cross the neck of land. The *Persian* cavalry following them with great fury, pushed each other into the ditch, and so became a sacrifice to this incensed people. *Peroses* is said to have had no less than thirty sons grown up to man's estate, who all perished with him here, *Cavades* being left at home, on account of his youth, and that the kingdom might be preserved to the immediate offspring of *Peroses* (45).

(P) There cannot be any thing more perplexed that the accounts given us by the *Greek* writers of these *white Hunns*, who, for a time, so terribly distressed the *Persians*. *Procopius*, who speaks more at large of them than any other writer, calls them *Ephthalites*, and says, they inhabited a country to the north of of *Persia*. Their chief city, according to him, was *Gorgo*, on the very frontiers of *Persia* (46). *Agathias* calls these people *Nepthalites*. They are generally agreed to have been the same people, who, in other ancient authors, are called *Indoscythæ* (47). All this will gave the reader but very little, if any, light at all. From

(45) *Procop. de bell. Persic. l. i. c. 3 p. 9. Agath. Scholast. l. iv. p. 137. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 355, 356.* (46) *De bell. Persic. l. i. c. 3.* (47) *Agath. Scholast. l. iv.*

Cavades,
Year of
Christ
486.

Cavades, or, as he it frequently called, *Cabades*, ascended the throne on the demise of his uncle. He was a prince of a high spirit ; one who loved war, and understood it ; ready to undertake any thing for the extending of his dominion, and jealous to the last degree of his authority, and the glory of the *Persian* name. At first these qualities were extremely useful to his subjects ; for, in all probability, had they not been governed by so warlike and enterprizing a prince, they had never recovered their independency, but had sunk under the weight of those continual invasions made upon them by the *Euthalites*, whom no tribute could content, nor treaties restrain. Against these enemies *Cavades* set himself with great resolution ; and, making use of the same policy which they had done towards his father, drew them, by small bodies, in hopes of plunder, far into his country, and, in their return, cut them off. When, by this means, they were cured of their practice of invading, he turned his arms upon them ; but warily, sustaining one body of troops by another, that by a third ; wintering sometimes in their country, till at last he quite broke their spirits, and obliged them to own him for their sovereign, whom they thought to have had for their subject. This war finished, *Cavades*, from being terrible to his enemies, became no less so to his subjects. His enterprising, restless genius, incapable of brooking any restraints, put him upon altering the constitution of his kingdom, and depriving all the nobility of those privileges and prerogatives, which they had enjoyed under his predecessors. He likewise became intolerably proud, would scarce allow any of them to enter his presence, or advise

the *Oriental* historians we learn, that their true name was *Haiathalites*, and that they possessed a large tract of country between the *Indies* and *Persia*, till they began to make incroachments on the country last mentioned, after they had made choice of *Balkh* for their metropolis (48). This is plain and intelligible to every man that is acquainted with the *Oriental* geography ; and we shall make the whole history of this war much more uniform and perspicuous, when we come to speak of it from the memoirs of the *Eastern* writers. At present this is sufficient to demonstrate the great utility of these comparisons, despised only by such as either cannot, or are unwilling to, be at the pains necessary to such an undertaking.

(48) *Mirkbond. sect. 31.*

him in his affairs; but acted with such an arbitrary fierceness, as would have given a very bad colour to his proceedings, had they been really just in themselves. At length he pushed his extravagancy so far, as to publish an edict, whereby all the women in the empire were declared common to all the men therein. This the *Persian* nobility thought too much to be endured; and therefore they instantly assembled, seized on the person of the king, deposed him, and cast him into prison, supposing that less than this could not secure themselves in safety, or the kingdom in peace. This happened after he had reigned eleven years, and appears to have been as total a revolution as ever happened in any kingdom, there being scarce any who adhered to the deposed prince; and those that did were constrained to be silent, for his sake, as well as for their own^r.

Zambades, whom some call *Blases*, others *Lamases*, and *Zambades*, who is by some said to have been the son, by others the brother, of *Peroses*, consequently the uncle or brother of *Cavades*, was elected king in his stead. The first thing the new king did was, to assemble a general council of the nobility, in which he desired they would consider and determine what should be done with *Cavades*. The people had before declared, that they considered the person of their prince as sacred; however, the council were very much divided, especially when *Gusanaftades*, who was possessed of the highest office in the kingdom, drew a little knife out of his pocket, with which he was wont to pare his nails; and when he had made them take notice of the smallness of its blade, *This*, said he, *properly applied now, will do what twenty thousand men will not be able to do, if you let this opportunity slip*. At last it was unanimously determined, that the king should, for his unworthy administration of the government, suffer perpetual imprisonment, and be for ever forgotten by his people, whose allegiance from thenceforwards was to be transferred to *Zambades*. This prince had indeed all the properties necessary to give lustre to a crown justly attained. He was equally wise and indulgent, desirous of restoring order, and of making the people happy; he applied himself with great industry to remedy those evils, which had taken birth from his predecessor's conduct and example. But while he was thus employed a new storm arose, which, after throwing the whole kingdom into violent convulsi-

^r AGATH. hist. lib. iv. p. 139. PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 5. p. 16. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 356. THEOPHYLACT. hist. p. 19.

ons, at length produced a second revolution. Thus it happened^f.

The deposed
king es-
capes.

THE keeper of the castle, in which *Cavades* was imprisoned, became enamoured of his queen, who alone remained attached to him in all his misfortunes, and who failed not to bring him necessaries with her own hands, though she was not permitted to see him. With much ado, however, she procured leave to write to him, and having acquainted him with the situation of things, *Cavades* by letter directed her to soothe the passion of his goaler, in order to get admittance to him. This the lady did so effectually, that she had access to her husband when she pleased, and thereby an opportunity of acquainting him that he had still one friend left, who was ready to undertake any thing for his service. The name of this man was *Seoses*, a person of quality, who had a great number of dependents, among whom he collected a troop fit to attend the king where-ever he should think fit, when he should be once safely out of the castle. The care of this the queen took upon herself; for staying, as she often did, late in the evening, she dressed the king in her cloaths, wherein he went out, and having put on his, remained in his stead. As she pretended to be sick, and not to leave her bed for some days, the cheat was not discovered, so that *Cavades* had time enough given him to save himself, which he did in the company of *Seoses* and his friends, who conducted him quite through *Persia* into the territories of the *Euthalites*, whose king received him with great honour, and readily granted him his protection. As for the queen, there is nothing said of her fate with certainty; however, historians intimate, that more of resentment than of pity was shewn in the treatment towards her. As for *Cavades*, the king of the *Euthalites* entertained him splendidly, treated him as his good friend and ally, and gave him his daughter in marriage. After this the *Persian* king began to hold correspondence with some of the nobility, and finding or believing he found in his people a propensity to receive him once more as their sovereign, he persuaded his father-in-law to furnish him with an army; and this favour being readily accorded to him, he no sooner saw the troops in a readiness, than he put himself at their head, and marched directly into *Persia*^g.

Cavades
restored.
Year of
Christ
501.

Cavades entered first into the province, of which *Gusastades*, who had threatened his life, was governor; where

^f AGATH. PROCOP. CEBREN. THEOPH. ubi supra.
^g PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 6. AGATH. CEBREN. ubi supra.

he instantly caused proclamation to be made, that this man, as a rebel, stood deprived of his charge, and that himself would instantly confer it on him, who should first pay his duty to him on a day assigned. His friends represented to the king, that this was innovating the established laws, which fixed the governments of provinces in certain houses. *Cavades*, however, affected to remain firm; but at the day conferred the office of governor upon *Adergunabades*, a young nobleman next of kin to the deprived governor, who, as it was concerted, paid his compliments to him first. After this he proceeded to the capital of *Persia*, and repossessed himself of the throne, almost as easily as he had been ejected. His conduct upon this extraordinary change in his affairs was suitable to the fierceness of his temper. *Zambades* he deprived of sight and imprisoned; after he had for four years worn the royal title. *Gusanastades* he put to death; and that his restoration might be adorned with one act of generosity amidst so much severity, he erected a new office for his friend *Seoses*, whom he made lieutenant general of his kingdom.

It was not long before the king of the *Euthalites* pressed *Invades* his son-in-law to repay the great sums of money he had lent *the Roman* him. *Cavades* found he had it not in his power to comply *provinces* with his demand, and therefore desired *Anastafius*, then emperor of the east, to accommodate him with the sum he wanted, offering to pay interest for it, which was refused. *Cavades* readily conceiving that there was now no way to avoid breaking with his father-in-law, but by making war upon the *Romans*, chose this as the lesser evil of the two; and, having a considerable body of forces about him, made a sudden irruption into *Armenia*, preventing, by the quickness of his march, the very report of his expedition. By this method he answered his purpose; for the inhabitants having no time to withdraw their effects, he raised excessive contributions; after which he besieged *Amida*, the principal fortress in those parts, in form. As the province had for many years enjoyed a profound peace, the city was wholly unprovided either of garison or of magazines; however, the citizens refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. *Cavades*, who delighted in war, and who understood it perfectly well, practised all the methods then in use for reducing

^u PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 6. p. 19. ACATH. Hist. lib. iv. p. 139. CEDREN. H. C. p. 336. THEOPHYLACT. lib. iv. p. 100.

fortified places, but in vain ; at length, however, when he and his principal commanders were almost in despair, a tower was surprized by the supine negligence of certain monks, on the eightieth day from the commencement of the siege. At first *Cavades* suffered his soldiers to put the inhabitants to the sword. A citizen thereupon told him, it was unworthy of a hero to put those to death who were unable to resist, *Why then*, said the king, *did you pretend to treat me as an enemy ?* *Because*, said the citizen, *It was the will of God to deliver Amida, not to your will, but to your valour.* *Cavades*, charmed with this compliment, ordered the citizens to be spared. Some time afterwards he restored to them their privileges, directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired, and leaving therein *Glonas*, a *Persian* nobleman, with a garison of a thousand men, he treated it afterwards rather as a benefactor than a conqueror *.

Defeats
several
Roman
generals.

As soon as the news of this invasion reached *Rome*, the emperor took the necessary precautions for assembling an army, which was accordingly done ; and orders were given them to march to the frontiers with all imaginable expedition. The *Greek* writers tell us, that there never were better forces sent against the *Persians*, than this army was composed of, or generals of greater reputation. *Cavades* on his side took the field early, and being informed that the *Roman* officers differed among themselves, and had divided their forces into several independent corps, he resolved to attack them as speedily as he could. He first fell upon *Ariobindus*, who, on the approach of the *Persians*, shamefully abandoned his camp, and fled to an adjacent city. Eight hundred *Euthalites*, who were the forlorn hope of *Cavades's* army, in their next march fell in with a considerable body of *Roman* troops, commanded by *Hypatius*, and were by them intirely cut to pieces on the side of a river, the stream of which they dyed with their blood. It was not long before the *Persian* monarch arrived on its banks, where guessing by the colour of the water what had happened, he immediately conceived, that he should find the *Romans* secure and unprovided. Whereupon, instead of making a halt, he pushed on with his cavalry ; and, as he conjectured, finding the *Romans* eating, drinking, and washing themselves in the river, he severely revenged the death of his friends, by putting almost this whole body of *Romans* to death without any resistance †.

* PROCOF. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 7. p. 20. CEDREN. H. C. p. 169. † PROCOF. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 8.

UPON the heels of this victory, he received advice of the *Hunns* having broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was obliged to return with his whole army into *Persia*, whence he happily expelled those barbarous invaders. While *Cavades* was thus employed, things on the frontiers went not altogether so well, tho' not at all less honourably for the *Persians*. After the departure of the army, the *Romans* in several bodies drew nearer to *Amida*, in order to streighten its garison, and to prevent its receiving provisions. They likewise found means to betray *Glonas* the *Persian* commander into an ambuscade, wherein himself and two hundred horse were cut to pieces. This was not only a very unfortunate accident for the garison, in point of the loss they sustained of their governor and a fifth part of their forces, but it was also fatal in its consequences, by reason of its restraining them from making any excursions, in order to fill their magazines. The command devolved upon the son of *Glonas*, a young man but an excellent officer, and one who acquired a greater reputation by losing this city, than his master had done by gaining it. After a long blockade, in which, though the *Romans* did little, the *Persians* suffered much, being constrained to feed on the vilest and most nauseous things to satisfy their hunger, while the provisions in their magazines remained untouched, in order to serve another purpose, hopes of succour being lost, the governor entered into a treaty with the *Romans* for the delivery of the city. During this treaty large distributions were made from the magazines; whence the *Roman* officers conceiving that the besieged had still plenty of provisions, they agreed to let the garison march out, and to carry with them all that they had, giving also to the governor a vast sum of money for surrendering a place, which in a few days must have fallen into their hands, with all that was in it. Some time after a truce for seven years was concluded between the *Romans* and *Persians*, and hostages given on both sides for its being duly kept, which afforded *Cavades* leisure to pursue his wars against the *Hunns* ² (Q).

IN

² PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 9. p. 38. CEDREN. H. C. p. 170. AGATH. hist. lib. iv. p. 139.

(Q) While *Cavades* made use of the peace subsisting between him and the *Romans* to carry on war in his opposite frontier, in order effectually to quell the barbarous nations inhabiting on that side, the *Greek* writers tell us, that there happened an event, which effectually reconciled this prince to the christians, to whom hitherto he had

*Proposes
the adop-
tion of his
son to the
emperor.*

IN these he had his usual success; yet all his foreign victories could not secure to him peace or tranquillity in his family. He had three sons, *Caoses Zames*, and *Chosroes*, the last of whom he designed for his successor. *Caoses* the eldest is said to have been a prince of merit; neither are we told why his father at first disliked him. But so it was, that, conceiving against him a most violent hatred, he resolved to deprive him of the succession. *Zames* had the misfortune to be blind of an eye, on which account, by the laws of *Persia*, he was incapable of reigning. *Chosroes* very much resembled his father in temper, fierce, warlike, and ambitious; he was continually contriving great things, and addressed himself with as much diligence to achieve them, as with facility he had planned them in his head: On this young prince *Cavadēs* reposed his hopes, and being desirous to establish him in a more glorious situation than any of his predecessors, he entered into a negotiation with *Justin*, who had succeeded *Anastasius* in the empire, in order to induce him to adopt *Chosroes*. At first this motion was well entertained at *Constantinople*, but by degrees the emperor was persuaded that it might be injurious to his family and his subjects, which determined him against it. However, commissioners met on both sides, to treat of a lasting peace, and to settle the boundaries of the two empires. For this important business, *Cavadēs* made choice of *Sesoses*, whom he had raised to the principal offices in his kingdom, and *Mebodes*, a military officer of great experience. On the other hand, the emperor

not only been averse, but even an open enemy. Of this remarkable event we have the following account. *Cavadēs* came with his army before a certain castle on the frontiers of *India*, called *Tzudader*. This was filled with immense riches of all sorts, and kept by a garison, not of men, but of evil spirits. *Cavadēs* employed to no purpose his own magi, the priests of the *Jews*, and other religious persons, in exorcising this infernal guard. At length the christian bishop undertook and effected what the king desired; for he expelled the dæmons, and delivered the castle, with all its riches, to *Cavadēs*. Henceforwards the christian bishops had access to the king, and, when their presence was necessary, were called to council, instead of the *Jewish* and *Manichean* priests, who till then had enjoyed his favour. There is such an air of fable in this relation, that we could not think of inserting it in our text; and yet, as it is to be found in more than one *Greek* author, we did not think fit to pass it over in silence (49).

Justin sent *Hypatius*, the nephew of his predecessor, and *Rufinus*, a man of great quality. After frequent conferences, disputes arose; and it being proposed to adopt *Chosroes* in a new and particular manner as a barbarian, that prince conceived such a displeasure thereat, as induced him to manifest an irreconcilable hatred to the *Romans*. The conferences being broken off, *Mebodes*, at their return to court, charged *Sesofes* with having contributed to the miscarriage of their negotiation. He was likewise accused for burying his wife contrary to the law of *Persia*, whereby all dead bodies were exposed to the fowls of the air. On these pretences he was tried, and adjudged worthy of death. *Cavades* expressed a mighty sorrow for his friend, but was grown so tender of the laws, that he would not hinder their course. In this manner died *Sesofes*, and with him that high office, which had been created on purpose to gratify his pretensions^a.

Justinian having succeeded *Justin* in the empire of the east, *Breaks* pursued also his politics, in causing all the frontiers towards *Persia* to be surveyed, the old fortresses repaired, and new *Romans* ones erected, as the situation of the country required. With *afresh*. this view he sent instructions to those who commanded on the frontiers of *Mesopotamia* to fortify *Mindone*, the nearest place in the *Roman* territories to *Nisibis*; and a body of troops, under the command of *Cutzes* and *Buzes* brothers, were sent to protect the workmen. The *Persians*, who could not look but with an evil eye on the progress of this structure, just in their neighbourhood, took a proper opportunity, when the *Roman* forces did not observe exact discipline, to fall upon them; and, after defeating, cut most of them to pieces, together with many of the workmen, demolished the place, and sent the prisoners into *Persia*, where *Cavades* employed them in his buildings. This stroke opened a new war, for the carrying on of which the *Persians* took the field with a very numerous army under the command of *Peroses*, who had under him several generals of reputation. On the other hand, *Belisarius* had the command of the *Roman* forces. After some preparatory motions, the armies came to a general engagement, in which, after a very obstinate resistance, the *Persians* were defeated with very great slaughter. Yet the *Romans* gained little ground by this victory; for the *Persian* generals, being supplied with fresh forces, continued to keep the field; only they contented themselves with slight excu-

^a PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 11. p. 30. CIPREN. A-
 •ATH. ubi su, ra. EVAGR. lib. iv. c. 12.

sions, and did not pretend to give the *Romans* battle a second time ^b.

Carries on
the war .
with in-
different
success.

IN *Armenia* things went no better ; for *Mermeroes*, who commanded the *Persian* forces in chief, was twice defeated by *Doritheus* the *Roman* general. Two castles, and certain districts dependent upon them, fell also under the power of the *Romans*, and in these districts were the gold mines belonging to the king of *Persia*. The *Tzani*, a free and barbarous people, were the chief occasion of these losses ; for they now embraced the party of the *Romans*, and, in consequence thereof, possessed themselves of the gold which belonged to the *Persian* king ; at which the *Romans* were not ill pleased, and *Cavades* was constrained to be content, his forces not being numerous enough to reduce them ; besides, his generals, *Narses* and *Aratius*, deserted, and, with all their families, and much wealth, retired to *Constantinople*. This situation of things did not at all discourage *Cavades*, who, when *Rufinus*, the *Roman* ambassador, came to treat with him of peace, adhered to his first demands ; and when the ambassador had his audience of leave, insinuated to him, that if ever he departed from them, it must be in consideration of a large sum of money. To restore the lustre of his arms, he set several new armies on foot, disgraced *Peroses*, and gave the command of the army, which he intended to send into the *Roman* territories, to *Azarethas*, a very valiant man, and who well understood the duty of his charge. This general made an irruption into the country bordering on the *Euphrates*, and, finding himself superior in force to *Belisarius*, wasted all before him with fire and sword. The *Roman* soldiery saw this with indignation, and, notwithstanding the visible disparity of numbers and other disadvantages, clamorously urged *Belisarius* to give the enemy battle ; he declined it as long as he could ; but at length, by the near approach of the enemy, and the obstinacy of his own troops, was forced to fight. The *Persian* general knew exactly the advantages he had, and improved them to the utmost, so that the *Romans* were defeated with very great slaughter. However, *Belisarius*, with the remains of his army, so well covered the country, that the *Persians* were not able to take any place of importance ; for which *Azarethas* on his return to court, notwithstanding his victory, fell into disgrace ^c.

^b PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 13. p. 36. CEDREN. ubi supra. EVAGR. lib. iv. c. 13. ^c PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 15. p. 43. EVAGR. ubi supra.

THE war still continued, *Mermeroes* had the command of the *Persian* army given him; and as *Belisarius* was recalled in order to be employed against the *Vandals*, he found it not so difficult a matter to deal with his successors; for, after deceiving the *Roman* generals by certain marches and counter-marches, he at last invested the city of *Martyropolis*, a place of the last importance to the *Roman* empire, and in sight of their armies carried on the siege in form. *Sittas*, who commanded for the emperor *Justinian*, finding that himself and his colleagues were able to do little good by force, began with better success to practise some of the frauds of war; for having found a person fit for his purpose, and having thoroughly taught him his lesson, he sent him into the *Persian* army, where coming privately to *Mermeroes*, he acquainted him, that the *Massagetae*, whom *Cavades* had hired to fall into the *Roman* territories, had accepted a sum of money from *Justinian*, and were on the point of invading *Persia*. This greatly intimidated *Mermeroes*, engaged him first to turn his siege into a blockade, and afterwards to consent to a truce with the *Romans*; which was the reason that the *Massagetae*, who remained firm to the *Persian* interest, made only a short incursion, and returned without doing much good to themselves, or hurt to the *Romans* ^d.

IN the mean time *Cavades*, who was oppressed with years, and whose activity had drawn upon him in his declining age many infirmities, began to feel the approach of death (R). Upon ^{Provides for the succession of his younger son.}

^d PROCOPIUS. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 16. p. 47.

(R) It is evident from this part of the *Persian* history, which is more entertaining and fuller of events, than the foregoing, that this people were at this time not only numerous and warlike, but prudent also and polite. The *Roman* authors, for so after the oriental custom we call those who treat of the *Roman* empire, are not fond of owning this; but affect to attribute all the success of the *Persians* to their vast armies, their sudden incursions, and the little respect which their monarchs had to treaties and to oaths. One thing, however, is certain, that the *Roman* emperors paid constantly certain subsidies to the *Persian* kings; and this seems to be a very strong proof of the prowess of those monarchs, since it was not the custom of those times to pay subsidies for nothing. This was one of the great causes of the wars which so frequently happened between these empires. As often as the *Roman* empire was in disorder, or had a pacific prince upon the throne, the *Persian* received these subsidies; but when the *Romans* were in a good condition, or a martial prince was at their head, then they were stopped,

Upon this he sent for *Mebodes*, his confident and minister, to whom, having explained the reasons why he desired to have *Chosroes* for his successor, he put his will, which contained the same things, into his hands, conjuring him to use his utmost endeavours to see it executed; which *Mebodes* then solemnly promised, and afterwards punctually performed. Thus died *Cavades*, after reigning thirty years from the time of his restoration, forty one in the whole, and forty five, if we take in the time of his imprisonment and exile. As soon as he was expired *Caoses*, his eldest son, took upon him the title of king; but *Mebodes* interposed, representing that the crown of *Persia* was never to be taken by stealth; that an assembly of the nobles was necessary to recognize his title, and that until this was done, his subjects could not lawfully obey him. Upon this an assembly was called, but whether by *Caoses* or *Mebodes*, does not appear. In this assembly the will of the king was produced and read, and such a regard was paid by the nobility to his memory, that the claim of *Caoses* was set aside, and *Chosroes*, in virtue of his father's designation, declared monarch of *Persia** (S).

* PROCOP. de bell. Persic. lib. i. c. 21. p. 65. AGATH. lib. iv. p. 140. CEDREN. p. 369.

ed, and of course the *Persians* began their incursions, till either they were beaten by the *Roman* armies, or bought off again with *Roman* money. On the other hand, it must be owned, that when ambitious and turbulent princes wore the *Persian* diadem, scarce any thing could content them. They knew well, that the *Constantinopolitan* empire could not for any length of time support a war with *Persia*, because of the immense expence to which it was put, by keeping a great army on the frontiers. Whenever therefore one of these princes wanted money, he began a war, and as soon as the *Romans* would come up to his price, he sold them a peace. Hitherto we have explained the *Persian* history and chronology; we intend this note as a key to their politics.

(S) Most of the *Greek* historians are silent as to the reasons which induced *Cavades* so vehemently to oppose the succession of his eldest son. It appears from what *Procopius* says, that it was not any sudden fit of anger, or the effect of the peevishness of old age, but a settled resolution, which he had taken many years before (50). We are obliged to *Theopbanes* for unravelling in some measure this mystery, since from him we learn, that *Cavades* was jealous of the *Manichees*, who were in great favour with his son, and who were supposed to have drawn him to their party; for which great numbers of them, together with their bishop, suffered death

(50) *De bell. Persic. lib. i.*

(51).

(51). We are likewise told elsewhere, that these heretics, having once drawn *Caoses* to favour them, were next very impatient to hoist him to the throne, even before the death of his father; which intrigues of theirs were fatal to them and to him. To them, in drawing on a persecution, which they might otherwise have avoided: To him, in that it deprived him of his birth right, as well as that of his father's affection. It is very probable, that these schemes were chiefly in the heads of the *Manichees* and their priests, and that *Caoses* had very little, if any, knowledge of them; for if it had been otherwise, it will be difficult to assign a cause why he escaped, or at least how he came to remain still in the kingdom, nay even at court, and in a condition to appear as a competitor with *Chosroes* on the death of his father. It has also the appearance of reason, that the true ground of rejecting him and of exalting *Chosroes* was, the diffidence the nobility might have of him as to his religion. For it appears from the history of *Agathias*, that the magi had not only a great influence in all affairs civil and ecclesiastical, but that in the recognition of kings especially, they had a sort of negative voice. *Agathias*, and indeed all the *Greek* writers, censure this influence in terms that shew that they did not understand it (52). The *Persian* magi did not interfere as clergymen, but as men of learning and experience. Politics was with them a science, not learned, as amongst us, by a long observance of events, but by contemplation of certain maxims, and by acquiring a skill of applying these to the management of public affairs. It is not our business here to enter into any farther detail of this matter, which we mentioned only to prevent the readers being tinged with the prejudice of the *Greeks*. He that would be further acquainted with this curious subject, may consult the learned book of the president *Briffon*; as also the no less learned and curious treatise of the celebrated lord *Bacon*, written in imitation of the magical policy of the *Persians*.

(51) *Theophan. chronograph. p. 145, 146. Cedren. hist. comp. p. 368.*

(52) *Hist. lib. iv.*

A N

I N D E X

T O T H E

T E N T H V O L U M E.

*The Numbers direct to the Page, and the great Letters
to the Notes.*

- A** *Bdageses* joins with *Tiridates*, 446.
Abdas consecrated bishop in *Persia*, 597. His untimely zeal fatal to the christians, *ib.* Put to death for it, *ib.*
Abgarus's treacherous advice to *Craffus*, 516. Betrays him to *Surenas*, 517.
Abfalom, the son of *Hyrcau*, 84. His choice of a private life, 87. Death at *Jerusalem*, 114, U.
Acases, bishop of *Amida's* exemplary charity, 600. Christians favoured in *Persia* at his request, *ib.* & seq.
Aceldama, *Hakeldamah*, where situate, 376.
Achme's forgery discovered, 262, & I.
Acra, the fortress of, described, 13, & X. Signification of the word, *ib.* Besieged by *Judas Maccabeus*, 26. Fortified by *Bacchides*, 42. Immured by *Jonathan*, 55. Surrendered to him, 61. Demolished, *ib.* The time when, 62, C.
Adarnasses, why deprived of his succession, 593.
Aliba, by whom fortified, 55.
Adrian abandons *Parthia*, 556.
Aïnon, where situate, 305, L.
Agabus foretells a general famine, 434.
Agathias, an account of his history of *Persia*, 564, B.
Agrippa's splendid reception in *Jerusalem*, 187.--- The son of *Aristobulus*,

- Aristobulus*, 197, sub not. --- His son *Agrippa* born, 296. Advanced by *Caligula*, 423. The rest see under *Herod Agrippa*.
- Alamundarus*, captain of the *Saracens*, defeated by the *Romans*, 599.
- Alani*, where situate, 553. Invade *Media*, 556. Prevailed on by rich presents from *Vologeses* to return home, *ib*.
- Albinus* made prætor of *Judæa*, 441. His character, 442.
- Alcimus* promoted to the high.priesthood, 28. Brings a war on *Judæa*, 29. Perfidious to the *Assideans*, 30. Dreadful end, 42.
- Aleppo* taken by *Hyrcau*, 74.
- Alexander Balas* courts the *Jews*, 45. His letter to *Jonathan*, *ib*. (Q). Signal favours to him, 47, 50. --- *Zebina* assisted by the *Jews*, 77, 78.
- The son of *Hyrcau*'s first education, 80, (V). Sur-named *Janneus*, 87. Imprisoned by *Aristobulus*, 84. Mounts the throne, *ib*. & seq. Fratricide, 87. Character, *ib*. Ill success against *Ptolemais*, *ib*. Defeated by *Lathyrus*, *ib*. By *Theodotus*, 89. Bloody revenge on the *Gazeans*, *ib*. Pelted at the altar, 90, & 91, (E, F). Cruel revenge, 91. On the revolted *Jews*, 92. Defeated by the *Syrians*, 93. Cruelty to the rebel *Jews*, 94. Wars and conquests, 95, 96, & (K). Death, 96. Last advice to his queen, *ib*. & seq.
- the son of *Aristobulus* escapes out of *Pompey*'s hands, 117. Wastes *Judæa*, 118. Defeated by the *Romans*, 119. Besieged by them, *ib*. Released, *ib*. Defeated by *Gabinus*, 121. By *Cassius*, 124. Beheaded by *Scipio* at *Pompey*'s desire, *ib*.
- The son of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, 178. Marries *Glaphyra*, 186. Accused by his father, 189. Pleads his own cause before *Augustus*, *ib*. Makes a desperate confession, 192. Condemned to death, 195. Executed, 196.
- A pretended son of *Mariamne*, raises a *Jewish* party, 280. Discovered by *Augustus*, 281.
- *Tiberius* an apostate *Jew* made governor of *Judæa*, 435.
- Alexandra*, vid. *Salome*, 87.
- Queen of the *Jews* stratagem to gain over the *Pharisees*, 97. Embassy to *Tigranes*, 101. Supplanted by *Aristobulus*, *ib*. & seq. Her death and character, 102, & (M). Falsely confounded with *Salome*, *ib*. (M).
- Daughter of *Aristobulus*, married to *Ptolemy Menneus*, 124.
- Daughter of *Hyrcau*, cabals against *Herod*, 158. Resentment for her son's death, 161. Plots against *Herod*, *ib*. Imprisoned, 163. Confined at *Massada*, 168. Base behaviour to her unfortunate daughter, 171, & seq. Put to death, 173.

- Alexandrian Jews* highly courted by *Cleopatra*, 88. --- Fifty thousand of them massacred by the *Romans*, 446.
- Alexandriion*, the fortress of, described, 110, (Q).
- Alexas*, *Salome's* husband, releases the *Jewish* chiefs, 267. His speech to the *Jewish* army, 268.
- Alpharag* in the 12th century, writes in defence of the *Sadducees*, 233.
- Amatha*, the noble palace of, burnt, 276, & (T).
- Amathus* taken by *Janneus*, 89. Destroyed by him, 91. Made one of the five courts of judicature, 119.
- Amida* taken and razed by *Sapor*, 586. Taken and preserved by *Cavadus*, 608. Surrendered to the *Romans*, 609.
- Ammian. Marcellin.* an account of his history, 586, (I).
- Ammonius*, a writer against the *Sadducees*, 232.
- Ananael*, an obscure priest, made pontiff, 157. Deposed, 159.
- Ananias*, an eminent *Jew* of *Alexandria*, 88. His advice to *Cleopatra*, *ib.* --- The son of *Nebedeus*, made high-priest, 435. Murdered by the zealots, 447.
- Ananus*, a proud *Sadducee*, made high-priest, 441. Puts *St. James* to death, *ib.* & (H.) His fatal complaisance to the *Sicarii*, 442. Made governor of *Jerusalem*, 449. Heads the peaceable party, 456, & (Y.) Opposes the *Zealots*, *ib.* Betrayed by *John de Gischala*, 457. Put to death, 458, & (A).
- Andrew* called by *Christ*, 297. Made an apostle, 317, (T).
- Andromachus*, betrays *Crassus* to the *Parthians*, 524.
- Anna*, the prophetess's testimony of the child *Jesus*, 225.
- Annas* deposed from the high-priesthood, 286. Sends *Christ* to *Caiaphas*, 373. Five of his sons succeed him in his dignity, 441, (H).
- Anthedon* taken by *Alexander Janneus*, 89.
- Antigonus*, the son of *Hyrcau*, sent against *Samaria*, 78. Put to death, 84.
- The son of *Aristobulus*, sent prisoner to *Rome*, 117. Petition to *Cæsar* rejected, 126. Invades *Judea*, 137. Defeated by *Herod*, 138. Makes a second invasion, 140. Besieged in the temple, 141. Inthroned, 143. Cruelty to *Hyrcau* and *Phasaël*, *ib.* & seq. Outwitted by *Ventidius*, 146. Driven from *Massada*, 147. His charge against the *Roman* senate, 148. Defeated by *Herod*, 152. Besieged at *Jerusalem*, *ib.* Taken prisoner, 153. Put to death by *Marc Antony* at the solicitation of *Herod*, 154, & (E).
- Antioch* besieged by the *Parthians*, 528. The siege twice raised, *ib.* & seq.
- Antiochus Epiphanes*, his death respites the *Jews*, 14. --- son

- son of *Alexander*, dethrones *Demetrius*, 52. Allies with the *Jews*, ib. & seq. Grants to the high-priest, ib. Perfidy to him, 59. Encourages *Ptolemy's* treachery against the *Jews*, 69. Invades *Judæa*, ib. & seq. Besieges *Jerusalem*, 70. Makes peace with *Hyrcau*, 71. Reception into that metropolis, 73. Death, 74.
- *Gryphus's* resentment against *Hyrcau*, 78. Prevented from invading *Judæa*, ib.
- *Cyzicenus* invades *Judæa*. 79.
- a *Persian*, made tutor to *Theodosius*, 594.
- the valley of, seized by *Alexander Jannæus*, 95.
- Antipas*, the son of *Herod* by *Martace*, 197, sub not.
- by *Cleopatra*, ib. Made tetrarch of *Galilee*, 266. Sugplants his brother *Archelaus*, 271, & seq. The rest see under *Herod Antipas*, 280, & seq.
- Antipater*, the father of *Herod*, his descent, 100. Character, 105. Cabals with the *Pharisees*, ib. Carries *Hyrcau* into *Arabia*, ib. Pleads the cause of *Hyrcau* before *Pompey*, 109. Ingratiates himself to the *Romans*, 117. His policy, ib. Services to *Gabinus* in *Egypt*, 121. Assists *Cæsar* there, 125. His gallant behaviour there, ib. Amply rewarded ib. & seq. His speech, 128. Overawes the *Jews*, ib. His progeny, 129, H. Sends money to *Cassius*, 134. Is poisoned by *Malichus*, 135.
- the son of *Herod*, in high favour with him, 188, (D). Cabals against his two brothers, ib. & seq. Plots against his father, 196, & seq. Detected, 199. Cabals against his other brothers, 255. Decoyed back to *Jerusalem*, 256. Tried for high-treason, 261. Condemned, 262. Put to death, 266.
- the son of *Salome's* bitter speech against *Archelaus*, 272.
- Antipatris* built by *Herod*, 190.
- Antiphilus's* treason discovered, 262.
- Antonia*, the fort of, taken by the zealots, 446. By the *Romans*, 475.
- Antoninus* deserts the *Persians*, 585.
- Antony Marc*, sent against *Alexander*, 118. Partiality to *Herod*, 138, & seq. Edict in favour of the *Jews*, ib. & (O). Procures the *Jewish* crown to *Herod*, 145. Base partiality for him, 161. Defeated by *Augustus*, 166. Marches against the *Parthians*, 534. Sends *Ventidius* out of *Syria*, 535. Invades *Media*, 537. Ill success against *Phraata*, 538, & seq. Shameful retreat, 539, & seq. Bewitched by *Cleopatra*, 541. Assists *Artavafdes* king of *Media*, 541.

- governor of *Ascalon*, defeats the *Jews*, 450.
Apocryphal gospels trumped up by hereticks, 220, note.
Apollo's temple at *Babylon* plundered, 557. A remarkable golden coffer found there, *ibid.*
Apollodotus, the brave governor of *Gaza*, 89. Murdered by his brother, *ib.*
Apollonius defeated and killed, 4.
 ——— governor of *Palestine*, revolts to *Demetrius*, 49. Defeated by *Jonathan*, 50.
 ——— governor of *Zenodotia*, his treachery to *Crassus*, 509. Suffers for it, *ib.*
Apostles, the twelve chosen by Christ, 317, (T). Their character, *ib.* & seq. Instructions and success, 330, & seq. Forfake their master, 372, & (P). Their slowness to believe his resurrection, 392, & seq. Receive their commission from him, 395, & seq. Assemble at *Jerusalem* after his ascension, 404, (F). Receive the Holy Ghost, 405. The miraculous effects of it proved, 406, H. Their zeal, miracles, doctrine, &c. 410, 411, & (I).
Arabians defeated by *Judas Maccabæus*, 22. *Nomades*, who, *ib.* E. Invaded by *Alexander Jannæus*, 91. Defeated by *Herod*, 166, & (I).
Arach, the modern name of *Parthia*, 496.
Arbela, the banditti of, destroyed by *Herod*, 148. Instance of their obstinacy, 149, (Y).
Archelaus's address to pacify *Herod*, 192, & (I).
 ——— the son of *Herod* by *Martace*, 197, sub not. Succeeds his father, 268. His speech to the *Jews*, 269. Insulted by the mutineers, *ib.* Goes to *Rome*, 271. Opposed by his brother, *ib.* & seq. By a *Jewish* embassy, 179. Obtains but part of his kingdom, *ib.* His tyranny, 282. Banishment, 283.
Ardaburius sent against the *Persians*, 598. His speech to their general, *ib.* Defeats them, 599.
Aretas, king of *Arabia*, defeats the *Jews*, 95. Invades *Judæa* in favour of *Hyrca*, 106. Defeats *Aristobulus*, *ibid.* Defeated by *Aristobulus*, 108. Wars with *Herod Antipas*, 306.
Arimathea, where situate, 389, (E).
Aristobulus the son of *Hyrca*'s success against *Cyzicenus*, 79. Succeeds his father, 84. His parricide, *ib.* Fratricide, 86 & (C). Dreadful end, *ib.* & seq. Why surnamed *Philellen*, 84, 87, (D).
 ——— the son of *Alexander Jannæus*, 96. Joins hands with the *Sadducees*, 98. Sent into *Syria*, 101. Makes sure of the *Jewish* crown, *ib.* & seq. Deposes his brother, 103. Defeated

- Defeated by *Aretas*, 106. Besieged in the temple, *ibid.*
 Applies to *Pompey*, 108. Pleads his own cause before him, 109. Parts from him in a huff, 110. Imprisoned by him, 112. Carried prisoner to *Rome*, 117. Escapes to *Judæa*, 120. Defeated and taken prisoner, *ib.* Released by *Julius Cæsar*, 124. Poisoned by *Pompey*, *ib.*
- grandson of *Hyrca*n, his title to the *Jewish* crown, 145, (U). Made high-priest by *Herod*, 158, 159, & (B), (C). Murdered in a bath, 160.
- the son of *Herod*, married to *Berenice*, 187. Accused by *Salome*, *ib.* & seq. Condemned and put to death, 195, 196.
- the son of *Agrippa*, deprived of his succession, 435.
- Arfaces* I. founds the *Parthian* monarchy, 501. From him the common name of the *Parthian* kings, *ib.*
- II. his wars with *Antiochus*, 501.
- the son of *Ariabanus*, made king of *Armenia*, 545. Murdered by *Pharajmenes*, 546.
- Arfacida*, of *Armenia*, tributary to *Persia*, 560, 561.
- Artabanus*, king of *Media*, invades *Parthia*, 544. Conspired against, 545. Wars with *Mithridates*, 546. Driven out, *ib.* Restored, 547. Driven out again, *ib.*
- IV. king of *Parthia* treacherously used, 559. Makes peace with *Macrinus*, 560. Killed by *Artaxerxes*, *ib.*
- Artabazes*'s advice to *Craffus*, rejected, 514.
- Artavafdes* falls out with the king of *Parthia*, 541. Defeated by him, *ib.*
- Artaxata*, metropolis of *Armenia*, 551. Taken by the *Romans*, 557.
- Artaxerxes*, or *Artaxares*, defeats the *Parthians*, 560. His descent, 564, 565. Haughty embassy to *Severus*, 567. Defeated by him, *ib.* Success and death, 568, & seq. His great power, *ib.* note (C).
- the successor of *Sapor*, who, 592, 593, M.
- Ascalon* given to *Salome*, 280.
- Ascetic* christians, when first instituted, 244.
- Ashmon*, the supposed centre of *Galilee*, 275, in fin. R.
- Ashmoneans*, *Asmoneans*, their reign ended, 153. Duration, *ibid.* (D).
- Atargatis*, how worshipped, 23, (G). The temple of, burnt, 23. Plundered by *Craffus*, 511.
- Athenians*, honours to *Hyrca*n, 118.
- Athenion*, *Cleopatra*'s general, treachery to *Herod*, 165.
- Athenobius* sent into *Judæa*, 64.
- Athronges*, a gigantic *Jew*, takes the royalty upon him, 277. Defeated, *ibid.*

Attrog.

- Attrog*, a fruit worn by the *Jews* on the feasts of tabernacles, described, 90, (E).
Augustus's friendship to *Herod*, 144. Victory at *Actium*, 166. Accepts *Herod's* friendship, 168. His grand reception in *Judea*, 170. Presents to *Herod*, *ib.* & seq. Makes him his procurator in *Syria*, 179. Receives him at *Rome* with all marks of friendship, 186. Highly displeased with him, 194. Decree for taxing the empire, 214, & (Y). Appealed to by *Archelaus*, 272. Partition of the *Jewish* kingdom, 279.
Auranitis given to *Herod*, 178, & (V).
Aurelian's success against the *Persians*, 572. Gives his daughter to *Sapores*, 573. Severity to the *Palmyrenians*, 574.
Azazene laid waste by the *Romans*, 598.
Azotus taken by *Judas Maccabeus*, 26. Burnt by *Jonathan*, 50. Given to *Salome*, 280.

B

- BAbas*, the sons of, put to death, 173, & 174, (Q).
Babylonia, conquered by *Mithridates*, 502. By *Trajan*, 555.
Bacchides defeated by *Judas Maccabeus*, 7. Sent to invade *Judea*, 29. Retires into *Syria*, 30. Returns with an army, 37, & seq. Defeats the *Jews*, and kills *Judas* their general, 38. Cruelty to them, 39. Success against them, 40, & seq. Returns to *Antioch*, 42, & (O). Sent to surprise *Jonathan*, 43. Besieges him, *ib.* Defeated by him, *ib.* Makes peace with him, 44.
Balaam, the place of his birth, 218, note.
Balm, the plant of, described, 163, (F).
Banditti of *Palestine*, destroyed by *Herod*, 129, 149. Their invincible obstinacy, 149, (Y). Kill *Herod's* general, 149.
Bardanes's wars with *Gotarzes*, 548. Murdered, 549.
Baris, by whom built, 83. Described, *ib.* & (Y).
Bartholomew called to be an apostle, 297, 317, (T).
Barzapharnes's treachery to *Phasaël*, 142.
Bassus Lucil. completes the reduction of *Judea*, 488, & seq.
Batanea given to *Herod*, 178, (V).
Bath-col of the *Jews*, what, 361, (E).
Batillus discovers *Antipater's* plot, 255.

Bean,

- Bean*, the children of, who, 15, (Z). Defeated by *Judas Maccabeus*, 15.
- Belisarius* sent against the *Persians*, 611. Defeated, 612. Recalled and sent against the *Vandals*, 613.
- Berenice* the daughter of *Salome*, married to *Aristobulus*, 187. Her off-spring, 197, sub not.
- daughter of *Herod Agrippa*, born, 296. Married to the king of *Chalcis*, 433. Her incontinency, 438, (E). Piety towards the persecuted *Jews*, 446. Discarded by *Titus*, 492.
- Bethabara*, *Beth-habara*, whence so called, 296, (G).
- Bethany*, where situate, 350.
- Bethel* fortified by the *Syrians*, 42.
- Bethesda*, the pool of, described, 313, & (R).
- Bethlehem*, the place of Christ's birth, 214.
- the children of, massacred, 256.
- the prophecy of, explained, 257, (G).
- Bethoron*, where situate, 5, (Q). Fortified by *Bacchides*, 42.
- Bethpage*, where situate, 357.
- Bethzura*, described, 8, (S). The battle of, discussed, 9, (T). Fortified by *Judas Maccabeus*, 13. Where situate, *ib.* (Y). Taken and fortified by *Bacchides*, 42. Retaken by *Simon Maccabeus*, 53.
- Beza's* notion of the *Herodians*, confuted, 235.
- Bezabda* taken by *Sapor*, 586. Besieged by *Constans*, *ib.*
- Bibulus's* strange defence of his camp, 529. Bribes a *Persian* nobleman to raise a rebellion, 530.
- Bizarus's* history of *Persia*, discussed, 562, (A).
- Boanergos*, whence so called, 317, note. Their furious zeal rebuked, 346.
- Body* and blood of Christ, promised by him for food, offends the *Jews*, 333.
- Bossora*, taken by *Judas Maccabeus*, 17.
- Buda*, a heretical impostor's doctrines and death, 573, (E).

C

Abades, king of *Persia*, vid. *Cavades*, 604.

Cabhis, *Joseph*, made high-priest, 441.

Cæsar. *Ful.* releases *Aristobulus*, 124. Assisted by the *Egyptian Jews*, 125. Gratitude to them, 126, 132. Murdered in the senate, 133.

—— *Sextus*

- *Sextus* friendship to *Herod*, 129. Murdered by *Bassus*, 133.
Cæsarea, by whom built, 175; (R). Described, 176. (S).
 Finished, 189.
 ——— another built by *Philip*, 288.
Cæsarean Jews, 20,000 of them massacred, 446.
Caiaphas made high-priest, 287, & (Y). Prophetic sentence against Christ, 355. Condemns him to death, 374.
Caius made umpire of *Archelaus's* title, 272. Contempt of the *Jewish* religion, 282.
 ——— *Caligula's* persecution of the *Jews*, 424, & seq.
 Friendship to *Agrippa*, *ib.*
Calippian cycle, what, 32, (K).
Calisthenes burnt, 8.
Calistus's success against the *Persians*, 571.
Calvary, vid. *Golgotha*, 381.
Camisene, one of the five provinces of *Parthia*, 495.
Cana, the marriage and miracle of, 297, & (H).
Caoses, prince of *Persia*, disinherited, 610, 614. The cause of it, *ib.* (S).
Capernaum, much frequented by Christ, 297, & seq. Where situate, 311, (P). Its fate, *ib.*
Capito, *Ateius*, opposes *Crassus's* measures, 507, & seq. Not succeeding, utters imprecations against him, *ib.*
Caracalla's treachery to the *Parthians*, 559. Assumes the name of *Parthicus*, *ib.*
Caraites, vid. *Karaites*, 245.
Carnion, where situate, 23. Taken and burnt, *ib.*
Carrhae, the battle of, 526, & seq.
Casbin, a city of *Parthia*, 496.
Caspis, taken by *Judas Maccabeus*, 22.
Cassius's success against *Alexander*, 123, & (D). Seizes on *Syria*, 133. Sells the *Jewish* captives by auction, 138. Defeated by *Marc Antony*, *ib.* Quæstor to *Crassus*, 513. Intangled with him in *Parthia*, 523. Escapes, and gets safe into *Syria*, 524. Repulses and defeats the *Parthians*, 529.
Catullus's treachery to the *Jews*, punished, 491, & (G).
Cavadas, king of *Persia*, subdues the *Euthalites*, 604. Oppresses the nobles and is deposed, 605. His punishment, *ib.* Released by his queen, 606. Reinthroned, *ib.* & seq. Wars with the *Romans*, 607. Behaviour to the *Amidans*, 608. Invaded by the *Huns*, 609. Makes peace with the *Romans*, *ib.* Deprives his eldest son of the succession, 610. Breaks the peace, 611. Success against them, 612. His death, 614.

- Celer*, a tribune, put to death, 436.
Cendebeus sent to invade *Judæa*, 65. Defeated, 66.
Centurion in *Judæa*'s extraordinary humility, 320.
Cerealis's expedition against the *Samaritans*, 453. Against
Idumea, 464.
Cestius Gallus governor of *Syria*, numbers the inhabitants of
Jerusalem, 444. Marches against the zealots, 447. De-
feated, 448, & seq. Disgraced and dies, 450.
Chalcidius's account of the star at Christ's birth, 221, & seq.
sub not.
Caphenatha, part of *Jerusalem*, so called, 55.
Characa, where situate, 22, (F). Taken by the *Jews*, 22.
Chauneus, designing to betray the *Romans*, answers the ends
of *Ventidius*, 533.
Chelkias, a famed *Jew* of *Alexandria*, 88. Prevails on *Cleo-
patra* to assist the *Jews* against *Ptolemy*, *ib.*
Chereas defeated and killed by the *Jews*, 16.
Chose, an *Idumean* deity, who, and whence so named, 173,
(O).
Chosroes, his adoption proposed to *Justin*, 610. Declared
king of *Persia*. 614.
Christians, primitive, their admirable lives, 410, & seq. Per-
secuted in *Judæa*, 414. Leave *Jerusalem* before the siege,
449, & (O).
Cicero repulses the *Parthians* in *Syria*, and drives them out
of *Cilicia*, 529.
Circensian games instituted by *Augustus*, 543.
Cisenna, a rash commander in *Syria*, 121.
Cleopatra opposes her son *Lathyrus* in *Judæa*, 88. Friendship
to *Janneus*, *ib.* To the *Jews*, *ib.* & seq. --- courtship to
Herod, 144. Intrigues against him, 160, & seq. Comes
into *Judæa*, 163. Her character, *ib.* & seq. Hellish plot
against *Herod*, 165. Her death advised to *Antony* by *He-
rod*, 166.
— One of *Herod*'s wives, 197, sub not. Helps to
supplant *Archelaus*, 271.
Cleophas's entertainment with Christ, 394.
Constantines letter to *Sapores*, 582, (H).
Constans, wars with the *Persians*, 583, & seq.
Coponius, governor of *Judæa*, 283.
Corbulo Domit. opposes *Vologeses*, 551, & seq.
Cornelius, a centurion, converted to christianity, 420, & seq.
Cosdroes, king of *Parthia*'s success in *Armenia*, 554. Driven
out by *Trajan*, *ib.* & seq. Recalled by the *Parthians*, 556.
Lives in friendship with the *Romans*, *ib.*
VOL. X. 4 K *Cosroes.*

- Cosroes*, a great favourer of the *Karaites*, 250, note.
Costobares, put to death by *Herod*, 173.
Crassus succeeds *Gabinus* in *Judea*, 122. Plunders the temple, *ib.* & 508. Sent into *Syria*, 505. His mottled character, 506, & seq. Invades the *Parthians*, 509. Sacrileges in *Syria*, 510, & seq. Extortions, 511. Answer to the *Parthian* ambassadors, 512. Despises the advice of the king of *Armenia*, 514. Marches through *Mesopotamia*, *ib.* Betrayed by *Abgarus*, 516. Infatuation, 517. Defeated by the *Parthians*, 522. Retreat into *Carrhæ*, *ib.* Betrayed to *Surenas*, 524, & seq. His death, 526. Insulted after it, 527.
 — his son accompanies him against the *Parthians*, 510. Fights them, 519. Defeated and killed, 520.
Criminals executed without the gates of *Jerusalem*, 381, (X). How buried, 390. A terrible fight exhibited by them at *Berytus*, 430, sub fin. (U).
Ctesiphon, where situate, 495. Taken by *Trajan*, 555. Destroyed by *Cassius*, 557.
Cumanus Ventid. sent governor of *Judea*, 435. Refuses justice to the *Jews*, and is sent to *Rome* by *Quadratus* governor of *Syria*, 436. Banished, *ib.*
Cycle, a new one, introduced in *Judea*, 32, (K).
Cypris, wife of *Antipater*, her progeny, 129, (H).
Cypron, built by *Herod*, 190.
Cyprus, the golden mines of, given to *Herod*, 189, (F).
 — the castle of, taken by the zealots, 447.
Cyrenean Jews, relieved by *Augustus*, 190, & (G).
Cyrenius sent to tax the *Jews*, 283.
Cyriades, a *Roman* traitor, his rise, 569. Death, 571.

D.

- Dalmanutha*, where situate, 337, (M).
Damascen, *Nicolas's* address to clear *Herod* to *Augustus*, 194, (L). Pleads against *Antipater*, 261. In favour of *Archelaus*, 273, 279.
Daniel, his weeks, how computed, 200, (P).
Darkness, at *Christ's* crucifixion miraculous, 385, (C).
Dathema, where situate, 16. Relieved by *Judas Maccabeus*, 17.
David's tomb, the story of its being rifled discussed, 72, (M).
David, in what sense *Christ* is his son, 366, (H).

Deacons,

- Deacons*, the first seven chosen in the christian church, 413.
Decapolis, whence so called, 337, (L).
Dedication of the temple by *Judas Maccabeus*, how performed, 12. The feast of, instituted by him, *ib.* & (W).
Demetrius, king of *Syria*, makes war against the *Jews*, 29. Forbid to go on by the *Romans*, 36. Renews hostilities, 43. Courts the *Jews*, 44. His letter to *Jonathan*, *ib.* Second offers to them suspected, 46, 47. His general having made peace is ordered to renew the war, 33. Defeat by *Alexander Balas*, and death, 47.
 — *Nicanor*, a friend to the *Jews*, 51, & (U). Perfidy to them. 52. Dethroned by *Antiochus*, *ib.* & seq.
 — *Eucherus* invades *Judea*, 93.
 — Governor of *Gamala*, taken prisoner, 95.
 — *Nicator* taken prisoner by the *Parthians*, 502.
Demus, the temple of, what, 118, (Z).
Devils, whether they possessed men, 309, (O).
Diogenes, a *Saducee*, put to death, 98.
Dion taken by *Alexander Jannæus*, 95.
Dioscorinthus, the month of, explained, 20, (C).
Disciples LXX, appointed by Christ, 346, & (R). Their joyful return, 349.
Dolabella eases the *Asiatic Jews* from wars, 133.
Doris, *Antipater's* mother, conspires against *Herod*, 199. Banished, *ib.*
Dositheus a brave *Jewish* general's success against the *Syrians*, 23, & seq. In *Idumea*, 25. Loses his arm in a battle, *ib.* --- the betrayer of *Hyrca*n, 167, (K).
Drums, how used by the *Parthians*, 498.
Drusilla, daughter of *Herod Agrippa*, 433. Married to *Azizus* king of *Emessa*, 438. To *Felix*, *ib.*
Dryma, the canton of, where, 140, (Q).

E.

- E** *Agle*, golden, set up by *Herod*, pulled down, 264.
Eagles, *Roman*, a sanctuary, 162, (D).
Earthquake, a violent one in *Judea*. 165, 166, (H). Another at Christ's crucifixion, 387.
Ecdipon, where situate, 141, (R).
Edeffa taken by *Sapores*, 571.
Eleazar, a surly *Pharisee's* affront to *Hyrca*n, 80, 81, & (W).
 — a foolish priest, betrays the temple treasury, 123.

- the son of *Annas* made high-priest, 287. Carried off by the *Sicarii*, 442.
- head of the zealots, beats the *Romans*, 447. Made governor of *Idumea*, 449.
- a worthy priest, raises a party against the zealots, 465. Surprised by *John de Gischala*, 469. His desperate end at *Massada*, 489, 490.
- Eli, eli, lama, &c.* in what sense repeated by Christ on the cross, 385, (D). In what language, *ib.*
- Elioneus* made high-priest, 431.
- Elizabeth* conceives in her old age, 202.
- Elpis*, *Herod's* last wife, 197, sub not.
- Emmaus*, whence so called, 276, (T). Where situate, 288, (A). Fortified by the *Syrians*, 42. Whence called *Nicopolis*, 490, (E).
- Ephron* taken by *Judas Maccabeus*, 24.
- Essa* taken by *Alexander Janneus*, 95.
- Essenians*, why favoured by *Herod*, 156, not. Oppose his oath of fidelity, 180. Famous sect among the *Jews*, 236. why not mentioned by the evangelists, 237. Etymon of their name, *ib.* (A). Their rise, 238. Austere life, *ib.* & seq. Their faith, peculiar tenets, &c. 239, & seq. Degeneracy and end, 244, 245.
- Etnarchy*, what, 279.
- Euthalites*, a tribe of *Huns*, whence so called, 601. Defeat the *Persians*, *ib.* & seq. A further account of them, 603, (P). Kindness to *Cavadas*, 606.
- Ezechias* murdered by the zealots, 447.
- Ezra*, whether founder of the *Karaites*, 245, 246, & (H).

F.

- FABIUS** mounts the breach at *Jerusalem*, 114.
- Fadus Cuspius* sent governor of *Judea*, 433, & seq. Suppresses an insurrection, 434.
- Faustus Cornel.* mounts the breach at *Jerusalem*, 114.
- Felix* driven out of *Jerusalem*, 137. Made prætor of *Judea*, 436. His sad character, *ib.* & (B). Murders the good old high-priest, 437, & seq. Marries *Drusilla*, 438. Trembles at *St. Paul's* preaching, *ib.*
- Festus Portius* sent governor of *Judea*, 439. Severity against the turbulent *Jews*, 440. Partiality to the *Jewish* priests, *ib.* Hears *St. Paul's* defence, and acquits him, *ib.* Dies, 441.
- Flaccus's* cruelty to the *Alexandrian Jews*, 424. Banished, and put to death, 425.

Florus Gessius, governor of *Judea*'s sad character, 443. Rapines and cruelties complained of, 444. Horrid butcheries, 446. Brutishness to *Berenice*, *ib.*
Furius mounts the breach at *Jerusalem*, 114.

G.

G*Abala*, by whom built, 175, (R).
Gabestus assists *Aristobulus*, 102.
Gabinus's treachery against *Aristobulus*, 108. Made governor of *Syria*, 118. Success in *Egypt*, 121. Against *Alexander*, *ib.* Why recalled, 122, (B). Treachery to *Mithridates*, 505.
Gabriel, the angel sent to *Zacharias*, 200, 201. To the virgin *Mary*, 204.
Gadara taken by *Janneus*, 89. Made one of the five *Jewish* courts, 119. Dismantled from *Judea*, 280. Taken by the *Romans*, 463.
Galerius defeated by the *Persians*, 578. Defeats them, *ib.*
Galileans massacred by *Pilate*, 335.
Galilee invaded by *Timotheus*, 16. Reduced by *Herod*, 148. Revolts to *Antigonus*, 151. Its conversion foretold, 309. Subdued by the *Romans*, 450.
Gamala taken by the *Romans*, 454.
Gamaliel's advice to the sanhedrin, 412. Who he was, *ibid.* (K).
Games instituted by *Herod*, 174.
Garizzim, the temple of, destroyed by *Hyrcau*, 74, (O).
Gaulana taken by *Alexander Janneus*, 95.
Gaulonites, the sect of, 235, & seq. Insurrection, 284, & seq. The rest vid. sub *Zeulots*, *ib.* & seq.
Gaza besieged by *Alexander Janneus*, 89. Betrayed to him, *ib.* Destroyed, *ib.* Dismembered from *Judea*, 280.
Gazara taken by *Judas Maccabeus*, 16. Where situate, *ib.* (A). Taken by *Simon*, 60, & seq. vid. & (B).
Gedor fortified by *Cendebeus*, 65.
Gellius's ill success in *Arabia*, 177.
Genealogy of *Jesus Christ*, 204, 205. *St. Matthew*'s and *St. Luke*'s reconciled, 205, (Q).
Genesareth, lake, why called the sea of *Tiberias*, 287, & seq.
Gentiles, when their conversion first began, 420, & seq.
Georgias sent against the *Jews*, 5. Defeated by *Judas Maccabeus*, 7. In *Idumea*, 15. By *Dositheus*, 25.
Gergasenes, where situate, 327, (D).
Gethsemane, whence so called, 371, (N).

Ghost

- Ghost*, Holy, the sin against, what, 323, (A). Why unpardonable, *ib.*
- miraculous descent on the apostles, 405, & seq. The truth of the fact proved, 406, (H).
- Gibeon*, where situate, 448, (N).
- Gilead*, the *Jews* of, distressed by the *Syrians*, 16. Relieved by *Judas Maccabeus*, 23, & seq. Subdued by *Alexander Janneus*, 91.
- Gileadites* removed into *Judea*, 24.
- Gischala*, the city of, taken by the *Romans*, 455.
- *John de*, outwits *Vespasian*, and flies to *Jerusalem*, *ib.* Treachery to *Ananus*, 475, (Z). Desperate defence against the opposite parties, 465, & (H). Against *Simon*, 469. Plunders the temple, 476. Horrid hypocrisy, 477. Taken prisoner, 487. Punishment, 488.
- Glaphyra*, princess of *Cappadocia*, married to *Alexander*, 186. Sent back after her husband's death, 196. Illegally married to *Archelaus*, 282.
- Glones* made governor of *Amida*, 608. Betrayed into an ambushade, and killed by the *Romans*, 609.
- Golgotha* described, 381, (X).
- Gordian* invades *Persia*, 570. Murdered, *ibid.*
- Gotarzes* wars with his brother *Bardanes*, 548. Resigns the crown to him, *ibid.* Mounts the *Parthian* throne, 549. Wars with *Meherdates*, *ib.* & seq. Death, 551.
- Gratus* defeats the seditious *Jews*, 276.
- *Valerius* made governor of *Judea*, 286. Deposeth the high-priest, *ib.*
- Greeks* that came to see Christ, who, 360, (D).
- their treachery to the *Parthians*, 503.
- Gusanastades's* advice to the *Persian* council, 605. Declared a rebel, 607. Put to death, *ibid.*

H.

- H** *Agerim Malcuth*, what is meant by, 75, (P).
- Hallal*, among the *Jews*, a set of eucharistical psalms, 371, (M).
- Hardouin's* pedigree of *Herod* confuted, 100, (L). And his notion of the *Herodians*, 233, & seq.
- Hassideans*, *al. Asdanim*, murdered by *Bacchides*, 30. Whether the same with the *Essenians*, 237, & seq.
- Hebron* taken and razed by *Judas Maccabeus*, 18.
- Hecatompylos*, metropolis of *Parthia*, 495. Where situate, 496.

Helepolis,

Helepolis, a warlike engine, why so called, 479, (W).

Herod, when born, 100, not. His pedigree, *ib. pass.* Made governor of *Galilee*, 129. Success against the banditti, *ib. & seq.* Summoned by the sanhedrin, 130. Insolence to that court,, *ib. & seq.* Puts to death his cowardly judges, 131. Made governor of *Cæle-Syria*, 134. Politic revenge on *Malichus*, 135, & seq. Quells the *Malichean* faction, 137. Contracted to *Mariamne*, *ib.* Defeats *Antigonus*, 138. Favoured by *Marc Antony*, *ib. & seq.* Made tetrarch by him, 139. Escapes *Pacorus's* trap, 142. Goes into *Arabia*, 143. Ill success there, *ib.* More successful at *Rome*, 144. Created king of *Judea*, 145. Relieves his family at *Massada*, 147. Amnesty to the *Antigonians*, *ib. & seq.* Engines to destroy the banditti, 149. Assists *Marc Antony* at *Samosata*, 150. Defeats *Antigonus*, 151. Marries *Mariamne*, *ib.* Takes *Jerusalem*, 152, & seq. Complains of *Sosius's* cruelty, 153. Begins his reign with cruel exactions, 154, & seq. Decoys *Hyrchan* into *Judea*, 157, & seq. Plagued with domestic jars, 160. Murders *Aristobulus*, *ib.* Absolved by *Antony*, 161. Bloody orders concerning *Mariamne*, *ib.* Noble reception of *Cleopatra*, 164. Betrayed by her, 165. Defeats the *Arabians*, 166. Treachery to *Hyrchan*, 167, & (K). Bold speech to *Augustus*, 168. Grand reception of him in *Judea*, 170. Puts *Mariamne* to death, 171, & seq. His remorse turned into cruel madness, 172. Prophane buildings, games, &c. displease the *Jews*, 174. Rebuilds *Samaria*, 175. Generosity during the famine, 176. Palace described, 177. Sends his sons to *Augustus*, 178. Accused by *Zenodorus*, is acquitted, 179. Rebuilds the temple of *Jerusalem*, 181, & seq. Makes severe laws against robbers, 186. Goes to fetch his two sons home, *ib.* Their marriage, *ib. & seq.* Accuses them before *Cæsar*, 189. Plunders *David's* tomb, 191. Horrid butcheries, *ib. & seq.* Accused before *Augustus*, 194. Gets his two sons condemned, 195. His wives, progeny, &c. 196, 197, & (N). Falls out with *Pheroras*, 198, & seq. Discovers *Antipater's* conspiracy, 199, & seq. Fears at the arrival of the eastern magi, 222. His distracted state at the birth of Christ, 254. Over-reaches *Antipater*, 255, & seq. Massacres the children of *Bethlehem*, 256, & 257, (G). Arrests *Antipater*, 261. Pleads against him, *ib.* Finds new proofs of his treason, 262, & seq. His sickness and testament, 263. Affronted by the *Jews*, 264. His speech to them at *Jericho*, *ib.* Dreadful disease, 265, (M). Bloody orders

ders against the *Jews*, 266. His death and character, *ib.* & (N). Pompous burial, 268. His will canvassed by the senate, 272, & seq.

—— *Antipas's* share of the *Jewish* kingdom, 280. Cities built by him, 287, & seq. Veneration for the baptist, 305. Imprisons him at *Macheron*, 306. Beheads him, 307. Contempt of Christ, 378. Unsuccessful wars with *Aretas*, 417. Comes to *Jerusalem*, 418. And dis-oblige *Vitellius*, *ib.* & seq. Affronts *Agrippa*, 423. Accused and banished, 425, & (Q).

—— *Agrippa's* advancement by *Caligula*, 423, & seq. Various fortunes before it, *ib.* Affronted at *Alexandria*, 424, & (P). Supplants *Antipas*, 425. Intercedes for the *Jews*, 426. His letter to *Caligula*, 427, (R). Advancement under *Claudius*, 429. Attachment to the *Jewish* religion, 430. His character, *ib.* & (U). High credit, 431. Visited by five kings, *ib.* Persecutes the church, and beheads St. *James*, *ib.* & seq. His dreadful end, 432, 433, & (X). Indignities offered to his memory, 433, & (Y).

—— the son of *Agrippa*, deprived of his kingdom, 433. Succeeds his father, 434. Interest at the *Roman* court, 436, (A). Hears *Paul's* defence before *Festus*, 440. Affronts the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, 441. Becomes odious to them, 442. Driven out of the city, 445. His palace burnt by the zealots, 447. Joins forces with *Cestius*, 448. With *Vespasian*, 450. Accompanies him to *Rome*, 463. Cared for by him, 492. His death *ib.* Last king of the *Herodian* race, *ib.*

—— the son of *Aristobulus*, and grandson of *Herod the Great*, 197, sub not.

Herodian line, its short duration, 493.

Herodian, the historian's account of the *Persian* wars, 568, (C).

Herodians, a real sect in Christ's time, 233. Their particular tenets, *ib.* & seq. Confuted by Christ, 364.

Herodias, grand-daughter to *Herod the Great*, 197, sub not. Incestuous marriage with *Antipas*, 305. Resentment against the baptist, *ib.* & seq.

—— wife of *Antipas's* untimely ambition, 425. Goes with him into banishment, *ib.*

Herodion, by whom built, 177. Described, *ib.* (T). Taken by the *Romans*, 488, 489.

Hezechiah, chief of the *Palestine* robbers put to death, 129.

Hillel, the famed *Jewish* doctor, whether the *Pollio* of *Josephus*, 157, in fin. not. When he flourished, 226.

Hippocrates's writings, by whom brought to light, 573.

Hippon dismembered from *Judea*, 280.

Hormisdas, king of *Persia's* short reign, 574, & seq.

—— II. crowns his son before he is born, 579, & (G).

—— a revolted prince directs the *Romans*, 588. Forfeits his succession, 592.

—— a christian nobleman persecuted, 597.

Hozannah, what is meant by, 357, (A).

*Hyrca*n the son of *Simon*, why surnamed *Hyrca*n, 66, (H).

His reception at *Jerusalem*, 68, & seq. Succeeds his father in the high-priesthood, &c. 69. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 70.

Desires a truce of seven days, *ib.* Makes peace with him,

71. Said to have rifled *David's* tomb, 72. Shakes off the

Syrian yoke, 74. Takes *Aleppo*, *ib.* Invades *Syria*, *ib.*

Samaria, *ib.* *Idumea*, *ib.* Renews his alliance with the

Romans, 75, & (Q). Sends a new embassy to *Rome*, 76.

Besieges *Samaria*, 79. His great character, *ib.* Prophe-

tic spirit, 80, & (V). Falls out with the *Pharisees*, 81,

& (W). His death, 82, & (X).

—— the son of *Alexander Janneus*, made high-priest, 97.

Forfaken by his subjects, 102, & seq. Deposed, 103. The

time when, *ib.* (N). His cause espoused by *Antipater*,

106. Pleads his cause before *Pompey*, 109, & seq. Re-

stored to the high-priesthood, 115. Highly honoured by

the *Athenians*, 118. Reinstated by *Gabinus*, 119. Con-

firmed by *Cæsar*, 126. Allies with him, 127. Fatal par-

tiality to *Herod*, 130. Cowardice, 136. Carried to *Bar-*

zabpharnes, 142. Disqualified by the loss of his ears, 143,

& (T). Carried prisoner into *Parthia*, 144. Highly re-

spected there, 157. Decoyed back by *Herod*, *ib.* & seq.

Beheaded by him, 167.

I

Jacob's prophecy of the sceptre, departing from *Judah*, explained, 421, & (O).

Jambrians, who, 40, (M). Punished by *Jonathan*, 40.

James the Greater, son of *Zebedee*, made an apostle, 317,

(T). With his brother surnamed *Boanerges*, *ib.* Be-

headed by *Agrippa*, 431, & (W).

—— the *Less*, made an apostle, 317, (T). Why called the

Lord's brother, *ib.* Why made bishop of *Jerusalem*, 419,

& (N).

VOL. X.

4 L

—— the

- the son of *Judas Galileus*, crucified, 435.
Jamnia, where situate, 17, & (B). Burnt by *Judas Maccabeus*, 21. Given to *Salome*, 280.
Janneus, vid. *Alexander*, 87, & seq.
Janus, the temple of, shut up at the birth of Christ, 217, & (A). How oft before, *ib.*
Japhians, put to the sword, 453.
Jazar taken by *Judas Maccabeus*, 15.
Idumea, new, described, 13, (Y). Conquered by *Hyrca*, 74.
Idumeans forced to be circumcised, 74, 75, & (P). Invited into *Jerusalem*, 457. Return home, 459. Betrayed to *Simon*, 461.
Jericho taken by *Bacchides*, 42. Made one of the five courts of the province, 119.
 ---- the palace of, burnt, 276. Rebuilt by *Archelaus*, 282.
Jerusalem rebuilt by *Judas Maccabeus*, 11. Fortified, 55. Dismantled by *Antiochus*, 72. Besieged by *Pompey*, 111. Taken, 114. How oft on the same day, *ib.* (T). Made one of the five courts of judicature, 119. Rebuilt by *Antipater*, 128, & 132. Besieged by *Herod*, 152. Taken, *ib.* & seq. Its destruction foretold by Christ, 358, 359, & (B, C.) Inlarged by *Agrippa*, 431. The number of its inhabitants taken by *Cestius*, 444, & seq. Forsaken by crowds of *Jews*, 449, & (O). Torn into three factions, 465. Besieged by *Titus*, 468, & seq. Its first wall entered, 470. Second taken, 471. Labours under pestilence and famine, *ib.* Circumwalled, 472, & (N). Famished, 473, & (O). Taken and destroyed, 475, & seq. 478, &c.
 ---- high city, taken by the *Romans*, 483. The number of *Jewish* prisoners made in it, *ib.* Prodigies foregoing its total ruin, 486. Razed, 487, & (B).
Jesus the son of *Sirach*, an account of his writings, 73, (N).
 ---- Christ, the redeemer of the world, his nativity foretold, 204, & seq. & (R, S, T.) Born at *Bethlehem*, 215. Birth proclaimed by angels, *ib.* Circumcised, *ib.* The year of his birth computed, *ib.* (Z). Manifested to the eastern *Magi*, 217, & seq. Presented at the temple, 223. Whether of the *Essenian* sect, 243, & seq. Conveyed into *Egypt*, 258. Whence called a *Nazarite*, *ib.* The prophecy of it explained, *ib.* (H). At twelve years of age goes to the festival at *Jerusalem*, 285. Stays three days there, *ib.* Asks and answers questions of the doctors, *ib.* First entrance into the ministry, 293, & seq. Baptism, 295.

295. First miracle at *Cana*, 297. Answer to his mother vindicated, *ib.* (H). Drives the traders out of the temple, 298. Other miracles, *ib.* Sublime discourse with *Nicodemus*, 301, & seq. & not. Goes into *Galilee*, 308. Cures the nobleman's son, *ib.* A dæmoniac, 309, & seq. Calls *Simon Peter*, 311. Cures a paralytic on the sabbath, 312. Calls *Matthew*, *ib.* & seq. Silences the offended *Jews*, 315, & (S). Chooses his twelve apostles, 317, & (T). His sermon on the mount, 319. Heals the centurion's servant, 320. Raises the widow's son, *ib.* & seq. His yoke, why light, 321, & (X). Absolves the sinful woman, 322. Condemns infidelity, 323, & (A). Why he spoke in parables, 326. Stills the winds and sea, *ib.* Heals two fierce dæmoniacs, 327. Raises the ruler's daughter, 328. Why he concealed his miracles, 329, (G). Sends his apostles to preach, 330. Feeds five thousand with five loaves, 332. Walks on the sea, *ib.* Forgiven by many of his hearers, 333. Reproves the *Pharisees*, 335. Heals the *Syro-Phœnician's* daughter, 337. Goes to *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, &c. 336. Feeds four thousand with seven loaves, 337. Cures a blind man, 338. *Jews* opinion of him, 339. Foretells his own death, *ib.* & 342. Is transfigured upon the mount, 340. Heals a dæmoniac, 342. Pays the tribute, 343. Checks his apostles ambition, 343. Enjoins humility, forgiveness, &c. 344, & seq. Reproved by his kinsfolk, 345. Appoints seventy disciples, 346. Teaches in the temple, *ib.* Acquits the adulteress, 348. Reproved for curing on the sabbath, 351. Raises *Lazarus*, 354. Some circumstances of the miracle examined, *ib.* (Y). Triumphant entry into *Jerusalem*, 357, & seq. Foretells its ruin with tears, *ib.* & seq. (B, C.) Drives traders out of the temple, 360. Curse of the fig-tree vindicated, 363, (F). Silences the *Jewish* sects, 364, & seq. Washes his disciples feet, 368. Describes the day of judgment, 369. Celebrates the last supper, 370, & (L). His agony in the garden, 371, 372, & (O). Brought bound before the sanhedrin, 373. Tried and condemned, *ib.* & seq. Denied by *Peter*, 374. Sent to *Pilate*, 377. To *Herod*, 378. Brought back and scourged, *ib.* Accused of blasphemy and condemned to the cross, 380. Crucified, 383. The hour when, 382, (Y). Absolves the penitent thief, 384, & (B). His last prayer, 385. Expires, 386. Why pierced in the side, 389. Why buried apart, 390. His tomb, why sealed and guarded, *ib.* & (F). His resurrection, 392. Appears to the eleven,

394. To the rest, 395, & (B). Commission to them, 396. Ascends into heaven, 401, & (D). Testimony of other authors concerning him, 402, (E).
- the son of *Damnus*, made high-priest, 442. Goes over to *Titus*, 447.
- the son of *Gamaliel* put in his stead, 442. Their fatal enmity against each other, *ib.* --- Opposes the Zealots, 457. Put to death by them, 458.
- the son of *Ananus*, a dreadful prophet against *Jerusalem*, 443. His sufferings and death, 444, 470.
- Jewish* government, how altered by *Pompey*, 115. By *Gabinius*, 119, & (A). Restored by *Cæsar*, 126, 127, & (F).
- camp, the battle of, 125.
- Jews*, butchered in many places, 21, & seq. Their idolatrous superstition punished, 25. In high favour in *Egypt*, 48. Build a schismatic temple there, *ib.* & (T). Superstition fatal to *Jerusalem*, 113. Dreadfully butchered there, 114. Highly favoured by *Julius Cæsar*, 127, 132. Complaints against *Herod* rejected, 138. Punished, 140. Conspire against him, 175. Frivolous answers to the christians, 210, (S), 215, (Z). Causes of their infidelity and ruin, 225, & seq. Various sects, 226, & seq. Two false notions concerning the *Messiah* confuted, 260, sub not. Mutiny against *Archelaus*, 269. Punished, 270. Take up arms against *Sabinus*, 274. Two thousand of them crucified, 278. Send an embassy to *Rome*, *ib.* Revolt under *Judas Galileus*, 283, & seq. Why expelled *Rome*, 288. Petition *Pilate* against his standards, 289. And shields, 290. Their infatuated state at the appearing of Christ, 291, & seq. The cause of their rejection and ruin, 292, (E). Their incredulity accounted for, 298, (I). Offended at Christ's spiritual doctrine, 333. Had the power of life and death till after his time, 374, (R). 421, & (O). Persecuted at *Alexandria*, 424. Raise new troubles, 434, & seq. Deluded by false prophets, 437. Break out into open rebellion, 445, & seq. Massacred every-where, 446, & seq. Prepare for an obstinate defence, 449. Divided into factions, 455, 456, & (X). Cruelly butchered, 472, & seq. Famished, 473, (O). 475, (P). Set fire to the galleries of the temple, 475. Massacred by the *Romans*, 481. Strict fast for *Jerusalem*, 482. Sum total of their slain in the last war, 484, & seq.
- Joazar* made high-priest, 266. Deposed by *Archelaus*, 282. By *Cyrenius*, 283, (W).

- John the Maccabee*, killed by the *Jambrians*, 40.
 ----- the son of *Simon*, made general, 62. Defeats the *Syrians*, 66. Why surnamed *Hyrcau*, *ib.* (H). & 72, & seq. *Cætera vid. sub Hyrcan*, *ib.* & seq.
 ----- the baptist's birth foretold, 200, & seq. Fulfilled, 212, & (U). Brought up among the *Essenians*, 243. His life, preaching, &c. 294, & (F). Baptizes Christ, 295. Reproves *Herod's* incest, 305. Imprisoned and beheaded for it, *ib.* & seq. *Josephus's* character of him, 307, & seq.
 ----- the beloved disciple takes the virgin mother to his home, 384. Runs with *Peter* to the sepulchre, 392. Not to die till the coming of Christ, 400.
Jonah's whale described, 325, (C).
Jonathan the Maccabee succeeds his brother *Judas*, 39. Revenges on the *Jambrians* his brother's death, 40. Defeated at *Teckoa*, 41. Defeats a conspiracy, 43. Beats and makes peace with *Bacchides*, *ibid.* & seq. Judges the *Jews*, 44. Made high-priest, 46, & (R). Sides with *Alexander*, 46. His reception at *Ptolemais*, 47. Defeats *Apollonius*, 50. Besieges, *Acra*, 51. In high favour with *Nicator* *ib.* (U). Joins with *Antiochus*, *ib.* Falls into an ambush, and beats the *Demetrians*, 53. Betrayed by *Tryphon*, 56. Murdered, 57. His sepulchre described, 58, (Z).
 ----- the son of *Abshalom* takes *Joppa*, 60.
 ----- a zealous *Sadducee* sets *Hyrcau* against the *Pharisees*, 81, (W).
 ----- the son of *Ananus* made high-priest, 415. Refuses a second pontificate, 430. Ill requited by *Felix*, 437, & seq.
 ----- a *Jewish* impostor's punishment, 491, (G).
Joppa destroyed by *Judas Maccabeus*, 21. Taken by *Simon*, 55. Described, *ib.* Taken by the *Romans*, 453.
Joseph the Maccabee left governor of *Jerusalem*, 16. Deated by *Georgias*, 18.
 ----- the third son of *Antipater*, 129, (H). Left in care of *Herod's* family, 143. Besieged in *Massada*, 146. Defeated and killed, 150.
 ----- *Herod's* uncle discloses his orders to *Mariamne*, 162. Put to death, 163.
 ----- the husband of the virgin *Mary*, his genealogy, 205, (Q). Death, 286, (X).
 ----- of *Arimathea* buries the body of Christ, 389, & seq.
 ----- the son of *Cam*, made high-priest, 434.
Josephus, the *Jewish* historian, censured for differing from the book of *Maccabees*, 66, (G). 67, (I). Another mistake

take corrected, 76, (R). His testimony concerning Christ discussed, 402, (E). Releases some *Jewish* priests at *Rome*, 439, in fin. (F). Made governor of *Galilee*, 449. His brave defence of *Jotapa*, 450. Surrender, 451, & (R). Speech to *Vespasian*, *ibid.* & seq. Promoted by him, 464, (F). Sent with offers of peace to the *Jews*, 469. Speech to the besieged, 471, & seq. Wounded by them, 476. Suspected by the *Romans*, *ib.* (R). Beloved by *Titus*, *ib.* & seq.

—— the son of *Gorion*, made governor of *Jerusalem*, 449.

—— *Ben Gorion*, a fabulous author, trumped up by the *Jews* against the former, 493.

Jotapa taken by the *Romans*, 450, & (Q). Number of *Jews* there slain, 485.

Ireneus pleads *Antipater's* cause before the *Roman* senate, 271, & seq.

Isaiah's prophecies concerning the *Messiah* explained, 207, & seq. & notes.

Isdegertes, king of *Persia*, 594. His character, *ib.* Made guardian to *Theodosius*, *ib.* & 595, & (N). Becomes a favourer of the christians, 596, & seq.

Ishmael I. made high-priest, 286.

—— II. succeeds *Ananias*, 439. Deposed for his zeal, 441. Detained as an hostage at *Rome*, *ib.*

Isfahan, a city of *Parthia*, the antient *Aspa*, 496.

Itabyr mount described, 454, (W).

Iturea given to *Herod*, 178, & (V).

Itureans, why so called, 85, (B). Forced to circumcise, 85.

Judas Maccabeus succeeds his father, 1, & seq. Defeats the *Syrians*, 5, 7. Speech to his troops, 6. Defeats *Lyfias*, 9, & (T). Restores the divine worship, 11. Defeats the *Idumeans*, 15, *Timotheus*, 16. Success in *Gilead*, 17. In *Idumea*, &c. 18. Makes peace with *Syria*, 19. Defeats the *Arabians*, 22. *Timotheus*, 23. Takes several cities, *ib.* & seq. Returns victorious, 25, & (H). Offers sacrifices for the dead, 26, & (I). Forces *Antiochus* to a peace, 27. Defeats *Alcimus*, 30. Escapes *Nicanor's* treachery, 33. Defeats and kills him, 35. Allies with *Rome*, 36. Why styled high-priest by the *Romans*, 37, (L). Defeated and killed, 38.

—— *al. Jude*, chosen an apostle, 317, (T).

—— *Galileus*, head of the *Gaulonitish* faction, 235. Raises an insurrection, 284, & seq.

—— a *Jewish* doctor, raises a sedition against *Herod*, 264. Burnt alive, 265.

—— the

- the son of *Hezekias*, raises a new sedition, 275.
 Supposed the *Theudas* of St. Luke 476, & (S).
Iscaiot, one of the twelve apostles, 317, (T).
 Whence so called, *ib.* in fin. not. Why chosen into the college, 334, (I). His covetousness reprov'd, 356. His resentment at it, 357, & 367, & (I). Sells his master, 369. Betrays him, 372. His remorse, 375. Kind of death, *ib.* (S).
Judea restored by *Judas Maccabeus*, 2, & seq. Invaded by *Lyfias*, 15. By *Bacchides*, 29. Freed by *Jonathan*, 55. Subdued by *Pempey*, 114. Deeply taxed by *Cassius*, 134. Visited with pestilence and famine, 176. Laid waste by several factions, 275, & seq. Made a province of the Roman empire, 433. Infested with *Sicarii*, 437. Filled with slaughter, &c. 446, ad fin. cap.
Judgment, the day of, described by Christ, 369,
Julian invades *Persia*, 587, & seq. Drawn into great difficulties, 588. Deceived by a deserter, *ib.* & seq. His defeat and death, 589. Character, 590, (K).
Julias, by whom built, 288.

K.

- K** *Araitcs*, whence so called, 245, & (F). Their founder, sect, &c. *ib.* (G), & seq. When they separated from the traditionalists, 248, 249, (I, K). Their principles, 250, & seq. Why omitted by *Josephus*, 249, (L). Hated by the other *Jews*, 252, 253, (O). Their character, *ib.* & seq.
Kashan, a city in *Parthia*, 496.
Kom, a city in *Parthia*, 496.

L.

- L** *Abienus*, a Roman general of *Pompey's* party, commands the *Parthian* forces 530. His conquests in *Syria*, 531. Defeated, 532. Surprized by *Ventidius*, and taken and put to death, *ib.*
Lamb, the daily sacrifice of, ceased, 478.
Lambs, the computation taken from them, uncertain, 444, (K).
Lasthenes inthrones young *Nicator*, 51, (U).
Laurence's surprising constancy paralleled from unquestionable testimony, 396, (C).
Lazarus entertains Christ at supper, 350, 356. Raised from the dead, 354, & (Y).

Lebbeus,

Lebbeus, vid. *James the Less*, 317, (T).

Levi, the evangelist, why surnamed *Matthew*, 312, (Q).
Vindicated against *Porphyry*, &c. *ib.* Made an apostle,
317, (T).

Levites allowed to wear white garments, 442.

Libanius pagan orator of *Antioch*, his account of the surprising constancy of some christian martyrs, 398, note.
His character, writings, &c. *ib.* & seq.

Lights, the feast of, among the *Jews*, whence so called, 12, (W).

Longinus Cassius sent governor of *Judea*, 434.

Lucullus invades *Pontus*, &c. 101.

Lysias sent against the *Jews*, 5. Defeated by *Judas Maccabeus*, 9, & (T). Invades *Judea*, 15, 18. Defeated at *Bethsura*, 19. Sues for peace, *ib.* Puts the apostate high-priest to death, 28.

Lyfimachus, the brother of *Apollodorus*, murders him, 89.

M.

M *Accabees*, why so called, 1, (P). Their wars, *ib.* & seq.

—— books of, 3, note.

Macheras insulted by *Antigonus*, 150.

Macheron taken by the zealots, 447. By the *Romans*, 488, 489, & (D).

Madeba taken by *Hyrca*n, 74.

Magdala, where situate, 337, (M).

Magdalen Mary's attention to *Christ's* preaching, 350.
Falsely confounded with one of another character, *ib.* (U).
Her profusion of ointment unjustly blamed, 356. Presence at the crucifixion, 384. Brings tidings of *Christ's* resurrection, 392, & seq.

Magi come from the east, 217, & seq. & (B). Their presents to *Christ*, 222, & (D).

—— of *Persia*, raise a persecution against the christians, 581. Put a ridiculous trick upon the king, 596. Decimated for it, *ib.* Cruelty to the christians, 597.

Malabarcha among the *Jews*, his office, 47, (S).

Malchus king of *Arabia's* ingratitude to *Herod*, 143.

Malichus conspires against *Antipater*, 134. Who he was, *ib.* (L). Poisons him, 135. Outwitted and assassinated by *Herod*, *ib.* & seq.

Manes the arch-heretic, when he flourished, 573. His doctrine and death, *ib.* (E).

Manlius

- Manlius T.* interposes in favour of the *Jews*, 19, 20.
- Marathas*, a christian bishop, highly honoured by the *Persians*, 595, & seq. Cures the king of an inveterate head-ach, 596. Heals the prince of *Persia*; who was possessed, 597.
- Mareffa*, where situate, 78, (S).
- Mariamne*, *Hyrca*'s grand-daughter, contracted to *Herod*, 137. Her character, 146. Marriage, 151, & (Z). Alienated from him by his barbarity and bloody orders, 162, & seq. Accused, shews her innocence, *ib.* Sent to *Masfada*, 168. Accused of treason, 170. Her heroic behaviour at her death, 172.
- the daughter of *Simon* married to *Herod*, 177. Accused of treason, 199.
- daughter of *Herod Agrippa*, 433. Her incontinency, 438, (E).
- Marion*, prince of *Tyre*, joins with *Antigonius*, 137, & (N).
- Mark*, the evangelist, whether the founder of the *Therapeutes*, 243.
- a christian bishop's noble martyrdom related by *Libanius*, 398, note.
- Mars*, the temple of, built by *Augustus*, 543.
- Marsyas*, a christian martyr's constancy from heathen testimony, 399, sub not.
- Martace*, one of *Herod*'s wives, and mother of *Archelaus* and *Antipas*, 197, sub not. Goes to *Rome* with her son, 270.
- Martha*'s worldly care condemned, 350.
- Martyrdom* of the first christians, an instance of the divine wisdom, 396, not.
- Marullus* made governor of *Judea*, 423.
- Mary* the mother of *Christ* saluted by the angel, 204, 211. Her lineage from *David* shewn, 205, & (Q). Visit to *Elizabeth*, 211. Return to *Nazareth*, 212. Delivered at *Bethlehem*, 215. Maintained by her son, 286, (X). Attends him at his crucifixion, 384. Taken home by St. *John*, *ib.*
- *Magdalen*, vid. sub *Magdalen*, 350, & seq.
- Massada* besieged by *Antigonius*, 146. Taken by the zealots, 446. By the *Romans*, 488, 489. The desperate end of the *Jews* there 489, & seq.
- Mattathias* a *Jewish* high-priest deposed, 265.
- Matthew* called by *Christ*, 312. His readiness justified, *ib.* (Q).
- Matthias* a *Jewish* high-priest, defiled on expiation eve, 199, (O).

- a *Jewish* doctor, raises a new tumult, 264. Burnt alive, 265.
- a disciple of Christ, chosen apostle, 405, & (G).
- a *Jew* made high-priest, 430. Lets *Simon* into the city, 463. Put to death, 475, 476.
- Maximus* defeated by *Chosroes* and slain, 555.
- Mebodes* made trustee of *Cavadēs's* testament, 614.
- Meberdates* set up against *Gotarzes*, and supported by the emperor *Claudius*, 549. Betrayed by *Abgarus*, 550. Defeated and taken prisoner, 551.
- Memmius Q.* friendship to the *Jews*, 19, & seq.
- Menahem*, an *Essenian*, foretels *Herod's* rise, 156, sub not. Who he was, *ib.*
- head of the zealots, massacred by them, 447.
- Menelaus* promotes a peace with *Syria*, 20. Put to a cruel death, 28.
- Mermeroes*, general of the *Persians*, defeated by the *Romans*, 612. Outwitted by the *Martyropolitans*, 613.
- Mesopotamia* conquered by *Mithridates*, 502.
- Michmasb*, where situate, 44, (P).
- Milesian* fables, what, 527.
- Mina* of gold, 122, (C).
- Miriam*, a *Jewish* lady eats her own child at the siege of *Jerusalem*, 473, & seq.
- Misdates*, king of *Persia*, vid. *Hormisdas* II. 579.
- Mithras*, the *Parthian* name of the sun, 499.
- Mithridates* rescued by *Antipater*, 125, & 126, (E).
- I. king of *Parthia*, his vast conquests, 502. Excellent character, *ib.* & seq.
- II. Murders his father, 504. Driven out for his cruelties, 505. Put to death, *ib.*
- king of *Iberia*, wars against the *Parthians*, 546.
- Mizpa*, a place of devotion to the *Jews*, 6, (R).
- Moabites* laid under tribute by *Alexander Jannæus*, 91.
- Moneses* goes to *Marc Antony*, 536. Advises him of the *Parthian* designs, 539.
- general of *Parthia*, sent into *Armenia*, 552. Disappointed in his designs against *Tigranes*, *ib.*
- Morinus's* opinion of the *Karaites*, 249, (K).
- Myrratum Vinum* esteemed by the *Romans*, 382, (Z).

N

N *Aim*, where situated 320, (W). Widow's son raised from the dead, 321.

NarSES sent to compliment *Probus*, 575. Mounts the *Persian* throne, 577. Success against *Galerus*, 578. Ill success and death, *ib.* & seq.

———— *Sapor's* ambassador to *Constans*, 584.

———— the *Persian* general, sent against the *Romans*, 598.

Nathanael called by Christ, 297.

Nazarenes offended at Christ's preaching, 309.

Nazarite, Christ, why so called, 258. That prophecy of him explained, *ib.* (H). The true sense of that word, 260, sub not.

Nicanor's fatal expedition against the *Jews*, 5, & seq. & 8. Sent a second time, 31. Makes peace with *Judas Macabeus*, *ib.* His treachery to him, 33. Cruelty to the *Jews*, 34, & seq. Blasphemous speech, 35. Defeat and death, *ib.*

———— *Titus's* general, wounded before *Jerusalem*. 469.

Nicodemus, *Aristobulus's* ambassador to *Pompey*, 109.

———— a *Jewish* ruler, comes to Christ by night, 301.

The substance of Christ's doctrine to him, *ib.* & 302, note.

Pleads for him against the *Pharisees*, 347. Embalms his body, 390.

Nicolas the deacon, whether author of the *Nicolaitan* sect, 413, (L).

Niger, a *Jewish* captain, defeated before *Ascalon*, 450. Narrow escape, *ib.*

Ninos taken by *Meherdates*, 550.

Nisibis, the province of, why given to *Izates*, 547. Taken by *Trajan*, 554. Restored to *Sapor*, 589. Invaded by the *Romans*, 598.

O.

O *Ath* of fidelity required from the *Jews* by *Herod*, 180. Opposed by the *Essenians* and *Pharisees*, *ib.* Set aside, *ibid.*

Oaths, how forbid by the *Essenians*, 241, & (C).

Obedas, king of *Arabia*, invaded by *Alexander Jannæus*, 91. Protects the plunderers of *Judea*, 193, & (K). Poisoned by *Syllæus*, 194, (L).

- Obolus*, king of *Persia*, vid. *Valens*, 603.
Octavianus, vid. *Augustus*, 144, & seq.
Octavius comes to *Crassus*'s assistance, 524. Killed, 526.
Odenatus, prince of *Palmyrene*'s success against the *Persians*, 571.
Onias IV. Deprived of his succession, 28. Retires into *Egypt*, *ib.* In high favour there, 48. Builds a *Jewish* temple, *ib.* & (T).
 ---- a devout *Jew*, murdered, 107.
Onion, the *Jews* of, very serviceable to *Julius Caesar*, 125.
Ordonopantes, at the instigation of *Bibulus*, raises a rebellion in *Parthia*, 530.
Orodes, king of *Parthia*, murders his father, 504. Driven out, 505. Cruelty to his brother, *ib.* Invaded by *Crassus*, 509. Embassy to him, 511. Assembles a numerous army. *ib.* Defeats the *Romans*, 520, & seq. Makes peace with *Armenia*, 527. Ingratitude to *Surena*, 528. Ill success in *Syria*, *ib.* & seq. Refuses succours to *Pompey*, 530. Defeated by *Ventidius*, 533. Excessive grief for the loss of his son *Pacorus*, 534. Takes *Phraortes* into partnership, 536. Murdered by him, *ib.*
 ---- II. murdered for his savage temper, 544.
 ---- the son of *Artabanus*, defeated, 546.
Oromases, beheaded for debasing his character, 504.
Orsaces, general of *Parthia*'s success against *Syria*, 528. Defeated by *Cassius* and killed, 529.
Owl, peaches twice over king *Agrippa*'s head, 433, in fin. (X).

P.

- PAbec*, the foster-father of *Artaxares*, 564, 565.
Pacorus joins with *Antigonus* against *Herod*, 140. Defeated, 141. Treachery to *Phasaël*, 142.
 ----- the son of *Orodes*, fortifies *Ctesiphon*, 495. Allies with *Armenia*, 528. Sent against *Syria*, *ib.* His conquests, 530, & seq. Defeated and killed, 533. His character, 534.
 ----- I. king of *Parthia*'s alliance with *Rome*, 504.
 ----- II. his reign, 554. Lives in friendship with the *Romans*, *ib.*
Paleas, by whom called *Cæsarea*, 288.
Pallas, one of *Herod*'s wives, her issue, 197, not.
Palmyreans, defeated by *Aurelian*, 574.
Pappus kills *Herod*'s brother, 150. Defeated and killed, 151.
Parables,

- Parables*, why so frequently used by Christ, 326.
- Paros*, the *Jews* of, redressed by *Cæsar*, 132, 133, (K).
- Parthianaspates*, made king of *Parthia*, 555. Driven out, 556.
- Parthia* described, 495. How divided, 476. Wasted by the *Scythians*, 503, & seq. Its kings, 501, & seq. Subdued by *Trajan*, 555. End of its monarchy, 560, & seq.
- Parthians*, whence descended, 496, & seq. Their customs, &c. 497. Excellent archery, *ib.* & (A). Religion, 499. Government, kings, &c. *ib.* & seq. Invade *Judæa* in favour of *Antigonus*, 140, & seq. Plunder *Herod's* palace, 143. Set *Antigonus* on the throne, *ib.* & seq. Invaded by *Crassus*, 508, & seq. Defeat him, 521, & seq. Defeated by *Cassius*, 529. Driven out of *Syria*, 532, & seq. Subdued by the *Persians*, 560.
- Paul* persecutes the church, 414. Pleads his cause before *Felix*, 438. Left in bonds by him, 439. Pleads before *Festus*, 440. Appeals to *Rome*, *ib.* Defence before king *Agrippa*, *ib.*
- Pella* taken by *Alexander Jannæus*, 95. Demolished, *ib.*
- Pelusium*, taken by *Cæsar*, 125.
- Poros* king of *Persia's* expedition against the *Euthalites* or white *Huns*, 601. In great distress swears never to invade them, *ib.* & 602, (O). Invades them a second time, 602. Cut off with his whole army, *ib.*
- Persia*, the history of, 562, & seq.
- Persians* subdue the *Parthians*, 560, & seq. Their history, 562, & seq.
- Peter* the apostle called, and surnamed *Cephas*, 297, 311, 317, (T). Walks on the sea, 332. Noble confession, 333, 339. Why blamed for his modest non-compliance, 368, (K). For his zeal, 372. Denies his master, 374. Hastens to his sepulchre, 392. His commission and martyrdom, 396. First sermon makes 3000 converts, 406. First miracle 5000 more, 410. His speech to the sanhedrin, *ib.* & seq. Second defence, 411. Miraculous deliverance from *Herod*, 432. Prophecy against the *Jews*, 452, & (S).
- Petor*, where situate, 218, note.
- Petronius* ordered by *Caligula* to persecute the *Jews*, 426. His favour to them, *ib.*
- Phædra*, one of *Herod's* wives, her issue, 197, sub not.
- Phannius*, an obscure priest, made pontiff by the zealots, 456, (Y).
- Pharasmanes's* success in *Armenia*, 546.

Pharisees,

- Pharisees*, their rise, 80, & 226. Enmity to *Hyrcau*, 81, & (W). Cause a revolt against *Alexander Jannæus*, 92. Insolent answer to him, *ibid.* Impudent behaviour to his queen, 98. Cruelty to the *Sadducees*, *ib.* Required by *Aristobulus*, 102, & seq. Their peculiar doctrines, 227, & seq. Cause of their infidelity, 228, & seq. Reproved by the baptist, 296. By Christ much more, 335, & seq. Two false notions of theirs confuted, 260, note, & 349. Put to silence, 364. The rest vid. sub *Jews*.
- Phasaël*, Herod's brother, 129, & (H). Made governor of *Jerusalem*, 135. Made tetrarch by *Marc Antony*, 139. Betrayed by *Pacorus*, 143. Kills himself, 144.
 — the son of Herod by *Pallas*, 197, sub not.
- Phasaëlis*, the fortrefs of, built by Herod, 190. Bequeathed to *Salome*, 280.
- Pheroras*, Herod's fourth brother, 129, (H). Flies into *Idumea*, 142. Made tetrarch, 180, & (W.). Accused by *Alexander*, Herod's son, 192. Joins with *Antipater* against Herod, 196. Leaves the court, 198. Refuses to come to his sick brother, *ib.* His death discovers the whole plot, *ib.* & seq.
- Philarchus*, a bitter enemy of the *Jews*, killed, 8.
- Philip* the son of Herod by *Mariamne*, 197, (N). ---- By *Cleopatra*, *ib.* Made tetrarch, 266. His share of the *Jewish* kingdom, 280. His death and character, 412, & seq.
 — the apostle, called by Christ, 297, 317, (T).
 — preaches at *Samaria*, 415.
 — the murderer of *Gordian*, makes peace with *Sapores*, 570.
- Philippion* put to death by his father *Mennæus*, 124.
- Philistines* invaded by *Judas Maccabeus*, 18.
- Philo's* account of the *Essenians*, 237, & seq. Why different from *Josephus's*, 240, (B).
- Phlegon's* eclipse quoted by the fathers, 385, (C).
- Phraatices* murders his father, 544. Banished, *ibid.*
- Phrabates* I. king of *Parthia*, overcomes the *Mardi*, 502.
 — II. defeated by *Antiochus*, 503. Defeated by the *S thians*, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.*
 — III. was with *Tigranes*, 504. Murdered by his sons, *ib.*
 — IV. bloody reign, 536. Defeats the king of *Media* 541. Dethroned, 542. Makes peace with *Octavianus*, 543. Poisoned, 544.
- Pilate*, *Pontius*, made governor of *Judea*, 287. His character, *ib.* & (Z). Exasperates the *Jews*, 289, & seq. Reproved

- proved by *Tiberius*, 290. Attempt on the treasury of the temple, 291. Tries and condemns Christ, 377, & 380, (W). His severity to the *Samaritans*, 415. Deposition and banishment, 416. His acts, the validity of, discussed, *ib.* (M).
- Pitolaus*, a chief of the Roman faction in *Judea*, 119. Goes over to *Aristobulus*, 120. Put to death, 123.
- Placidus's* success in *Judea*, 463.
- Pliny's* account of the *Essenians*, 238.
- Polemon*, king of *Pontus*, marries *Berenice*, and embraces *Judaism*, 438, (E).
- Pollio's* policy to gain *Herod's* favour, 155, (A).
- Pompey* invited by *Aristobulus* 108. Hears the pleas of the contending brothers, 109. Partiality for *Hyrcau*, 110. Besieges *Jerusalem*, 111. Takes it, 114. Enters into the most holy place, 115. Returns to *Rome*, 117.
- Pontius Pilate*, *vid. sub Pilate*, 287, & seq.
- Poppea's* friendship to the *Jews*, 439, in fin. (F), & 441. *Josephus's* flattering character of that princess, *ib.* (G).
- Potters* field, the buying of, price, &c. foretold, 376.
- Praespa* besieged by *Marc Antony*, 537. The siege raised, 539.
- Priapatius*, third king of *Parthia*, 502.
- Priesthood*, high, become venal, 287.
- Priestly* vestments, where kept, 83, & seq.
- Priests*, high, fall into a civil war with the lower class, 439, & seq. & (F).
- Priests, Jewish*, admirable constancy amidst the slaughter in the temple, 114. Oppressed by the deposed pontiffs, 439, & (F). Sent to *Rome*, *ib.* in fin. (F).
- Priscus Statius's* success against the *Parthians*, 557. Drives them out of *Armenia*, *ibid.*
- Procopius* defeats the immortal troop of the *Persians*, 600.
- Psalms* xxii. in what sense repeated by Christ on the cross, 385, & (D). Its true lesson vindicated, *ibid.*
- Ptolemy Philometor's* friendship to the *Jewish* high-priest, 50, & seq.
- *Lathyrus* invades *Judea*, 87.
- *Macron* sent against *Judas Maccabeus*, 5. Turned out by *Lysias*, 14, 15.
- the treacherous son-in-law of *Simon*, 67. His perfidy and parricide, *ib.* & seq. Ill success against *Hyrcau*, *ib.* & (I).
- *Menneus's* kindness to *Aristobulus's* family, 124.
- Pyrrhonians*, whether the *Essenians* were of their sect, 239.
- Pythagorean* doctrines held by the *Essenians*, 240.

Q.

Q*Uadratus*, governor of *Syria*, 436. Severity to the *Jews*, *ibid.* (A).

R.

R*Agaba* besieged by *Alexander Janneus*, 96.
Raphia taken by *Alexander Janneus*, 89.
Raphon, where situate, 23.
Raxis's great zeal for his religion, 34. His desperate death, *ib.* & seq.
Reason, how far bound to yield to revelation, 305, (M).
Regeneration preached to *Nicodemus*, 301, 302, & (K).
Repta, the receptacle of the *Jewish* banditti, 193, [K].
Resurrection, the state of, described, 365, & seq.
Rhadamistus the *Iberian* driven out of *Armenia* by *Vologeses*, 551.
Rhodagune given to *Demetrius Nicator*, 502.
Roman senate's partiality to *Herod*, 145. *Cætera* vid. sub *Romans*.
 — empire, why visited with pestilence, 557.
Romans, their first alliance with the *Jews*, 36. Style *Hyr-can* king, 75, (Q). Friendship to the *Jewish* nation, 76.
 Defeated by the *Parthians*, 522.
Roxana, *Herod's* daughter by *Phædra*, 197, sub not.
Rufus Anius sent governor of *Judea* by *Augustus*, 286. Re-
 called by *Tiberius*, *ib.*

S.

S*abinus*, intendant of *Syria*, goes to seize *Herod's* treasure, 271. Besieged by the seditious *Jews*, 274. Sets fire to the temple, *ib.* Sneaks out of *Judea*, 278.
Sacrifice daily, when ceased, 478, & (T).
Sadducees, why favoured by *Alexander Janneus*, 82. Perse-
 cuted by the *Pharisees*, 98, & seq. Their peculiar tenets, 230, & seq. By whom founded, *ib.* Causes of their in-
 fidelity, *ib.* pass. Their character, 232. Fall, *ib.* Con-
 futed by *Christ*, 365, & (G).
Salame, queen of the *Jews*, sets *Alexander Janneus* on the throne, 87.
 — sister of *Herod*, her character, 129, (H). Hatred to *Mariamne*, 162. Hellish plots against her, 170. Saves her

- her husband, 173. Divorces him, *ib.* & (P). Cabals against *Herod's* sons by *Mariamne*, 187, 191, & (H). Accused by *Alexander*, 192. Raises new accusations, 194, & seq. Releases the *Jewish* chiefs, 267. Betrays *Arche-laus*, 271. Her death, and last will, 286.
- the daughter of *Herod* by *Elpis*, 197, sub not.
- the fatal dancer begs the baptist's head, 307.
- Salonicus's* birth celebrated by *Virgil*, 147, (X).
- Samaria* closely besieged, 79. Demolished, *ib.* Rebuilt by *Gabinius*, 119. By *Herod*, 175, & (R). The rest vid. sub *Sebaste*, 175, & seq.
- Samaritans* invaded by *Judas Maccabeus*, 18. Subdued by *Hyrca*, 74, & (O), 78, & seq. Pollute the *Jewish* temple, 285. Converted to christianity, 415. Deceived by an impostor, *ibid.* Fall out with the *Jews*, 435. Cast at *Rome*, 436. Defeated by *Cerealis*, 453.
- Sameas's* noble speech against *Herod*, 130, vid. & *Shammai*.
- Samega* taken by *Hyrca*, 74.
- Sanhedrin's* various consultations against Christ, 347, 351, 355, 369. Unjust sentence against him, 374. Why they sent him to *Pilate*, *ib.* (R). Horrid hypocrisy, 376. Inveteracy, 378, & seq. Revile him on the cross, 383. Obduracy 389. Suppress his resurrection, 393. And the propagation of the gospel, 411.
- Sapores I.* king of *Persia*, his character, 569. Success against the *Romans*, *ib.* & seq. Barbarity to *Valerian*, 571, & (D). Manner of his death, 573.
- II. Crowned in his mother's womb, 579. Persecutes the christians, 581. Ill success against the *Romans*, 583, pass. Letter to *Constans*, 584. Success against him, 586. Invaded by *Julian*, 587. Defeats him, 588. Makes peace with *Jovian*, 589, 590, & (K). His character as a general vindicated, *ib.* Other conquests, 591, & (L). Death, 592.
- III. his reign, 594.
- Saracens*, a hundred thousand cut off by the *Romans*, 599.
- Saramael*, some conjectures concerning that place, 59, in fin. (A).
- Sasan*, the father of *Artaxares*, conqueror of *Parthia*, and founder of the *Persian* monarchy, 565.
- Saturnius* votes that the sons of *Herod* be punished, 195.
- Saul's* conversion, vid. *Paul*, 414, & seq.
- Sawa*, a city in *Parthia*, 496.
- Scaurus* gained by *Aristobulus*, 108. His letter to *Aretas*, *ib.* Made governor of *Syria*, 115.

- Sceptre*, when wholly departed from *Judah*, 421, & seq. vid. & (O).
- Scythians*, their friendship to the *Jews*, 24.
- Scythopolis* betrayed to *Hyrca*n, 79.
- Scythopolitans* barbarous ingratitude to the *Jews*, 447, (M).
- Sebaste*, *Samaria*, why so called, 119, 175, (R).
- Sects* among the *Jews*, an account of them, 226, & seq.
- Sejanus*, whence his hatred to the *Jews*, 288, 289, & (B).
- Seleucia* taken by *Alexander Jannæus*, 95.
- Sephoris* in *Galilee*, made one of the five courts, 119. Where situate, 275, (R). Taken and destroyed, 277. Rebuilt and fortified by *Antipas*, 287.
- Seron* defeated and killed, 5.
- Sesofes's* fidelity to *Cavades*, 606. Rewarded, 607. Put to death, 611.
- Severus's* success in *Parthia*, 558. Obtains the surname of *Parthicus*, *Armenicus*; and *Adiabaticus*, *ib.* Success against the *Persians*, 567.
- Shammai*, a famed *Jewish* doctor, 131, (I). Opposes *Herod's* oath of fidelity, 180.
- Shechem* taken by *Hyrca*n, 74. Where situate, 308, (N).
- Shepherds*, true and false, described, 352, & seq.
- Sicarii* in *Judea*, their cruelties, 437, & (C). Insolence; 442. Join with the zealots, 446, & seq. --- a new set of them; 460.
- Silo's* falsehood to *Antigonus*, 147. To *Herod*, 148.
- Simeon's* testimony of the child *Jesus*, 224. Conjectures concerning him, 223, (E).
- a seditious *Jew*; burns and wastes *Judea*, 276, & seq. Beheaded, *ib.*
- Simon the Maccabee's* success in *Galilee*, 17. Made general by *Antiochus*, 52. Takes *Bethzura*, 53. *Joppa*, and puts *Judea* in a state of defence, 55. Succeeds his brother, 56. Outwitted by *Tryphon*, 57. Buries his brother at *Modin*, 58. Renews his alliances, *ib.* &c. Letter to *Demetrius*, *ib.* & seq. Fortifies *Judea*, and takes *Joppa* and *Gaza*, 60. Takes the title of prince, &c. 59, & (A). Ungratefully treated by *Antiochus*, 64. His character, 62, (D). Alliances with *Rome*, &c. 64. His coin described, 63, (E). Answer to *Antiochus*, 65. Riches, *ib.* & seq. Treacherously murdered, 67,
- father-in-law to *Herod*, made high-priest, 177. Deposed, 199.
- *Peter* the apostle, vid. sub *Peter*, 297, & seq.
- the

- the *Canaanite*, why so called 317, (T).
 — a proud *Pharisee*, offended at Christ's charity, 322.
 — the leper, entertains Christ at supper, 367, & (I).
 — a *Cyrenean*, helps to bear the cross after him, 381.
 — *Magus* converted to christianity, 415. Gives a new name to an old sin, *ib.*
 — *Cantharas*, made high-priest, 430.
 — a surly lawyer mollified by *Agrippa*, 430, (U).
 — the son of *Judas Galileus*, crucified, 435.
 — a *Jew* of *Scythopolis*, his desperate end, 447, (M).
 — head of the new sicarii, raises an army against the zealots, 460. Invades *Idumea*, 461. Marches against *Jerusalem*, 462, & seq. Besieges *John* in the temple, 463. Holds the city against him and the *Romans*, 469, & seq. Bloody ingratitude to *Matthias*, 475, & seq. Desires a parley with *Titus*, 482. Taken prisoner, 487. His punishment, 488.
Singara taken and ruined by *Sapor*, 586.
Sinnaces conspires against *Artabanus*, 545. Put to death, *ibid.*
Sohemus betrays *Herod's* cruel order to *Mariamne*, 169. Put to death, 171.
Sofius left governor of *Syria*, 150. Assists *Herod*, 151. Contempt of *Antigonus*, 153.
Sozomen's account of *Sapor II.* 582, (H).
Standards, *Roman*, why abhorred by the *Jews*, 289. Introduced into *Jerusalem* by *Pilate*, *ib.*
Star, miraculous, appears to the eastern magi, 220, & seq. Described, *ib.* (C).
Stater, what, 343, (Q).
Statianus marching to join *Antony* is cut off by the *Parthians*, 538.
Stephen the protomartyr, his character, 413. Death, 414.
Straton's tower, by whom built, 175, (R). vid. *Cæsarea*.
 — a gallery in the royal palace so called, 86, (C).
Sun miraculously darkened at the crucifixion, 385, (C).
 — worshipped by the *Parthians*, 499.
Surena's character, 512. Recovers *Mesopotamia*, 513. Stratagem against the *Romans*, 516, 517. Defeats them, 522, & seq. Takes *Crassus*, 525. His mock cavalcade, 527. Inveighs against the debauchery of the *Romans*, *ib.* Put to death by *Orodes*, 528.
Swine, the herd of, drowned, 327, & (E).
Sylla's haughty behaviour to the *Parthians*, 504.

- Syllæus's* hatred to *Herod*, the cause of, 193, (K). Accusation of him to *Cæsar*, 194. Put to death, *ib.* (L).
Syria invaded by the *Parthians*, 528. Revolts from the *Romans*, 530.
Syrians defeated by the *Maccabees*, 7.
Syrophœnician woman, her singular faith, 336, & seq. Country, *ib.* (K).

T

T *Acitus's* character of *Felix*, 436, in fin. (B).

Tarichea taken by the *Romans*, 453, & (U).

Tekoah, the fight of, 41, & (MM).

Temple of Jerusalem purified by *Judas Maccabeus*, 10, & seq.

Walls demolished by *Alcimus*, 42, & (N). Its most sacred place entered by *Pompey*, 115. Rebuilt by *Herod*, 180, 181. Whether to be reckoned a new temple, 181, (Y). How long it was a building, 182, & (Z). Its description, 183, & (B). Dedication, 193. Polluted by the *Samaritans*, 285. Forced by the zealots, 457. Defended by *John de Ghischala*, 482. Its gates fired, 475. The sanctuary burnt, 480, & (X). Plundered 481.

—— at *Samaria*, vid. *Garizzim*, 74, & (O).

—— in *Egypt*, described, 48, (T). Shut up and plundered, 491, & (F).

Terebinthus, a heretic, vid. *Buda*, 573, (E).

Thaddeus, vid. *James the Less*, 317, (T).

Theodosius left under the guardianship of *Isdegertes*, 594.

Lives in the strictest friendship with him, *ib.* Wars with the *Persians*, 598, & seq.

Theodotus stripped of his vast treasure, 95.

Theophilus made high priest, 418,

Therapeutes, their sect, life, &c. 239. Prophetic spirit, 241. Austerity, 242. Worship, *ib.* & seq. Whether *Jews* or *Christians*, 243, & seq.

Thermusa married to *Phrabates*, 543. Persuades him to send his four sons hostages to *Augustus*, *ib.* Poisons him, 544.

Theudas, a *Jewish* impostor, beheaded, 434, (Z), & 435.

Thief, the penitent, why absolved, 384, & (B).

Thieves, crucified with *Christ*, who, 383, (A).

Thimnatha fortified by *Bacchides*, 42.

Thomas Didymus, one of the twelve apostles, 317, (T). His incredulity reprov'd, 395.

Tiberias

- Tiberias*, by whom built, 287. Taken by the *Romans*, 453, & (U).
 — the sea of, whence so called, 288 & (A).
Tiberius Cæsar, the fifteenth year of, how computed, 286.
Tigranes invades *Syria*, 101. Made king of *Armenia*, 551.
Tigranocerta taken by the *Parthians*, 551.
Timotheus defeated by *Judas Maccabeus*, 7. A second time, and killed, 16.
 — invades *Gilead*, and defeated, 17. A second time, 21, & seq. Taken prisoner, 24.
Tiridates set upon the *Parthian* throne, 542. Wars with *Phrabates*, *ib.* & seq.
 — the son of *Phrabates* set up by *Tiberius*, 546. Driven out by *Artabanus*, 547.
 — brother of *Vologeses*, made king of *Armenia*, 551. Waits on *Nero* at *Rome* and receives the crown from him, 553.
Titus the son of *Vespasian* joins his father in *Judea*, 455. Puts off his journey to *Rome*, 464. Rejoins his father at *Cæsarea*, *ib.* Left commander in *Judea*, 465. Gratitude to *Josephus*, 464, (F). Marches against *Jerusalem*, 466, & seq. Order of his army, *ib.* (I). Lays siege to the place, 468. Engages the enemy, *ib.* (L). His frequent offers of peace, rejected, 469, & seq. Swears the destruction of the city, 474. Endeavours to save the temple, 480. Enters the sanctuary, 481. Carries off the sacred utensils, *ib.* Shews mercy to many *Jews*, 481, 482, & (Y, Z). Enters the city, 483. Triumph and trophies, 488, & (C). Cuts off the reliques of the house of *Judah*, 490. His fondness for *Berenice*, 492.
Tob, the *Jews* of, massacred, 16. The territories of, invaded by the *Maccabees*, 22.
Trachonitis, where situate, 212, (W). Given to *Herod*, 178, & (V). Infested with banditti, 193, 212. Destroyed by *Zamaris*, 213. Bequeathed by *Herod* to *Philip*, 266.
Trajan sent against *Japhia*, 453, & (T). Takes it and puts all the men to the sword, *ib.* Success against *Chosroes*, 554, & seq. Subdues *Parthia*, 555.
Trebonian law, what, 506.
Trophies mistaken for idols by the zealous *Jews*, 174.
Tryphon's treachery to *Jonathan*, 56. The *Syrians* revolt from him on account of his tyranny, 63.
Tubieni, *Jews*, whence so called, 22.
Tyrians spared by *Herod*, 138.

Tyro,

Tyro accused to *Herod* by *Salome*, 196.

Tzani revolt to the *Romans*, 612.

V.

Vageses's noble answer to *Crassus*, 512.

Valens, king of *Persia*, wars with the *Huns*, 603. His character, *ib.*

Valerian marches to the relief of *Edeffa*, 571. Is defeated and taken prisoner by *Sapores*, *ib.* Cruelly used by him, *ib.* & (D).

Varanes I. king of *Persia*, 574.

—— II. kept under by the *Romans*, 575, & seq.

—— III. why surnamed *Sengansaa*, 577.

—— IV. — surnamed *Germasaa*, 594.

—— V. Persecutes the christians, 597. Wars with *Theodosius*, 598. Solicits the *Saracens*, to break with the *Romans*, *ib.* Defeated by the *Romans*, 599, & seq. Makes peace with them, 600. Respect for *Acates* bishop of *Amida*, *ib.* Grants the christians many favours, *ib.* & seq.

—— VI. obscure reign, 601.

Vargunteius slain by the *Parthians*, 523.

Varus *Quintil.* appointed to judge *Antipater*, 261. Declares his sentence only to *Herod*, 262. Informs the emperor against *Archelaus*, 272. Quells the seditious *Jews*, 273. Enters *Judea*, 277, & seq. His reception at *Jerusalem*, 278.

Veil of the temple rent at the death of *Christ*, 388.

Ventidius extorts money from *Antigonus*, 146. Sent against the *Parthians*, 531. Defeats them, 532. Stratagem against *Pacorus*, 533. Defeats him, *ib.* Envied by *M. Antony*, sent back to *Rome*, 534. His triumph, rise, &c. 535.

Verus sent against the *Parthians*, 557. Carries the plague into *Italy*, &c. *ib.*

Vespasian sent into *Judea*, 450. Enters *Galilee*, *ib.* Reception of *Josephus*, 452. Treatment to the city *Tiberias*, 453, (V). His stay at *Cæsarea* very politic, 459. Chosen emperor, 464. Sets *Josephus* at liberty, *ib.* (F). Goes to *Rome*, 465.

Vine, a rich golden one sent a present to *Pompey*, 108, & seq.

Vinegar, why given to *Christ*, 382, (Z).

Virgil, remarks on his eclogue on *Saloninus*, 147, (X).

Virgilianæ sortes, how imitated by the *Jews*, 362, note.

Vitellius's

- Vitellius's* arrival in *Judea*, 415. Kindness to the *Jews*, *ib.*
 Deposes *Pilate*, 416. Comes with *Herod* to *Jerusalem*, 418.
Vologeses I. king of *Parthia*, opposed by the *Romans*, 552.
 Success in *Armenia*, *ib.* & seq. Allies with *Vespasian*, 553.
 His death, *ib.*
 — II. invades *Armenia*, 556. Confirmed by *Antoninus*, 558. His death, *ib.*
 — III. wars with the several states, 558. His death, *ibid.*
Vologesocerta built by *Vologeses*, 553.
Volumnius condemns *Herod's* two brave sons to death, 195.
Vonones, king of *Parthia*, defeated by *Artabanus*, 544. Killed by *Remmius*, 545.
 — II's short reign, 551.
Vopiscus Cai. animadverted upon, 576, (F).
Ursicinus sent against *Sapor*, 585. Covers *Syria* from incursions, *ib.*

W.

- Water*, the festival of, among the *Jews*, 347.
Whales, a particular kind in the *Mediterranean*, 325, (C).
Wine, mingled, why given to malefactors, 382, (Z).
Wisemen from the east, *vid. Magi*, 217, & seq.
Wonderful, one of the peculiar characters of the *Messiah*, 210, 215, 216.
Wood carried to the temple once a year, 347.

X.

- Xylophoria*, the feast of at *Jerusalem*, 347.

Z.

- Zachariah's* vision in the temple, 200, & seq. Noble canticle at the birth of his son, 212.
 — the son of *Barachias*, murdered by the zealots, 459.
 Some conjectures concerning him, 458, (B.)
Zamaris, sent by *Herod* against the banditti, 213.
Zambades chosen king of *Persia*, 605. Deposed and punished, 607.
Zames, prince of *Persia*, why excluded his succession, 610.
Zebedee, the sons of, become apostles, 317, (T).

Zechariah's

Zechariah's prophecies, those particularly which concern Christ's sufferings, 372, (P). And destruction of the *Jewish* nation, 477, (S).

—— the son of *Baruch*, vid. sub *Zechariah*, 458.

Zealots, the spawn of the *Gaulonitish* faction, 284. Join with the *Sicarii*, 446, & seq. Beat the *Romans*, *ibid.* Put all to fire and sword, *ib.* & seq. Their cursed character, 455. Seize the temple, 457. Set up a high-priest of their own, 456, & (Y). Horrid butcheries committed by them, *ib.* & seq. Dreadful crimes, 462, (E). *Josephus's* character of them, 471. Their desperate defence, 473, & seq. Their suit to *Titus* rejected, 482. Seized with infatuation, 483. Raise new troubles in *Egypt*, 490.

Zelotes, *Simon*, whence so called, 317, (T).

Zenobia taken prisoner by *Aurelian*, 572.

Zenodorus, why stript of his toparchies, 178, & (V).

Zenodotia taken by *Craſſus*, and the inhabitants reduced to slavery, 509.

Zeugma, where situate, 514, (E).

The end of the tenth Volume.



